



THE MINDE OF THE FRONT.

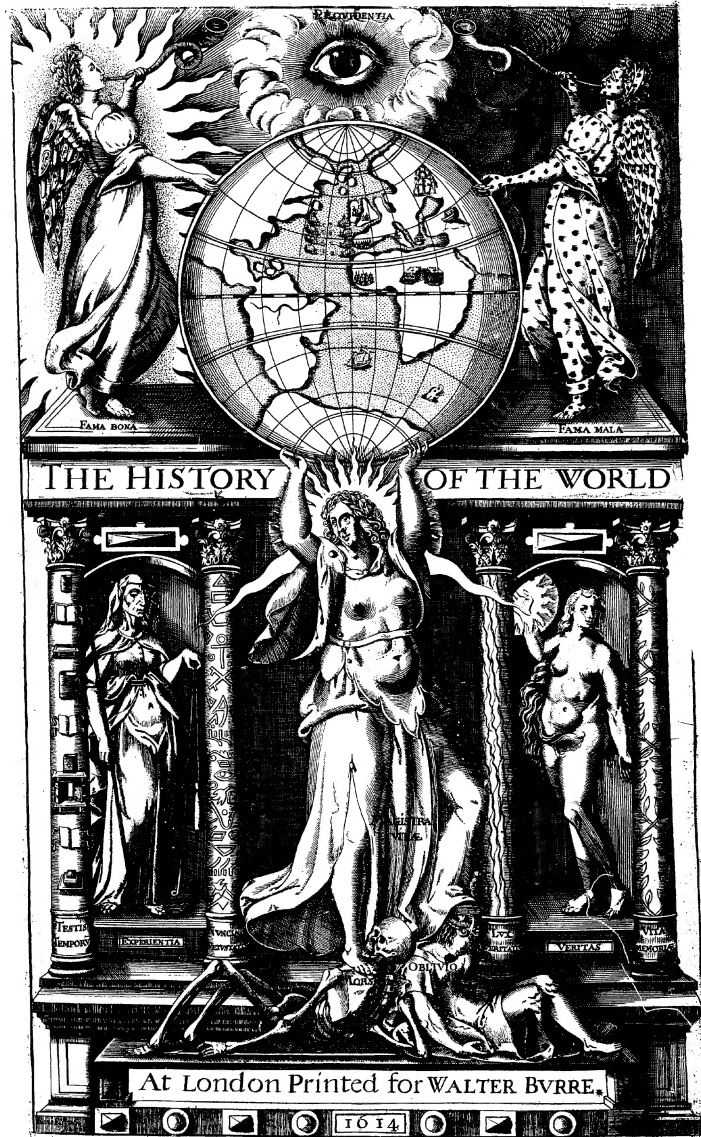
From Death, and darke Oblivion (neere the same)
The Mistresse of Mans life, graue HISTORY,
Raising the World to good, or euill FAME,
Doth vindicate it to ETERNITY.

High PROVIDENCE would so: that nor the Good
Might be defrauded, nor the Great secur'd,
both might know their waies are understood,
And the reward, and punishment assur'd.

This makes, that lighted by the beamy hand
Of TRUTH, which searcheth the most hidden springs,
And guided by EXPERIENCE, whose streight Wand,
Doth mete, whose Line doth sound the depth of things;

She chearefully supporteth what she reares:
Aisisted by no strengths, but are her owne,
Some note of which each varied Pillar beares,
By which, as proper titles, shee is knowne,

Times Witnesse, Herald of Antiquitie,
The Light of Truth, and Life of Memorie.





THE PREFACE.

HOW unfit, and how unworthy a choice I haue made of my selfe, to vndertake a worke of this mixture; mine owne reason, though exceeding weake, hath sufficiently resolued me. For had it beene begotten then with my first dawning of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open it selfe to my younger yeares: and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well haue doubted, that the darkenes of Age and Death would haue couered ouer both It and Me, long before the performance. For beginning with the Creation: I haue proceeded with the History of the World, and lastly purposed (some few sallies excepted) to confine my Discourse, within this our renowned Iland of Great Brittain. I confesse that it had better sorted with my disability, the better part of whose times are runne out in other traualles; to haue set together (as I could) the vntoynted and scattered frame of our English affaires, than of the vniuersall: in whom, had there beene no other defect, (who am all defect) then the time of the day; it were enough; the day of a tempestuous life, drawne on to the very euening ere I began. But those inmost, and soule-peircing wounds, which are euer aking while vncured: with the desire to satisfie those few friends, which I haue tryed by the fire of Adversitie; the former enforcing, the latter perswading; haue caused me to make my thoughts legible, and my selfe the subiect of euery opinion wise or weake.

To the World I present them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither haue others that were, (Fortune changing) sped much better in any age. For, Prosperity and Adversity haue euer more tyed and vntied vulgar Affections. And as we see in experience, That dogs doe alwayes barks at those they know not; and that it is their nature to accompany one another in those clamours: so it is with the inconsiderate multitude. Who, wanting that vertue which wee call Honesty in all men, and that especiall gift of GOD which we call Charity in Christian men; condemne, without bearing, and wound, without offence giuen: led there-vnto by vncertaine report only, which his Maiesty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. Blame no man (saith Siracides) before thou haue enquired the matter: vnderstand first, and then reforme righteously. *Rumor, res sine teste, sine*

Demonolog. 4.

Blame 3. c. 1.

Ecdic. 11. v. 7.

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sine iudice, maligna, fallax; Rumor is without witness; without iudge, malicious and deceivable. This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that
Landaria bonis
gaude St. Augustine Argument to affirme, That he feared the praise of
simon. q. an.
vi 3 malis de-
good men; & detested that of the euill. And herein no man hath giuen a better
rule, then this of Seneca; Conscientia satisfaciamus: nihil in tamam
reflor.
San. de ira. l. 3.
c. 22.
laboremus; sequatur vel mala, dum bene merearis. Let vs satisfie
our owne consciences, and not trouble our selues with fame: bee it
neuer so ill, it is to be despised so we deserue well.

For my selfe; if I haue in any thing serued my Country, and prised it before my private: the general acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time than doth a faire sunshine day to a Sea-man after shipwrack; & the contrary no other harme than an outrageous tempest after the Port attained. I know that I lost the loue of many for my fidelity towards Her, whom I must still honor in the dust; though further then the defence of her excellent person, I neuer persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what device they did it: He that is the Supreme Iudge of all the world, hath taken the accompt, so as for this kinde of suffering, I must say with Seneca; Mala opinio, bene parita, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that haue made themselves Fathers of that fame, which hath bene begotten for them: I can neither enuy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine owne mishap in that kind; but content my selfe to say with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, in many particulars.

To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phtexy, not of hope: seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can trauell the World without a passport. For were it other wise; and were there not as many internal formes of the minde, as there are external figures of men; there were then some possibility, to perswade by the mouth of one Advocate, euen Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying and extensive verue of dead Earth, and of that breath-giving life which GOD hath cast vp Slime and Dust: as that among those that were, of whom we read and heare, and among those that are, whom we see and converse with; every one hath received a seuerall picture of face, and every one a diuers picture of minde; every one a forme apart, every one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth, as in dissimilitude. From whence it cometh that there is found so great diversity of opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations; so many naturall and vnatural; wise, foolish; manly, and childish affections; and passions in mortall Men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of plants; and of reasonable Creatures that makes the difference, of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the forme internall.

And though it hath pleased GOD, to reserve the Art of reading mens thoughts to himselfe; yet, as the fruit tells the name of the Tree; so doe the

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ourward workes of men (so farre as their cogitations are acted) giue vs whereof to guesse at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to expresse the one by the other, very neare the life: did not craft in many, feare in the most, and the worlds loue in all, reach every capacity, according to the compasse it hath, to qualifie & maske ouer their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non lubeat. No man can long continue masked in a counterfeite behauiour: the things that are forced for pretences, hauing no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their owne natures. Neither can any man (saith Plutarch) so change himselfe, but that his heart may be sometime scene as his tongues end.

In this great discord and dissimilitude of reasonable Creatures, if we direct our selues to the Multitude; Omnis honesta rei malus iudex est vulgus. The common people are euill Iudges of honest things, and whose wisdom (saith Ecclesiastes) is to be despised; if to the better sort; every vnderstanding hath a peculiar iudgement, by which it both censurcth other men, and valueth it selfe. And therefore vnto me it will not seeme strange, though I finde these my worbles papers torne with Rats: seeing the slothfull Censurers of all ages haue not spared to raxe the Renowned Fathers of the Church, with Ambition; the severest men to themselves, with Hypocrisie; the greatest louers of Iustice, with Popularity; and those of the truest valour and fortitude, with vaine glorie. But of these natures which lye in wait to finde fault, and to turne good into euill, seeing Salomon complained long since: and that the very age of the world renders it every day after other more malicious; I must leaue the professors to their easie wayes of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility.

To me it belongs in the first part of this Preface, following the common and approoued custome of those, who haue left the memories of time past to after ages; to giue, as neare as I can, the same right to History which they haue done. Yet seeing therein I should but borrow other mens wordes; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is that among many other benefites, for which it hath bene honoured; in this one it triumpheth ouer all humane knowledge, That it hath giuen vs life in our vnderstanding, since the world it selfe had life and beginning, euen to this day: yea it hath triumpht ouer time, which besides it nothing but eternitie hath triumpht ouer: for it hath carried our knowledge ouer the vast and denouring space of so many thousands of yeares, and giuen so faire and piercing eyes to our minde, that we plainly behold liuing now (as if we had liued then) that great World, Magni Dei sapiens opus, the wise worke (saith Hermes) of a great GOD, as it was then, when but new to it selfe. By it I say it

As

ts,

Ecd. c. 11.
 Nihil facilius,
 quam reprehendere alium.

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is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed: how it was covered with waters, and againe repeopled: How Kings and Kingdomes haue florished and fallen; and for what vertue and piety GOD made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe vnto History, that it hath made vs acquainted with our dead Ancestors; and, out of the depth and darknesse of the earth, deliuered vs their memory and fame. In a word, wee may gather out of History a policy no lesse wise than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-past miseries, with our owne like errors and ill deservings.

But it is neither of Examples the most lively instructions, nor the words of the wisest men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet so wrought in our blind and stupified mindes; as to make vs remember, That the infinite eye and wisdom of GOD doth peirce through all our pretences; as to make vs remember, That the iustice of GOD doth require none other accuser, than our owne consciences: which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formalities, which (to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, euer from his knowledge. And so much did that Heathen wisdom confesse; no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God. If any (saith Euripides) hauing in his life committed wickednesse, thinke he can hide it from the euerlasting gods, he thinks not well.

To repeat GODS iudgements in particular, vpon those of all degrees, which haue plaied with his mercies; would require a volume apart for the Sea of examples hath no bottom. The marks, set on priuat men, are with their bodies cast into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of those that liued with them: so as they who succeed, and haue not seene the fall of others, doe not feare their owne faults. GODS iudgements vpon the greater and greatest, haue bene left to posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their vertue, who haue gathered the acts and ends of men, mighty and remarkable in the world. Now to paynt farre off, and to speake of the conversion of Angells into Devils for Ambition. Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who haue gnawed the grasse of the earth with beasts, for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or of that wise working of Pharaos, when hee slue the Infants of Israel, ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or of the policy of Iezabel, in covering the Murder of Naboth by a triall of the Elders, according to the Law: with many thousands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopelesse prooffe, that farre-off examples would not be left to the same farre-off respects, as heretofore? For who hath not obserued, what labour, practise, perill, bloodshed, and

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cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world haue undergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed; to make themselves and their issues masters of the world: And yet hath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, and the rest, noe fruit, flower, grasse, nor lease, springing vpon the face of the earth, of those seeds: No; their very roots and ruines doe hardly remaine. Omnia quæ manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum euertuntur, vel stando & duran, do deficient: All that the hand of man can make, is either euerturnd by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing consumed. The reasons of whose ruines, are diuersly giuen by those that ground their opinions on second causes. All Kingdomes and States haue fallen (say the Politicians) by outward and forraigne force; or by inward negligence and dissension, or by a third cause arising from both: Others obserue, That the greatest haue sunck downe vnder their owne weight; of which Liuie hath a touch: eo creuit, vt magnitudine laboret sua: Others, That the diuine providence (which Cratippus objected to Pompey) hath set downe the date and period of euery estate, before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will giue my selfe a day ouer to resolve.

For seeing the first bookes of the folowing story, haue undertaken the discourse of the first Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impossible for the short life of a Preface, to trauaile after and ouer-take farre off Antiquity, and to iudge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit hath bene gathered by our owne Kings, and their Neighbour Princes: who hauing beheld, both in diuine and humane letters, the successe of infidelitie, iustice, and crueltie; haue (notwithstanding) planted after the same pattern.

True it is that the iudgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred vp a like with examples of like nature. But euery one is touched most, with that which most neerely seemeth to touch his owne priuate; or otherwise best suited with his apprehension. But the iudgements of GOD are for euery changeable; neither is hee wearied by the long processe of time, and won to giue his blessing in one age, to that which hee hath cursed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to discern the bitter fruites of irreligious policie, as well among those examples that are found in ages removed farre from the present, as in those of latter times. And that it may no lesse appeare by euident proofe, than by asseueration, That ill doing hath alwaies bene attended with ill successe; I will here, by way of preface, runne ouer some examples: which the worke ensuing hath since reached.

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Among our Kings of the Norman race, we haue no sooner passed over the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods Iustice, upon the children of Henry the first. For that King, when both by force, craft and cruelty, hee had dispossessed ouerreach, and lastly made blinde and destroyed his elder Brother Robert Duke of Normandy, to make his owne somes Lords of this Land: GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephewes and Nieces (Maud excepted) into the bottom of the Sea, with aboue a hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearly beloued.

To passe ouer the rest, till we come to Edward the Second; it is certaine, that after the murder of that King, the issue of blood then made, though it had sometimes of stay and stopping, did againe breake out, and that so often and in such abundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine race (very few excepted) dyed of the same disease. And although the young yeares of Edward the Thirde, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more then suspitions: yet in that he afterwards caused his owne Vncle the Earle of Kent to die, for no other offence than the desire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earle as then supposed to be liuing, the King making that to be treason in his Vncle, which was indeede treason in him-selfe, had his Vncles intelligence becom true; this I say made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to haue had it otherwise; though he caused Mortimer to dye for the same.

This cruelty the secret and consecret iudgement of GOD reuenged, on the Grand-child of Edward the Thirde: and so it fell out, euen to the last of that line, that in the second or third descent they were all buried vnder the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had beene tempered with innocent blood. For Richard the second, who saw both his Treasurers, his Chaucellor, and his Steward, with diuers others of his Counsaillours, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet he alwayes tooke himselfe for ouer-wise, to be taught by examples. The Earles of Huntington and Kent, Montague and Spencer, who thought themselves as great Politicians in those dayes, as others haue done in these; hoping to please the King, and to secure themselves, by the Murder of Gloucester, died soone after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and farre more shamefully then did that Duke. And as for the King himselfe (who in regard of many deedes, unworthy of his Greatnesse, cannot bee excused, as the disauowing him-selfe by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons, and Patents) He was in the prime of his yongh deposed, and murdered by his Cosen Germane and rascall, Henry of Lancaster; afterwards Henry the fourth.

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This King, whose Title was weak, and his obtaining the Crowne traitorous: who brake faith with the Loraes at his landing, protesting to intend onely the recouery of his proper inheritance; brake faith with Richard himselfe; and brake faith with all the Kingdome in Parliament, to whom he swore that the deposed King should liue. After that he had enioyed this Realme some few yeares, and in that time had beene set upon on all sides by his Subiects, and neuer free from conspiracies and rebellions: he saw (if Soules immortal see and discern any thinges after the bodys death) his Grand-child Henry the sixth, and his Son the Prince, suddenly, and without mercy, murdered; the possession of the Crowne (for which he had caused so much blood to be poured out) transferred, from his race; and by the Issues of his Enemies worne and enioyed. Enemies, whom by his owne practise hee supposed, that he had left no lesse power lesse, than the succession of the Kingdome, questionless; by entailing the same upon his owne Issues by Parliament. And out of doubt, humane reason could haue iudged no otherwise, but that these cautious prouisions of the Father, seconded by the valour and signall victories of his sonne Henry the fifth, had buried the hopes of euery Competitor, vnder the despaire of all reconquest and recouery. I say, that humane reason might so haue iudged: were not this passage of Calaubon also true; Dies, hora, monumentum euertendis dominationibus sufficit, quæ adamantinis credebantur radicibus esse fundatæ; A day, an houre, a moment, is enough to ouerturne the things, that seemed to haue beene founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now for Henry the sixth, upon whom the great storme of his Grandfathers greivous fautes fell, as it formerly had done upon Richard the Grand-child of Edward: although he was generally esteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince; yet as he refused the daughter of Armagnac, of the House of Nauarre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom hee was affianced (by which match he might haue defended his Inheritance in France) and married the Daughter of Aniou, (by which he lost all that hee had in France) so as in condescending to the unworthy death of his Vncle of Gloucester, the maine and strong Pillar of the house of Lancaster; He drew on himselfe and this kingdome the greatest ioynt losse & dishonor, that euer it sustained since the Norman Conquest. Of whom it may truly be said which a Counsellor of his owne spake of Henry the third of France, Qu'il estoit vne fort gentile Prince; mais son regne est aduenu en vne fort mauuais temps. That he was a very gentle Prince; but his raigne happened in a very vnfortunate season.

It is true that Buckingham and Suffolke were the practisers & contriuers of the Dukes death; Buckingham and Suffolke, because the Duke gaue instructions to their authority, which otherwise vnder the Queene had bin absolute; the Queene, in respect of her personall wound, spreteque in iuria forme

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forma, because Gloucester dissuaded her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed, the success to the Counsaile. For after the cutting downe of Gloucester, Yorke grew up so fast, as hee dared to dispute his right both by arguments and armes; in which quarrell, Suffolke and Buckingham, with the greatest number of their adherents, were dissolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down Yorke: yet his sonne the Earle of March, following the plaine path which his Father had troden out, despoyled Henry the Father, and Edward, the sonne, both of their lines and Kingdomes. And what was the end now of that politique Lady the Queene, other then this, That she lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers: that she lived to looke on, while her Husband the King, and her onely sonne the Prince, were hewen in sunder; while the Crowne was set on his head that did it. Shee lived to see her selfe despoyled of her Estate, and of her moveables: and lastly, her Father, by rendring up to the Crowne of France the Earldome of Provence and other places, for the payment of fifty thousand crownes for her Ransome, to become a starke Beggar. And this was the end of that subtilty, which Siracides calleth fine but vnrighteous; for other fruit hath it neuer yielded since the world was.

Sirach 19.

And now it came to Edward the fourth turne (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the Plants of Lancaster were rooted up; One onely Earle of Richmond excepted: whome also hee had once bought of the Duke of Brittain, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of Edward such a Plantation, as could any way promise it selfe stability. For this Edward the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the slaughter, which Gloucester, Dorset, Hastings, and others, made of Edward the Prince in his owne presence: of which tragickall Actors, there was not one that escaped the iudgement of GOD in the same kinde. And hee, which (besides the execution of his brother Clarence, for none other offence then hee him-selfe had formed in his owne imagination) instructed Gloucester to kill Henry the sixth, his Predecessour; taught him also by the same Art to kill his owne sonnes and Successors Edward and Richard. For those Kings which haue sold the blood of others at a low rate; haue but made the market for their owne enemies, to buy of theirs at the same price.

To Edward the fourth succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Maister in mischief of of all that fore-went him: who although, for the necessity of his Tragedie, hee had more parts to play, and more to performe in his owne person, then all the rest; yet hee so well fitted every affection that played with him, as if each of them had but acted his owne interest. For he wrought so cunningly upon the affections of Hastings, and Buckingham, enemies to the Queene and to all her kindred, as hee

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easily allured them to condescend, that Riuer and Grey, the Kings Maternal Vncle and halfe brother, should (for the first) be seuered from him: secondly, hee wrought their consent to haue them imprisoned, and lastly (for the avoiding of future inconuenience) to haue their heads seuered from their bodies. And hauing now brought those his chiefe instruments to exercise that common precept, which the Deuill hath written on euery post, namely, To depresse those whom they had grieued, and to destroy those whom they had deprest; Hee urged that argument so farre and so forcibly; as nothing but the death of the yong king him-selfe, and of his brother, could fashion the conclusion. For he caused it to be hammered into Buckinghams head, That, whensoever the king or his brother, should haue able yeares to exercise their power; they would take a most seuer reuenge of that curelesse wrong, offered to their Vncle and Brother, Riuer and Grey.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his Masters Sonnes was without suspect: and yet the Duell, who neuer dissuades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so hee did. But when hee found by Catesby, who sounded him, that he was not for dable; He first resolved to kill him sitting in counsell: wherein hauing sayled with his sword; He set the Hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could moue his appetite; He caused his head to be stricken off, before he ate his dinner. A greater iudgement of GOD, than this upon Hastings, I haue neuer obserued in any storie. For the selfe same daie that the Earle Riuer, Grey, and others, were (without trial of Law, or offence giuen) by Hastings aduice executed at Pomfret: I say Hastings him-selfe in the same daie, and (as I take it) in the same houre, in the same law-lesse manner, had his head stricken off in the Tower of London. But Buckingham lived a while longer; and with an eloquent oration perswaded the Londoners to elect Richard for their king. And hauing receiued the Earldome of Hereford for reward, besides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the Kings onely sonne; after many grievous vexations of mind, and vnfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and deliuered up by his trustiest seruant; He had his head seuered from his body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peeres. And what success he had Richard him-selfe after all these mischiefes and murders, policies, and counter-policies to Christian religion; and after such time, as with a most mercilesse hand he had pressed out the breath of his Nephews and Natural Lords; other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it tooke end, ere him-selfe could well looke ouer and discerne it: the great outcry of innocent blood, obtaining at GODS hands the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame and dishonor, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruell King, Henry the seauenth cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate instrument of GODS iustice. A politique Prince hee was

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if euer there were any, who by the ingine of his wisdom, beat downe and ouerturned as many strong oppositions both before and after hee were the crowne as euer King of England did: I say by his wisdom, because as hee euer left the raines of his affections in the hands of his profit, so hee alwaies wayed his vnder takings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. Hee had well obserued the proceedings of Loys the eleuenth, whom hee followed in all that was royall or royal like, but hee was farre more iust, and begun not their processes whom hee hated or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

Hee could neuer indure any mediation in rewarding his seruants, and therein exceeding wise, for what so euer him-selfe gaue, he him-selfe receiued backe the thanks and the loue, knowing it well that the affections of men (purchased by nothing so redde as by benefits) were traynes that better became great Kings, than great subiects. On the contrary, in what so euer hee greened his subiects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found fit ministers for such actions. How-so-euer, the taking off, of Stanles head, who set the Crowne on his, and the death of the young Earle of Warwick, some to George D. of Clarence, flows, as the successe also did, that hee held somewhat of the errors of his Ancesters, for his possession in the first line ended in his grand children, as that of Edward the third and Henry the fourth had done.

Now for King Henry the eight: if all the pictures and Patternes of a mercilesse Prince were lost in the World, they might all againe be painted to the life, out of the story of this King. For how many seruants did hee aduance in haste (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined againe; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more desert gaue hee abundant flowres from whence to gather hony, and in the end of Haruest burnt them in the Hue? How many wines did hee cut off, and cast off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the blood (whereof some of them for age could hardly crawl towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chronicles haue kept the accompt) did hee execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when hee was at the point to haue giuen his accompt to GOD for the abundance of blood already spilt: Hee imprisoned the Duke of Norfolk the Father; and executed the Earle of Surrey the sonne, the one, whose desertings he knew not how to value, hauing neuer omitted any thing that concerned his owne honour, and the Kings cruice; the other, neuer hauing committed any thing worth of his least displeasure: the one exceeding valiant and aduised; the other no lesse valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But besides the sorrowes which heeaped vpon the Fatherlesse, and widows at home: and besides the cruaine enterprises abroad, wherein it is thought that hee consumed more Treasure, than all our victorious Kings

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Kinges did in their seuerall Conquests: what causelesse and cruell warres did hee make vpon his owne Nephew King Iames the first? What Lawes and Wills did hee deuise, to establish this Kingdome in his owne issues? vsing his sharpest weapons to cut off, & cut downe those branches, which sprang from the same roote that him-selfe did. And in the end (not withstanding these his so many irreligious prouisions) it pleased GOD to take away all his grace, without increase; though, for themselves in their seuerall kindes, all Princes of eminent vertue. For these wordes of Samuell to Agag King of the Amalikites, haue bene verified vpon many others: As thy sword hath made other women childlesse: so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women. And that blood, which the same King Henry affirmed, that the cold aire of Scotland had frozen vpon in the North, GOD hath diffused by the sunshine of his grace: from whence His Maiesty now liuing, and long to liue, is descended. Of whom I may say it truly, That if all the malice of the world were infused into one eie: yet could it not discern in His life, euen to this daie, any one of those foule spots, by which the Consciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect) haue bene defiled; nor any droppe of that innocent blood on the sword of his iustice, with which the most that fore-went him, haue stayned both their hands and fame. And for this Crowne of England; it may truly be a ronne. That hee had receiued it euen from the hand of GOD, and had stayed the time of putting it on, howsoeuer he were prouoked to hasten it: That Hee neuer took reuenge of any man, that sought to put him beside it. That Hee refused the assistance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as euer Prince did. That his Maiesty entred not by a breach; nor by blood; but by the Ordinary gate, which his owne right set open; and into which, by a generall loue and Obedience, Hee was receined. And howsoeuer His Maiesties preceeding title to this Kingdome, was preferred by many Princes (witness the Treaty at Cambray in the yeare, 1559) yet hee neuer, pleased to dispute it, during the life of that renowned Lady his Pradeecessor; no, nor withstanding the iniury of not being declared Heire, in all the time of Her long raigne.

Neither ought wee to forget, or neglect our thankfullnesse to GOD for the uniting of the Northern parts of Brittain to the South, to wit of Scotland to England, which though they were sutured but by small brookes and hunkes, yet by reason of this long continued warre, and the cruelties exercised vpon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely sutured. This I say is not the least of Gods blessings which His Maiesty hath brought with him vnto this Land: No, put all our petty greeniances together, and heap them vp to their height, they will appeare but as a Mole-hill compared with the Mountaine of this concord. And if all the Historians since

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iden; haue acknowledged the uniting of the Red-Rose, and the White, for the greatest happinesse (Christian Religion excepted) that euer this Kingdome receiued from GOD, certainly the peace betwene the two Lions of gold and gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceede the former; for by it, besides the sparing of our british blood, heretofore and during the difference so often vs abundantly shed, the state of England is more assured, the Kingdome more inable to recover her auient honor and rights, and by it made more inuincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies and conquests. It is true that hereof we do not yet finde the effect. But had the Duke of Parma in the yeare 1588, ioyned the army which hee commanded, with that of Spaine, and landed it on the south coast; and had his Maiesty at the same time declared himselfe against vs in the north: it is easie to diuine what had become of the liberty of England, certainly we would then without murmur haue brought this vnion a farre greater praise than it hath since cost vs.

It is true, that there was neuer any Common weale or Kingdome in the world, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings line in the world and not aboue it. They are not infinit to examine euery mans cause, or to reline euery mans wares. And yet in the latter, (though to his owne preiudice) His Maiesty hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than of his owne Coffers. Of whome it may be said, as of Salomon Dedit Deus Salomoni laritudinem Cordis: Which if other men doe not vnderstand with Pineda, to be ment by Liberality, but by Latitude of knowledge; yet may it bee better spoken of His Maiesty, than of any King that euer England had; who as well in Diuine, as Humane vnderstanding, hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

I could say much more of the Kings Maiesty, without flatterie: did I not feare the imputation of presumption, and withall suspect, that it might befall these papers of mine, (though the losse were little) as it did the Pictures of Queene Elizabeth, made by vnskilfull and common Painters; which by her owne Commandement, were knockt in peeces and cast into the fire. For ill Artists, in setting out the beauty of the externall; and weake writers, in describing the vertues of the internall; doe often leaue to posterity, of well formed faces a deformed memory; and of the most perfect and Princely minaes, a most defectiue representation. It may suffice, and there needs no other discourse, if the honest Reader but compare the cruell and turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour. Princes (of whome for that purpose I haue inserted this breife discourse) with His Maiesties temperate, reuerend, and liberal disposition: I say, that if the honest Reader weigh them iustly, and with an euen hand; and withall but bestow euery deformed child on his true Parent, He shall finde, that there is no man that hath so iust cause to complaine, as the King him-selfe hath.

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Now as we haue told the successe of the trumperies and cruelties of our owne Kings, and other great personages: so we finde, that GOD is euery where the same GOD. And as it pleased him to punish the usurpation, and unnatural cruelty of Henry the first, and of our third Edward, in their Children for many generations: so dealt He with the sonnes of Loys Debonaire, the sonne of Charles the great, or Charlemaine. For after such time as Debonaire of France, had torne out the eyes of Bernard his Nephew, the sonne of Pipen, the eldest sonne of Charlemaine, and heire of the Empire; and then caused him to die in prison, as did our Henry to Robert his eldest brother: there followed nothing but murders upon murders, poisoning, imprisonments, and ciuill warre; till the whole race of that famous Emperour was extinguished.

And though Debonaire, after he had rid himselfe of his Nephew by a violent death; and of his Bastard Brothers by a ciuill death (having inclosed them with sure guard, all the daies of their liues, within a Monasterie) held him selfe secure from all opposition: Yet GOD raised up against him (which hee suspected not) his owne sonnes, to vex him, to invade him, to take him prisoner, and to depose him; his owne sonnes, with whome (to satisfie their ambition) hee had shared his estate, and giuen them Crownes to wear, and Kingdomes to gouerne, during his owne life. Yea his eldest sonne Lothaire (for hee had foure, three by his first wife, and one by his second; to wit, Lothaire, Pipen, Loys, and Charles) made it the cause of his deposition; That he had vsed violence towards his Brothers and Kinsmen; and that he had suffered his Nephew (whome hee might haue deliuered) to be slaine, eo quod, saith the Text, fratribus et propinquis violentiam intulerit, et nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interfici permisit. Because he vsed violence to his Brothers and Kinsmen, and suffered his Nephew to be slaine whom he might haue deliuered.

Yet did hee that which few Kings doe; namely, repent him of his cruelty. For among many other things, which hee performe in the Generall Assemblies of the States, it follows. Post hæc autem palam se errasse confessus, & imitatus Imperatoris Theodosii exemplum, penitentiam spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam quæ in Bernardum proprii nepotem gesserat. After this hee did openly confesse him-selfe to haue erred, and following the example of the Emperour Theodosius hee vnder-went voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which hee had done against Bernard his owne Nephew.

This hee did: and it was praise-worthy. But the blood that is vnjustly spilt, is not againe gathered vp from the ground by repentance. These Medicines, ministred to the dead, haue but dead rewards.

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This King, as I have said, had foure Sonnes. To Lothaire his eldest he gave the Kingdome of Italy; as Charlemaine, his Father, had done to Pepin the Father of Bernard, who was to succeed him in the Empire. To Pepin the second sonne he gave the Kingdome of Aquitaine: to Loys, the Kingdome of Baviere: and to Charles, whome hee had by a second wife, called Iudith, the remainder of the Kingdome of France. But this second wife, being a Mother-in-law to the rest, perswaded Debonaire to cast his sonne Pipen out of Aquitaine; thereby to greaten Charles; which, after the death of his sonne Pipen, he prosecuted to effect, against his Grandchild bearing the same name. In the meane while, being invaded by his sonne Loys of Baviere, he dies for greife.

Debonaire dead: Loys of Baviere, and Charles afterwards called the bald, and their Nephew Pipen of Aquitaine, ioyne in league against the Emperour Lothaire their eldest Brother. They fight neare an Auxerre the most bloody battle that ever was stroken in France: in which, the marvellous losse of Nobility, and men of warre, gave courage to the Saracens to invade Italie; to the Hunnes, to fall upon Almaine; and the Danes, to enter upon Normandy. Charles the Bald by treason seizeth upon his Nephew Pipen, kills him in a Cloyster, Carloman rebels against his Father Charles the Bald, the Father burnes out the eyes of his sonne Carloman; Baviere invades the Emperour Lothaire his Brother, Lothaire quies the Emperour, hee is assailed and wounded to the heart by his owne conscience for his rebellion against his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monestarie. Charles the Bald the Uncle oppresseth his Nephewes the sonnes of Lothaire, hee usurpeth the Empire to the prejudice of Loys of Baviere his elder Brother, Baviere's armies and his sonne Carloman are beaten, hee dies of grieffe, and the Tyrer Charles is poisoned by Zedechias a Jew his Physician, his sonne Loys le Beque dies of the same drinke Beque had Charles the simple, and two Bastards, Loys and Carloman, they rebell against their Brother, but the eldest breakes his Neck, the younger is slaine by a wild Bore, the sonne of Baviere had the same ill destiny and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in sporting with his companions Charles the grosse becomes Lord of all that the sonnes of Debonaire held in Germanie, wherewith not contented, hee invades Charles the simple, but being forsaken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his understanding, hee dies a distracted begger. Charles the simple is held in Wardship by Eudes Maior of the Pallace, then by Robert the Brother of Eudes, and lastly being taken by the Earle of Vermandois, hee is forced to die in the prison of Veron: Loys the sonne of Charles the simple breakes his Neck in Chasing a Wolfe, and of the two sonnes of this Loys, the one dies of poison, the other dies in the prison of Orleans, after whome Hugh Capet, of another race, and a stranger to the French, makes him-selfe King.

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These miserable ends had the issues of Debonaire: who after hee had once apparelled iniustice with authority, his sonnes and successours tooke up the fashion; and wore that Garment so long without other promission, as when the same was torne from their shouldiers, every man despiied them as miserable and naked beggars. The wretched successe they had, (saith a learned French-man) shewes, que en ceste mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la iustice: that in the death of that Prince, to wit of Bernard the sonne of Pepin, the true heire of Charlemaine, men had more meddling, than either GOD, or Iustice had.

But to come nearer home; it is certaine that Francis the first, One of the worthiest Kings (except for that fact) that ever the French men had, did neuer enioy him-selfe; after hee had commended the destruction of the Protestants of Mirandol and Cabrieres, to the Parliament of Prouence, which poore people were there-upon burnt, and murdered; men, women, and children. It is true, that the said King Francis repented him-selfe of the fact, and gave Charge to Henry his sonne, to doe iustice upon the Murderers; threatening his sonne with GODS iudgments, if he neglected it. But this unreasonable care of his, GOD was not pleased to accept for payment. For after Henry him-selfe was slaine in sport by Montgomery; we all may remember what became of his foure sonnes, Francis Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautifull and vertuous Ladies: Yet were they, one after another, cast out of the world, without stock or seed. And not-withstanding their subtilty, and breach of faith, with all their Massacres, upon those of the religion, and great effusion of blood; the Crowne was set on his head, whom they all laboured to dissolve; the Protestants remaine more in number than ever they were; and hold to this day more strong citties than ever they had.

Let us now see if GOD be not the same GOD in Spaine, as in England and France. Towards whom we will looke no further backe than to Don Pedro of Castile: in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicill, our Richard the third, and the great Euan Vasilowick of Moscouia, were but pettie ones: this Castilian, of all Christian and Heathen Kings, having bene the most mercilesse. For besides those of his owne blood and Nobility which hee caused to be slaine in his owne Court and Chamber, as Sancho Ruis the great Master of Calatrava, Ruis Gonfales, Alphonso Tello, and Don Iohn of Arragon, whom he cut in peeces and cast into the streets, denying him Christian buriall: I say besides these, and the slaughter of Gomes Manriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, and the great commander of Cattile; He made away the two Infants of Arragon his Cousen-germans, his brother Don Frederick, Don Iohn de la Cerde, Albuquerque, Nuges de Guzmá, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo.

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de Toledo, Gutiere his great Treasurer, and all his Kindred; and a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest brothers, innocent Princes: whom after hee had kept in close prison from their Cradles, till one of them had lived sixteene yeares, and the other foureteene; hee murdered them there. Nay hee spared not his Mother, nor his wife the Lady Blanch of Bourbon. Lastly as hee caused the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Deane, to be killed of purpose to enioy their treasures: so did he put to death Mahomet Aben Alhamar King of Barbary, with seauen and thirty of his Nobilitie; that came vnto him for succour, with a great summe of money, to leuy (by his fauour) some companies of souldiers to returne withall. Yea, he would needs assist the Hangman with his owne hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope Urban declared him an enemy both to GOD and Man. But what was his end? Having bene formerly beaten out of his Kingdome, and re-established by the valour of the English Nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaster. He was stabbed to death by his younger Brother the Earle of Aſtramara, who dispossessed all his Children of their inheritance; which, but for the Fathers iniustice and cruelty, had neuer bene in danger of any such thing.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it must be Duke Iohn of Burgoigne: who, after his traitorous murder of the Duke of Orleans, caused the Constable of Armagnac, the Chancelour of France, the Bishops of Constance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and reuerend Church-men, the Earle of gran Prè, Hector of Chartres, and (in effect) all the Officers of iustice, of the Chamber of Accompts, Treasurers, and Request, (with sixteene hundred others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slaine. Hereby, while he hoped to gouerne, and to haue maistred France: He was soone after stricken with an axe in the face, in the presence of the Dauphin; and, without any leisuere to repent his misdeeds, presently slaine. These were the Louers of other mens miseries: and miserie found them out.

Now for the Kings of Spaine, which liued both with Henry the seventh, Henry the eight, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth; Ferdinand of Arragon was the first: and the first that layd the foundation of the present Austrian greatness. For this King did not content himselfe to hold Arragon by the usurpation of his Ancestor; and to fasten therevnto the Kingdome of Castile and Leon, which label his wife held by strong hand, and his assistance from her owne Neece the Daughter of the last Henry: but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, hee also cast his owne Neece out of the Kingdome of Nauarre; and, contrary to faith, and the promise that hee made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no meanes left for any army to invade it. This King I say, that betrayed also Ferdinand and Frederick Kings

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Kings of Naples, Princes of his owne blood, and by double alliance tied vnto him; sold them to the French: and with the same Army, sent for their succour vnder Gonsaluo, cast them out; and shared their Kingdome with the French; whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This his wife and politique King, who sold Heaven and his owne Honour, to make his sonne, the Prince of Spaine, the greatest Monarch of the world: saw him die in the flower of his yeares, and his wife great with childe, with her vntimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldest daughter married vnto Don Alphonsus Prince of Portugall, beheld her first husband breake his neck in her presence, and being with childe by her second, dyed with it. A iust iudgement of GOD vpon the race of Iohn, father to Alphonsus, now wholly extinguished: who had not onely left many disconsolate Mothers in Portugall, by the slaughter of their children; but had formerly slaine with his owne hand, the sonne and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Duchesse of Viseo. The second Daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Arch-duke Philip; turned foole; and died mad and deprived. His third daughter, bestowed on King Henry the eight, he saw cast off by the King: the mother of many troubles in England; and the mother of a Daughter, that in her unhappy Reale shed a world of innocent blood; lost Callice to the French; and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude: all those Kingdomes of Ferdinand haue maisters of a new name; and, by a strange family are gouerned and possessed.

Charles the fifth, sonne to the Arch-duke Philip, in whose vaine enterprises vpon the French, vpon the Almans, and other Princes and States, so many multitudes of Christian souldiers, and renowned Captaines, were consumed: who gaue the while a most perillous entrance to the Turkes, and suffered Rhodes, the Key of Christendome, to be taken; was in conclusion chased out of France, and in a sort out of Germany; and left to the French, Mentz, Tòule, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire; stole away from Insprug; and sealed the Alpes by torch-light, pursued by Duke Maurice, having hoped to swallow up all those dominions, wherein hee conuoluted nothing saue his owne disgraces. And hauing, after the slaughter of so many Millions of men, no one foot of ground in eyther: Hee crept into a Cloyster, and made himselfe a Pensioner of an hundred thousand Duckets by the yeare to his sonne Philip, from whom he very slowly receiued his meane and ordinary maintenance.

His sonne againe King Philip the second, not satisfied to hold Holland and Zeland, (wrested by his ancestors from laqueline their lawfull Princess) and to possess in peace many other Provinces of the Netherlands: persuaded by that mischieuous Cardinal of Grauuile, and other Romish Tyrants; not onely forgot the most remarkable seruices, done to his Father the Emperour by the Nobilitie of those countries; nor

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onely forgot the present, made him upon his entrie, of forty millions of Florens, called the Nouale aide; nor onely forgot, that hee had twice most solemnly sworne to the Generall States, to maintaine and preserve their ancient rights, privileges, and customes, which they had enjoyed vnder their thirty and five Earles before him, Conditionall Princes of those Prouinces: but beginning first to constrain them, and enthrall them by the Spanish Inquisition, and then to impouerish them by many new deuised and intolerable impositions; Hee lastly, by strong hand and maine force, attempted to make him-selfe not onely an absolute Monarch ouer them, like vnto the Kings and Soueraignes of England and France; but Turke-like, to tread vnder his feet all their Nationall and fundamentall Lawes, Priviledges, and ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had easily obtained from the Pope a Dispensation of his former Oathes (which Dispensation was the true cause of all the warre and bloodshed since then) and after he had tryed what hee could performe, by diuiding of their owne Nobilitie, vnder the government of his base sister, Margaret of Austria, and the Cardinall Granuile; Hee employed that most mercilesse Spaniard Don Ferdinand Aluarez of Toledo, Duke of Alua, followed with a powerfull army of strange Nations: by whom he first slaughtered that renowned Capitaine the Earle of Egmont, Prince of Gauare; and Philip Montmorency Earle of Horn: made away Montigue, and the Marquis of Bergues; and cut off in those sixe yeares (that Alua gouerned) of Gentlemen and others, eightene thousand and sixe hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, besides all his other barbarous murders and massacres. By whose ministry when hee could not yet brings his affaires to their wished ends, hauing it in his hope to worke that by sublety, which hee had failed to performe by force; Hee sent for gouernour his bastard brother Don Iohn of Austria; a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to those people. But hee, vsing the same Papall aduantage that his predecessors had done: made no scruple to take Oath vpon the Holy Euangelists, to obserue the treaty made with the Generall States; and to discharge the Low Countries of all Spaniards, and other strangers, therein garrisoned. Towards whose Pay and Passport, the Netherlands strained them-selues to make payment of sixe hundred thousand pounds. Which monies received, He suddenly surprised the Citadells of Antwerp and Nemeures: not doubting (being vsuspected by the States) to haue possessed him-selfe of all the massing places of those Prouinces. For whatsoeuer hee ouertly pretended. He held in secret a contrary counsell with the Secretary Elcouedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, and others, Ministers of the Spanish tyranny; formerly practised, and now againe intended. But let vs now see the effect and end of this periuice, and of all other the Dukes cruelties. First, for him-selfe; after hee had murdered so many of the Nobilitie; executed (as aforesaid) eightene thousand sixe hundred

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in sixe yeares; and most cruelly slaine Man, Women, and Child, in Mecklin, Zuphen, Naerden, and other places: and after hee had consumed sixe and thirty millions of treasure in sixe yeares: notwithstanding his Spanish want, That hee would suffocate the Hollanders in their owne butter-barrells, and milke-tubbs. He departed the country no otherwise accompanied, than with the curse and detestation of the whole Nation; leaving his Masters affaires in a tenfold worse estate, than hee found them at his first arrival. For Don Iohn, whose haughty conceits of him-selfe ouer-came the greatest difficulties; though his iudgement were ouer-weake to mannage the least: what wonders did his faerefull breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his brothers searouse and distrust; with the vtimately death that seized him, euen in the flower of his youth. And for Elcouedo his sharpe-witted Secretarie, who in his owne imagination had conquered for his Master both England and the Netherlands; being sent into Spaine vpon some new proiect, He was at the first arrival, and before any access to the King, by certaine Ruffians appointed by Anthony Peres (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his owne lodging. Lastly, if wee consider the King of Spaines carriage, his counsaile, and successe in this businesse; there is nothing left to the memory of man more remarkable. For hee hath paid aboue an hundred Millions, and the liues of aboue foure hundred thousand Christians, for the losse of all those countries; which, for beauty, gaue place to none; and for revenue, did equal his VVest Indies: for the losse of a nation, which most willingly obeyed him; and who at this day, after forty yeares warre, are in despite of all his forces become free Estate, and farre more rich and powerfull, than they were, when hee first beganne to impouerish and oppresse them.

Oh by what plots, by what forswearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, paysonings, and vnder what reasons of State, and politique subteltrie, haue these forenamed Kings, both strangers, and of our owne Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD vpon them-selues, vpon theirs, and vpon their prudent ministers! and in the end haue brought those things to passe for their enemies, and serue an effect so directly contrary to all their owne counsailes and cruelties; as the one could neuer haue hoped for them-selues; and the other neuer haue succeeded; if no such opposition had euer bene made. GOD hath said it and performed it euer: Perdam sapientiam sapientum, I will destroy the wisdom of the wile.

But what of all this? and to what end doe we lay before the eyes of the liuing, the fall and fortunes of the dead: seeing the world is the same that it hath bin; and the children of the present time, will still obey their parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the world are exercised. To hold the times we haue we hold all things lawfull; and either we hope to hold them for euer; or at least wee hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for.

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For

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For as wee are content to forget our owne experience, and to counterfeite the ignorance of our owne knowledge, in all things that concerne our selues; or perfwade our selues, that GOD hath giuen vs letters patents to pursue all our irreligious affections, with a non obstante: so wee neither looke behind vs what hath bene, nor before vs what shall be. It is true, that the quantitie which wee haue, is of the body: wee are by it ioyned to the earth: wee are compounded of earth; and wee inhabit it. The Heauens are high, farre off, and vnsearchable: we haue sense and feeling of corporall things; and of eternall grace, but by reuelation. No meruaile then that our thoughts are also earthly: and it is lesse to be wondred at, that the words of worthless men cannot cleanse them; seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose vnderstanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabit, haue not performed it. For as the Prophet Elai cryed out long agoe, Lord, who hath beleueed our reports? And one of doubt, as Elai complained then for him selfe, and others: so are they lesse beleueed, every day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in euery mans mouth, yea in the discourse of euery woman; who for the greatest number are but Idols of vanitie: what is it other than an vniuersall dissimulation? Wee professe that wee know GOD: but by workes wee deny him. For Beatitude doth not consist in the knowledge of diuine things, but in a diuine life: for the Diuells know them better than men. Beatitude non est diuinorum cognitio, sed vita diuina. And certainly there is nothing more to be admired; and more to be lamented, than the priuate contentions, the passionate dispute, the personall hatred, and the perpetuall warre, massacres, and murders; for Religion among Christians: the discourse whereof hath so occupied the World, as it hath well neare driuen the practise thereof out of the world. Who would not soone resolute, that tooke knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their liues which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heauen; and that the World it selfe were but vsed as it ought, and as an Inne or place, wherein to repose our selues in passing on towards our celestiall habitation? when on the contrary, besides the discourse and outward profession, the soule hath nothing but hypocrisie. We are all (in effect) become Comedians in religion: and while we act in gesture and voice, diuine vertues, in all the course of our liues we renounce our Persons, and the parts wee play. For Charitie, Iustice, and Truth, haue but their being in termes, like the Philosophers Materia prima.

Neither is it that wisdom, which Salomon defineth to be the Schoole-Mistresse of the knowledge of God, that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we giue it our good word; but the same which is altogether exercised in the seruice of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly; by which we purchase and obtaine honour, with the many respects which attend it.

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These indeed be the markes, which (when wee haue bent our consciences to the highest) wee all shooe at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our owne; the care our owne in this life, the perill our owne in the future: and yet when wee haue gathered the greatest abundance, wee our selues enioy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For the rest, Hee that had the greatest wisdomes; and the greatest abilitie that euer man had, hath told vs what this is the use: VVhen goods increafe (saith Salomon) they also increafe that eateth them; and what good cometh to the Owners; but the beholding thereof with their eyes? As for those that deuour the rest, and follow vs in faire weather: they againe forsake vs in the first tempest of misfortune, and flee away before the Sea and Winde; leaving vs to the matie of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand examples, I will take but one out of Maister Dannet, and vs his owne words: VVhilest the Emperour Charles the first, after the resignation of his Estates, layed at VVulsting for winde, to carry him his last iourne into Spaine; Hee conferred on a time with Seldius, his brother Ferdinands Embassadour, till the deepe of the night. And when Seldius should depart: the Emperour calling for some of his seruants, and no bodie answering him (for those that attended vpon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest a sleepe) the Emperour tooke vp the candle him selfe, and went before Seldius to light him downe the staires; and so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that Seldius could make. And when Hee was come to the staires foot, Hee said thus vnto him: Seldius, remember this of Charles the Emperour, when hee shall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou hast knowne in thy time enuironed with so many mighty Armies; and Guards of souldiours, thou hast also seene alone, abandoned, and forsaken; yea euen of his owne domestickall seruants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD; which I will by no meanes goe about to withstand.

But you will say that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first, is the reuerend respect that is held of great men, and the Honour done vnto them by all sorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward loue for their iustice and piety, accompany the outward worship giuen to their places and power; without which what is the applause of the Multitude, but as the outcrie of an Heard of Animals, who without the knowledge of any true cause, please themselves with the noyse they make? For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to distinguish Vertue and Fortune: the most impious (if prosperous) haue euer bene applauded; the most vertuous (if vnprosperous) haue euer bene despised. For as Fortunes man rides the Horse, so Fortune her selfe rides the Man. Who, when hee is descended and on foote: the Man taken from his Beast, and

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Fortune from the Man; a base groomer beates the one, and a bitter contempt spurnes at the other, with equall libertie.

The second, is the greening of our posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom wee leave behinde vs. Certainly, of those which concerne that their soules departed take any comfort therein, is maxime said of them, which Lactantius spake of certaine Heathen Philosophers, quod sapientes sunt in re sua. For when our spirits immortall shall be once seperate from our mortall bodies, and disposed by GOD: they remaineth in them no other ioy of their posteritie which succedeth, than there doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeth in the Wall of a Kings Palace; nor any other sorrow for their powerie, than there doth of shame in that, which beareth vp a Beggars cottage.

*S. Aug. de cura
pro mort.*

Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt viui, etiam eorum filij, quia anima mortuorum rebus viuientium non interfuit. The dead though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their owne children: for the soules of those departed, are not conuerfant with their affaires that remaine. And if wee doubt of Saint Augustines,

Iob 1. 14. 21.

wee cannot of Iob; who saith vs; That wee know not if our sonnes shall be honourable: neither shall we vnderstand concerning them, whether they shall be of low degree. Which Ecclesiastes also confirmeth: Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth him-selfe in vaine: hee heapeth vp riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The liuing (saith hee) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all: for who can shew vnto man, what shall be after him vnder the Sunne?

Eccle. 5. 12.

Hee therefore accompteth it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and trauaile in the world, not knowing after death, whether a foole or a wise man should enioy the fruits thereof: which made mee (saith hee) endeavour euery to abhorre mine owne labour. And what can other men hope, whose blessed or sorrowfull estates after death GOD hath reserved? mans knowledge lying but in his hopes, seeing the Prophet Esai confessed

Izal. 63. 16.

of the elect, That Abraham is ignorant, of vs, and Irael knowes vs not. But hereof wee are assured, that the long and darke night of death: (of whose following day we shall neuer behold the dawne, till his returne that hath triumphed ouer it) shall couer vs ouer, till the world be no more. After which, and when we shall againe receive Organs glorified and incorruptible, the fears of Angellike affections: in so great admiration shall the soules of the blessed be exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or lesse ioy nor any returne of foregone and mortall affection towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whom whether wee shall retaine any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them: no man can assure vs; and the wisest men doubt. But on the contrary, If a diuine life retaine any of those faculties, which the soule exercised in a mortall body: wee shall not at that time so diuide the ioyes of Heauen, as to cast any part thereof on the memory of

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of their felicities which remaine in the World. No; be their estates greater than euer the World gaue, wee shall by the difference knowe vnto vs) euen detest their consideration. And whatsoeuer comfort shall remaine of all forepast, the same will consist in the charity, which we exercised liuing: and in that Pietie, Justice, and firme Faith, for which it pleased the infinite mercy of GOD to accept of vs, and receiue vs. Shall wee therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as vnecessary and vaine? Certainly no. For that infinite wisdom of GOD, which hath distinguished his Angells by degrees: which hath given greater and lesse light and beauty, to Heauenly bodies: which hath made differences betwene beasts and birds: created the Eagle and the Flye, the Cedar and the Shrub: and among stones, given the fairest tincture to the Rubie, and the quickest light to the Diamond; hath also ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the people, Magistrates, Iudges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to posteritie, for a marke and ensigne of the vertue and vnderstanding of their Ancestors: so, seeing Siracides preferreth Death before Beggerie: and that titles, without proportionable estates, fall vnder the miserable succour of other mens pittie; I accompt it foolishnesse to condemne such a care: Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that

Sic. 40. 7. 28

wee raise not our owne buildings out of other mens ruines. For as Plato doth first preferre the perfection of bodily health; secondly, the forme and beauty; and thirdly, Diuitias nulla fraude quaesitas: so Hieremie cries, VVoe vnto them that erect their houses by vnrighteousnesse, and their chambers without equitie: and Esai the same, VVoe to those that spoyle and were not spoyled. And it was out of the true wisdom, of Salomon, that hee commandeth vs, not to drinke the wine of violence; not to lie in wait for blood; and not to swallow them vp aliue, whose riches we couet: for such are the wayes (saith hee) of euery one that is greedy of gaine.

*Pla. de leg. 1. 2.
C. 419 Gorgias.*

Ier. 22. 13.

And if wee could afford our selues but so much leisure as to consider, That be which hath most in the world, hath in respect of the world, nothing in it: and that be which hath the longest time lent him to liue in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past, when we were not; or by that time which is to come, in which we shall abide for euer: I say, if both, to wit, our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing; it is not out of any excellency of vnderstanding, that wee so much prize the one, which hath (in effect) no being: and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending: concerning those mortall things of the world, as if our soules were therein immortall, and neglecting those things which are immortall, as if our selues after the world were but mortall.

*Prov. 1. 1. 12.
Ierem. 23. 1. 3.
E. 45. 9. 3.*

But let euery man value his owne wisdom, as hee pleaseth. Let the Rich

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Rich man thinke all fooles, that cannot equall his abundance; the Reuenger esteeme all negligent, that haue not trodden downe their opposites; the Politician, all grosse, that cannot merchandize their faith: Yet when wee once come in sight of the Port of death, to which all winde drue vs; and when by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can neuer be weighed againe, the Navigation of this life takes end: T hen it is I say, that our owne cogitations (those sad and seuer cogitations, formerly beaten from vs by our Health and Felicitie) returne againe, and pay vs to the vttermost for all the pleasing passages of our liues past. It is then that wee crie out to GOD, for mercie; then, when our selues can no longer exercise cruelty towards others: and it is onely then, that wee are stricken through the soule with this terrible sentence; That GOD will not be mockt. For if according to Saint Peter, The righteous scarcely be saved: and that GOD spared not his Angels: where shall those appeare, who, hauing serued their appetites all their liues, presume to thinke, that the seuer Commandements of the All-powerfull GOD were giuen but in sport; and that the short breath, which wee draw when death presseth vs, if wee can but fashion it to the sound of Mercy (without any kinde of satisfaction or amends) is sufficient? O quam multi, saith a reuerend Father, Cum hac spe ad aternos labores & bella descendunt: I confesse that it is a great comfort to our friends, to haue it said, that we ended well: for we all desire (as Balaam did) to die the death of the righteous. But what shall wee call a disesteeming, an apposing, or (indeed) a mocking of GOD: if those men doe not appose him, disesteeme him, and mocke him, that thinke it enough for GOD, to aske him forgiveness at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For what doe they otherwise, that die this kinde of well-dying, but say vnto GOD as followeth? Wee beseech thee O GOD, that all the fulltooles, for swearings, and treacheries of our liues past, may be pleasing vnto thee: that thou wilt for our sakes (that haue had no leisure to doe any thing for thine): change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a iust GOD; that thou wilt loue iniuries and oppressions, call ambition wisdom, and charitie foolishnesse. For I shall preiudice my sonne (which I am resolued not to doe) if I make restitution; and confesse my selfe to haue bene miust, (which I am too proud to doe) if I deliuer the oppressed. Certainly, these wise worldlings haue either found out a new GOD; or haue made One; and in all likelihood, such a Leaden One, as Lewis the eleventh wore in his Cappe; which, when he had caused any that he feared, or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his bead and kisse it: beseeching it to pardon him this one euill act more, and it should be the last, which (as at other times) hee did; when by the practise of a Cardinall and a falsified Sacrament, hee caused the Earle of Armagnack to be stabbed to death; mockeries indeed fit to be vsed towards a Leaden, but not towards the

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euery-living GOD. But of this composition are all the deuout louers of the World, that they feare all that is durcleffe and ridiculous: they feare the plots and practises of their opposites, and their very whisperings: they feare the opinions of men which bear but vpon shadowes: they flatter and forsake the prosperous and vnprosperous; be they friends or Kings: yea they dwe under water, like Ducks, at euery pebble stone, that's but throwne towards them by a powerfull hand: and on the contrary, they shew an obstinate and Giant-like valour, against the terrible iudgements of the All-powerfull GOD: yea they shew themselves Gods against GOD, and slaues towards men; towards men whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now for the rest: If wee truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom wee call fortunate; and of the poore and oppressed, whom wee account wretched: wee shall finde the happinesse of the one, and the miserable estate of the other, so tied by GOD to the very instant, and both so subiect to enterchange (witness the sodaine downfall of the greatest Princes, and the speedy rising of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certaine, whereof to boast; nor the other so vncertaine, whereof to bewaile it selfe. For there is no man so assured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that hee may be deprived of either or all, the very next houre or day to come. Quid vespere vehat, incertum est, VVhat the euening will bring with it, it is vncertaine. And yet wee cannot tell (saith Saint Iames) what shall be to morrow. To day hee is set vp; and to morrow hee shall not be found: for hee is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth. And although the aire which compasseth aduersitie, be very obscure: yet therein wee better discern GOD, than in that shining light which enuironeth worldly glorie; through which, for the clearenesse thereof, there is no vantage which escapeth our sight. And let aduersitie seeme what it will; to happy men, ridiculous, who make themselves merry at other mens misfortunes; and to those vnder the crosse, grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very instant, the portions remaining are equall to either. For be it that wee haue liued many yeares, and (according to Salomon) in them all wee haue reioyced; or be it that wee haue measured the same length of daies, and therein haue euery more sorrowed: yet looking backe from our present being, we finde both the one and the other, to wit, the ioy and the woe, sailed out of sight; and death, which doth pursue vs and hold vs in chase, from our infancie, hath gathered it. Quicquid atatis retro est, mors tenet: VVhat-so-euer of our age is past, death holds it. So as who-so-euer hee be, to whom Fortune hath bene a seruant, and the Time a friend: let him but take the accompe of his memory (for wee haue no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truly examine what it hath re-served eyther of beauty and youth, or fore-gone delights; what it hath saved

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Gala. 6. 7.

Pet. 1. 4.

Jam. 4. 14.

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that it might last, of his dearest affections, or of what-euer else the amorous Spring-time gaue his thoughts of contentment, then vnualueable; and hee shall finde that all the art which his elder yeares haue, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions, than heauy, secret, and sad sighes. Hee shall finde nothing remaining, but those sorrowes, which grow up after our fast-springing youth; ouer-take it, when it is at a stand; and ouer-top it vntoerly, when it beginsnes to wither: in so much as looking backe from the very instant time, and from our now being; the poore, diseased, and captiue creature, hath as little Ience of all his former miseries and paines; as hee, that is most blest in common opinion, hath of his fore-passed pleasures and delights. For what-so-euer is cast behinde vs, is iust nothing: and what is to come, deceitfull hope hath it. Omnia quæ euentura sunt, in incerto iacent. Only those few blacke Swannes I must except: who hauing had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their owne price; doe, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well acted life, behold death without dread, and the graue without feare; and embrace both, as necessary guides to endlesse glory.

For my selfe, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the sorrowes of this life, are but of two sorts: whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other, to the World. In the first wee complaine to GOD against our selues, for our offences against him; and confesse, Et tu iustus es in omnibus quæ venerunt super nos, And thou O Lord art iust in all that hath befallen vs. In the second wee complaine to our selues against GOD: as if hee had done vs wrong, either in not giuing vs worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites: or for taking them againe from vs hauing had them; forgetting that humble and iust acknowledgement of Iob, The Lord hath giuen, and the Lord hath taken. To the first of which Saint Paul hath promised blessednesse; to the second, death. And out of doubt hee is either a foole or vngratefull to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how meane so-euer his estate be, that the same is yet farre greater, than that which God oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how sharpe so-euer his afflictions be, that the same are yet farre lesse, than those which are due vnto him. And if an Heathen wise man call the aduersities of the world but tributa viuendi, the tributes of liuing: a wise Christian man ought to know them, and beare them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to beare them man-like, and resolutely; not as those whining souldiours doe, qui gementes sequuntur imperatorem,

For seeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for vs, and appointed vs all the parts we are to play: and hath not, in their distribution, beene partiall to the most mighty Princes of the world; That gaue vnto Darius the part of the greatest Emperour, and the part of the most miserable begger, a begger begging water of an Enemy,

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to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Baiazet to play the Gran Signior of the Turkes in the morning, and in the same day the Foot-toole of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had also plaid, being taken by Saporess) that made Belliarus play the most victorious Captaine, and lastly the part of a blinde beggar; of which examples many thousands may be produced: why should other men, who are but as the least wormes, complaine of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to resolve, That the change of fortune on the great Theater, is but as the change of garments on the lesse. For when on the one and the other, every man weares but his owne skin; the Players are all alike. Now if any man, out of weaknesse, prise the passages of this world otherwise (for saith Petrarch, Magni ingenij est reuocare mentem a sensibus) it is by reason of that unhappy fantasie of ours, which forgets in the braines of Man all the miseries (the corporall excepted) whereunto he is subiect: Therein it is, that Misfortune and Aduersitie worke all that they worke. For seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatsoeuer Fortune or Force takes from any one: it were a foolish madnesse in the shipwracke of worldly things, where all sinkes but the Sorrow, to saue it. That were, as Seneca saith, Fortunæ succumbere, quod tritius est omni fato, to fall vnder Fortune, of all other the most miserable destinie.

But it is now time to sound a retreat; and to desire to be excused of this long pursuit: and withall, that the good intent, which hath moued me to draw the picture of time past (which wee call Historie) in so large a table, may also be accepted in place of a better reason.

The examples of diuine prouidence, every where found (the first diuine Histories being nothing else but a continuation of such examples) haue perswaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so neare, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implyeth the other: Creation, inferring Prouidence (for what father forsaeketh the childe that he hath begotten?) and Prouidence presupposing Creation) Yet many of those that haue seemed to excell in worldly wisdom, haue gone about to disioyne this coherence; the Epicure denying both Creation and Prouidence, but granting that the world had a Beginning; the Aristotelian granting Prouidence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for by Faith we vnderstand, that the world was made by the word of God) be too weighty a worke for Aristotles rotten ground to beare vp, vpon which he hath (notwithstanding) founded the Defences of Fortresses of all his Verball Doctrine: Yet that the necessity of infinite power, and the worlds beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary euen in the iudgement of Natural reason, wherein hee beleueed, had not better informed him, it is greatly to be

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marrailed at. And it is no lesse strange, that those men which are deformed of knowledge (seeing Aristotle hath failed in this maine point; and taught little other than termes in the rest) haue so retrenched their mindes from the following and ouertaking of truth; and so absolutely subiected themselves to the law of those Philosophicall principles; as all contrary kinde of teaching, in the search of causes, they haue condemned either for phantasticall, or curious. But doth it follow, that the positions of Heathen Philosophers, are vndoubted grounds and principles indeed, because so called? Or that ipsi dixerunt, doth make them to be such? certainly no. But this is true, That where naturall reason hath built any thing so strong against it selfe, as the same reason can hardly assaile it, much lesse batter it downe: the same in euery question of Nature, and finite power, may be approued for a fundamentall law of humane knowledge. For saith Charron in his booke of *Wisdom*, Tout proposition humaine a autant d'autorité que l'autre, si la raison n'en fait la difference; Euery humane proposition hath equall authoritie, if reason make not the difference, the rest being but the fables of principles. But thereof how shall the ypright and vnpartiall iudgement of man giue a sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to giue in euidence. And to this purpose it was well said of Lactantius, Sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine vlllo iudicio inuenta maiorum probant, & ab alijs pecudum more ducuntur: They neglect their owne wisdom, who without any iudgement approve the inuention of those that fore-went them; and suffer themselves, after the manner of Beasts, to be led by them. By the aduantage of which slouth and dulnesse, ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant: as it hath set true Philosophie, Physick, and Diuinity, in a Pillory; and written ouer the first, Contra negantem Principia; ouer the second, Vertus specifica; and ouer the third, Ecclesia Romana.

But for my selfe, I shall neuer be perswaded, that GOD hath shewt vp all light of Learning within the lanthorne of Aristotles braines: or that it was euer said vnto him, as vnto Eldras, Accendam in Corde tuo Lucernam intellectu: that GOD hath giuen inuention but to the Heathen; and that they onely haue invaded Nature, and found the strength and bottom thereof; the same Nature hauing consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That these and these be the causes of these and these effects, Time hath taught vs; and not reason: and so hath experience, without Art. The Cheese-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that sower Rennet doth coagulate her milke into a curd. But if wee aske a reason of this cause, why the sowernesse doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I thinke that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philosophie, to iustifie this and many other like vulgar questions. But man to couer his ignorance in the least things, who cannot giue a true reason

Charron de
Sageffe.

Lact. de orig.
Errum. l. 2. c. 9.

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for the Grasse vnder his fesse, why it should be greene rather then red, or of any other colour; that could neuer yet discover the way and reason of Natures working, in those which are farre lesse noble creatures than himselfe; who is farre more Noble than the Heauens themselves: Man (saith Salomon) that can hardly discern the things that are vpon the Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before vs; that hath so short a time in the world, as hee no sooner begins to learne, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his vnderstanding, nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Essence of his owne soule, and which the wisest of the Naturalists (if Aristotle be hee) could neuer so much as define; but by the Action and effect, telling vs what it workes (which all men know as well as hee) but not what it is, which neither hee, nor any else, doth know, but GOD that created it; (for though I were perfect, yet I know not my soule, saith Iob.) Man say, that is but an Idiot in the next cause of his owne life, and in the cause of all the actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD, who (saith Iob) is so excellent as wee know him not; and examine the beginning of the worke, which had end before Man kinde had a beginning of being. Hee will disable GODS power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather giue the moethes of the Aire for a cause; cast the worke on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, the other of the Forme; and lastly, for want of a worke-man, haue it Eternal. which latter opinion Aristotle, to make himselfe the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectatours haue maintained it; parati ac coniuati, quos sequuntur, Philosophorum animis inuictis opiniones tueri. For Hermes, who lived at once with, or soone after, Moses, Zoroaster, Musæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Melissus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleantes, Pythagoras, Plato, and many others (whose opinions are exquisitely gathered by Steuchius Eugubinus) found in the necessity of inuincible reason, One eternal and infinite Being, to be the Parent of the vniuersall. Horum omnium sententia quamuis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, vt Prouidentiam vnā esse consentiant: siue enim Natura, siue Æther, siue Ratio, siue mens, siue fatalis necessitas, siue diuina Lex, idem esse quod a nobis dicitur Deus: All these mens opinions (saith Lactantius) though vncertaine, come to this; That they agree vpon one Prouidence; whether the same be Nature, or light, or Reason, or vnderstanding, or destinie, or diuine ordinance; that it is the same which we call GOD. Certainly, as all the Riuer in the world, though they haue diuers risings, and diuers runnings; though they some times hide themselves for a while vnder ground, and seeme to be lost in Sea-like

Salomon 1.9.

Iob 26.

Lact. 5.

D 3

Lakes;

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Lakes; doe at last finde, and fall into the great Ocean: so after all the searches that humane capacitie hath; and after all Philosophicall contemplation and curiositie; in the necessitie of this infinite power, all the reason of man ends and dissolues it selfe.

Euseb. de prep.
Euang. l. 7. c. 8.

As for others; and first touching those, which conceine the matter of the World to haue been eternall; and that God did not create the World ex nihilo, but ex materiâ præexistente: the Supposition is so weake, as is hardly worth the answering. For (saith Eusebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annexere, They seeme vnto me, which affirme this, to giue part of the work to God, and part to Fortune: in so much as if God had not found this first matter by chance; Hee had neither beene Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Vniuersall. For were the Matter or Chaos, eternall: it then followes, That either this supposed Matter did sit it selfe to Gods; or God, accommodate himselfe to the matter. For the first; it is impossible; that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Workmans will. For the second; it were horrible to conceine of God, That as an Artificer be applyed himselfe, according to the proportion of Matter which he lighted vpon.

But let it be supposed, That this matter had beene made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wise: I would gladly learne how it came to passe, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent and infinitely wise; and no more, nor no lesse, than seru'd to receive the forme of the Vniuersall. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created out of nothing so much of new matter, as seru'd to finish the worke of the World: Or had there beene more of this matter, than sufficed; then God did dissolue and annihilate, what soeuer remained and was superfluous. And this must euery reasonable soule confesse, That it is the same worke of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing, And by the same art and power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that eternall matter, be againe changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to say that this matter was the cause of it selfe; this, of all other, were the greatest idiosme. For, if it were the cause of it selfe at any time; then there was also a time when it selfe was not: at which time of not being, it is easie enough to conceine, that it could neither produce it selfe, nor any thing else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible. Nihil autem seipsum præcedit, neq; seipsum componit corpus. There is nothing that doth præcede it selfe, neither doe bodies compound themselves.

For the rest; Those that saie this matter to be eternall, must of necessitie confesse, that Infinite cannot be separate from Eternitie. And then had infinite

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nite matter left no place for infinite forme, but that the first matter was finite, the forme which it receiued proues it. For conclusion of this part; who-so-euer will make choyce, rather to beleene in eternal deformitie, or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life: let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madnesse of that kinde, as wretched reames to expresse it. For what reason of man (whom the curse of presumption hath not stupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which wee can comprehend but a kind of shadow, quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) hath anything wanting in it selfe, either for matter or forme; yea for as many worlds (if such had beene GODS will) as the Sea hath sands? For where the power is without limitation; the worke hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Tea Reason it selfe findes it more easie for infinite power, to deliuer from it selfe a finite world, without the helpe of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a foole and dust, to change the forme of matter made to his hands. They are Dionysius his words, Deus in vna existentia omnia præhabet: and againe, Esse omnium est ipsa Diuinitas, omne quod videt, & quod non videt; to wit, causaliter, or in better reames, non tanquam forma, sed tanquam causa vniuersalis. Neither hath the world vniuersall closed vpon all of GOD: For the most parts of his workes (saith Siracides) are hid. Neither can the depth of his wisdom be opened, by the glorious worke of the world: which neuer brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes; That we seldome entitle GOD the all-shewing, or the all-willing; but the all-mighty, that is, infinitely able.

But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing nothing is made, inferre the Worlds eternitie; and yet not so saluage therein, as those are, which giue an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the word (nothing) be taken in the affirmative; and the making, imposed vpon Naturall Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctor Aristotle him-selfe confesseth, quod omnes antiqui decreuerunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsumq; infinitum, That all the ancient decrees a kinde of beginning, and the same to be infinite: and a little after, more largely and plainly, Principium eius est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse principium, ac omnia completi ac regere: it is strange that this Philosopher, with his followers, should rather make choyce out of fallshood, to conclude falsely; than out of truth, to resolute truly. For if wee compare the world Vniuersall, and all the vnumerable Orbes of Heauen, and those merueilous bodies of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, with ipsum infinitum: it may truly be said of them all, which him-selfe affirmeth of his imaginary Materia prima, That they are neither quid, quale, nor quantum; and therefore

Steu. Eug. l. 2.
c. 9. vs. vlt.
vlt. 3. vs.

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fore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (qui destruit omnem proportionem) is no wonder in GODS power. And therefore Anaximander, Melissus, and Empedocles, call the world vniuersall, but particulam vniuersitatis and infinitatis, a parcell of that which is the vniuersalitie and the infinitie it selfe; and Plato, but a shadow of GOD. But the other, to proue the worlds eternitie, vtgeth this Maxime, That, A sufficient and effectuall cause being granted, an answerable effect thereof is also granted: inferring, that GOD being for euer a sufficient and effectuall cause of the world, the effect of the cause should also haue beene for euer; to wit, the world vniuersall. But what a strange mockery is this in so great a Maister, to confesse a sufficient and effectuall cause of the world, (to wit, an almighty GOD) in his Antecedent; and the same GOD to be a GOD restrained in his conclusion; to make GOD free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, vnable to determine; able to make all things, and yet vnable to make choyce of the time when? For this were impiously to resolve of GOD, as of naturall necessitie; which hath neither choyce, nor will, nor vnderstanding; which cannot but worke matter being present, as fire, to burne things combustible.

Again he thus disputeth, That every Agent which can worke, and doth not worke: if it after-ward worke, it is either thereto moued by it selfe, or by some-what else; and so it passeth from power to Act. But GOD (saith he) is immouable, and is neither moued by him-selfe, nor by any other; but being alwaies the same, doth alwaies worke: Whence he concludeth, if the world were caused by GOD, that hee was for euer the cause thereof; and therefore eternall. The answer to this is very easie, For that GODS performing in due time that, which hee euer determined at length to performe, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancie in him. For the same action of his will, which made the world for euer, did also with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this answer, in it selfe sufficient, others adde further, that the patterne or Image of the World may be said to be eternall: which the Platonicks call, spiritualem mundum; and doe in this sort distinguish the Idæa and Creation in time. *Spirituallis ille mundus, mundi huius exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali est Architecto; fuit semper cum illo, eritque semper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decessit iam ab opifice ex parte vna, quia non fuit semper; retinet alteram, quia fit semper futurus.* That representatiue, or the intentionall world (say they) the famplar of this visible world, the first worke of GOD, was æqually ancient with the Architect; for it was for euer with him, and euer shalbe. This materiall world, the second worke or creature of GOD, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from euerlasting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for euer to come.

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The first point, That it was not for euer, all Christians confesse: The other they vnderstand no other-wise, than that after the consummation of this World, there shalbe a new Heauen and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter. But of these things wee need not here stand to argue: though such opinions be not vnworthy the propounding; in this consideration, of an eternall and vchangeable cause, producing a changeable and temporall effect. Touching which point Proclus the Platonist disputeth, That the compounded essence of the World (and because compounded, therefore disposable) is continued, and knit to the Diuine Being, by an individuall and inseperable power, flowing from diuine vnitie; and that the Worlds naturall appetite of GOD sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a goodnesse and vnderstanding diuine; and that this vterre, by which the World is continued and knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and euerlastingly continue and preserue the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (saith hee) is not capable of, but receiue it from the diuine infinite, according to the temporall Nature it hath, successiue every moment by little and little; euen as the whole Materiall World is not altogether: but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come, doe by the same small degrees succeed; as the shadow of a tree in a Riuer, seemeth to haue continued the same a long time in the water, but it is perpetually remed, in the continuall ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to returne to them, which denying that euer the World had any beginning, withall denie that euer it shall haue any end; and to this purpose affirme, That it was neuer heard, neuer read, neuer sene, no not by any reason perceived, that the Heauens haue euer suffered corruption; or that they appeare any way the Elder by continuance; or in any sort other-wise than they were; which had they beene subiect to finall corruption, some change would haue beene discerned in so long a time: To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather proue their newnesse, and that they haue not continued so long; than that they will continue for euer as they are. And if coniecturall arguments may receive answer by coniectures: it then seemeth that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Plinie, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, and others, were grossely mistaken: or else those parts of the world, lying within the burnt Zone, were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Sunnes heat; neither were the Seas, vnder the Equinoctiall, navigable. But wee know by experience, that those Regions, so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the Sea, ouer which wee Navigate, passable enough. Wee read also many Histories of deluges: and how that in the time of Phaeton, diuers places in the world were burnt vp, by the Sunnes violent heat.

B

But

Mr. Ficin, de immort. anime, l. 18. c. 1.

Arif. Met. 2. Phil. 1.2. c. 8. Strab. l. 3. Beda de rationem, 13. c. 32. Thom. 1. p. 2. 101. art. 2.

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But in a Word, this obseruation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certaine, That stone-walls, of matter molding and friable, haue stood two, or three thousand yeares: that many things haue bene digged v^p out of the earth, of that depth, as supposed to haue bene buried by the generall flood; without any alteration either of substance or figure, yea it is belieued, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in Mines, and Rocks, vnder ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times haue not invaded and corrupted: what great alteration should wee looke for in Celestiall and quintessentiall bodies? And yet wee haue reason to thinke, that the Sunne, by whose helpe all Creatures are generate, doth not in these latter Ages assist Nature, as here-to-fore. We haue neither Gyants, such as the eldest world had: nor mighty men, such as the elder world had; but all things in generall are reputed of lesse vertue, which from the Heauens receive vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger discourse, wee might easily fetch store of prooffe; as that this world shall at length haue end, as that once is had beginning.

And I see no good answer that can bee made to this objection: If the World were eternall; why not all things in the World Eternall? If there were no first, no cause, no Father, no Creator, no incomprehensible wisdom, but that every Nature had bene a-like eternall; and Man more rationall than every other Nature: Why had not the eternall reason of Man, provided for his eternall being in the World? For if all were equal: why not equal conditions to all? why should heavenly bodies live for euer; and the bodies of Men rot, and die?

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keepe the center, and gaue Order that it should hang in the Aire: that the Sunne should trauaile betweene the Tropicks, and neuer exceed those bounds, nor faile to performe that Progresse once in every yeare: the Moone to liue by borrowed light: the first Starres (according to common opinion) to be fastned like Naitles in a Cart-wheele; and the Planets to wander at their pleasure? Or if none of these had power ouer other: was it out of Charity and Loue, that the Sunne by his perpetuall trauaile within those two Circles, hath visited, giuen light vnto, and reioined all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doubt, if the Sunne haue of his owne accord kept this course in all eternitie: He may iustly be called eternall Charity, and euermouring Loue. The same may be said of all the Stars: who being all of them most large and cleare fountaines of vertue and operation, may also be called eternall vertues: the Earth

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maybe called eternall patience; the Moone, an eternall borrower and begger; and Man of all other the most miserable, eternally mortall. And what were this, but to beleue againe in the old Play of the gods? Tea in more gods by Millions, than ever Hesiodus dreamt of. But in steed of this, mad follie, wee see it well enough with our feeble and mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reason discern it better; That the Sunne, Moone, Starres, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained: themselves they haue not constrained, nor could. Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinauerit, Euery thing bounded hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now for Nature; As by the ambiguity of this name, the schoole of Aristotle hath both commended many errors vnto vs, and sought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the gouerning of the World: So if the best definition be taken out of the second of Aristotles phisicks, or primo de Cælo, or out of the fifth of his Metaphisicks; I say that the best is but nominal, and seruing onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion, from Artificial: which yet the Academics open better, when they call it A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soule of the World: and giue the first place to Prouidence, the second to Fate, and but the third to Nature. Prouidentia (by which they vnderstand GOD) dux & caput; Fatum, medium ex prouidentia prodians; Natura postremum. But be it what hee will, or be it any of these (GOD excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath choice or vnderstanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is vnanswerable of Laërtius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam; Hee onely can be said to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truly exprest by Ficinus: Potest vbiq; Natura, vel per diuersa media, vel ex diuersis materijs, diuersa facere: sublata vero mediorum materiarumque diuersitate, vel vnicum vel similitum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diuersity of meanes, or out of diuersity of matter, to produce diuers things: but taking away the diuersity of meanes, and the diuersity of matter, it then workes but one or the like worke; neither can it but worke, matter being present. Now if Nature made choice of diuersity of matter, to worke all these variable workes of Heauen and Earth, it had then both vnderstanding and will; it had counsaile to beginne; reason to dispose; vertue and knowledge to finish; and power to gouerne: without which, all things had bene but one and the same: all of the matter of Heauen; or all of the matter of Earth. And if we grant Nature this will, and this vnderstanding,

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this

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Leti. de Ira
Dei. l. 1. c. 10.

Auff. l. 1. c. 2.
c. 3. 7.
21.

this counsaile, reason, and power: Cur Natura potius quam Deus nominetur? Why should wee then call such a cause rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men haue notion, and giue the first and bighest place to Diuine power: Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omnesq; summum locum diuino cuidam nuntini assignant. And this I say in short; that it is a true effect of true reason in man (were there no authority more binding than reason) to acknowledge and adore the first and most sublime power. Vera Philosophia, est ascensus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere sunt, & semper eadem: True Philosophy, is an ascending from the things which flow, and rise, and fall, to the things that are for euer the same.

For the rest, I do also account it not the meanest, but an impiety monstrous, to confound God and Nature: be it but in tearmes. For it is God, that only disposeth of all things according to his owne will; and maketh of one Earth, Vessels of honor and dishonor. It is Nature that can dispose of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God, that commandeth all: It is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good vnto all, knowing and louing the good hee doth: It is Nature, that secondarily doth also good, but it neither knoweth nor loueth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himselfe: Nature, nothing in it selfe. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which is begotten by all things; in which it liueth and laboureth; for by it selfe it existeth not. For shall we say, that it is out of affection to the earth, that heavenly things fall towards it? Shall wee call it Reason, which doth conduct euery Riuer into the salt Sea? Shall we tearme it knowledge in fire, that makes it to consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledge in these by the same Affection, Reason, and Knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore seeing all things worke as they doe, (call it by forme, by Nature, or by what you please) yet because they worke by an impulsions, which they cannot resist; or by a faculty, infused by the sepreme power: we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lyes the wonder: and to him is the worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, and such a faculty, as neither knowing it selfe, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; doth yet worke all things to their last and vttermoſt perfection. And therefore euery reasonable man, taking to himselfe for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that euer the world had; to wit, That there is a power infinit, and eternall (which also necessary doth proue vnto vs, without the helpe of Faith; and Reason, without the force of Authoritie) all things doe as easily follow which haue bene delivered by diuine letters, as the waters of a running Riuer doe successively pursue each other from the first fountaines.

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This much I say it is, that Reason it selfe hath taught vs: and this is the beginning of knowledge. Sapiencia præcedit, Religio sequitur: quia prius est Deum scire, consequens colere; Sapientia goes before, Religion follows: because it is first to know God, and then to worship him. This Sapientia Plato calleth, absoluti boni scientiam, The science of the absolute good: and another, scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum. For Faith (saith Iſidore) is not extorted by violence, but by reason and examples perswaded: fides nequaquam vi extorquetur; sed ratione & exemplis suadetur. I confesse it, that to enquire further, as of the essence of God, of his power, of his Art, and by what meane He created the world: Or of his secret iudgement, and the causes; is not an effect of Reason: Sed cum ratione insaniant, but they grow mad with reason, that inquire after it: For as it is no shame nor dishonor (saith a French Author) de faire arrest au but qu'on nasceu surpasser, For a man to rest himselfe there, where he finds it impossible to passe on further: so whatsoeuer is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, it acknowledgeth it to be so; as understanding it selfe not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that best knows the end of his own Art. For seeing both Reason and Necessity teach vs (Reason, which is pars diuini spiritus in corpus humanū mēti) that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach vs: and seeing the same Reason and Necessity make vs know, that the same infinit power is euery where in the world; and yet how euery where, it cannot informe vs: our beleefe hereof is not weakened, but greatly strengthened, by our ignorance; because it is the same Reason that tels vs, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceived by man.

I haue bene already ouer-long, to make any large discourse either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuse: especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the greatest, the vsuable diuision of the bookes, I could not know how to excuse, had I not bene directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first part finished. All men know that there is no great Art in the diuiding euently of those things, which are subiect to number and measure. For the rest, it ſutes well enough with a great many Bookes of this age, which speake too much, and yet say little; Ipſi nobis furto subducimur, We are stolen away from our selues, setting a high price on all that is our owne. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on me, because I beleene as hee doth; that who so thinkes himselfe the wisest man, is but a poore and miserable ignorant. Those that are the best men of war, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, doe alwaies keepe the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from themselves, from selfe loue, selfe estimation, and selfe opinion.

E 3

Generally

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Generally concerning the order of the worke, I have onely taken counsaile from the Argument. For of the Assyrians, which after the downefall of Babel take up the first part, and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of posteritie: some few enterprises, greater in fame than faith, of Ninus and Semiramis excepted.

It was the story of the Hebrewes, of all before the Olympiads, that overcame the consuming disease of time; and preserved it selfe, from the very cradle and beginning to this day: and yet not so entire, but that the large discourses thereof (to which in many Scriptures wee are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of those Kings and Princes which bot up here and there in the same time, I am driven to relate by way of digression: of which we may say with Virgil.

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto;
They appeare here and there floating in the great gulf of time.

To the same first Ages doe belong the reports of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to vs; though most of the Authors Names, have perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Lawes; they had diuersity of Government; they had Kingly rule; Nobilitie, Politie in warre, Navigation; and all, or the most of needfull Trades. To speake therefore of these (seeing in a generall Historie we should have left a great deale of Nakednesse, by their omission) it cannot properly be called a digression. True it is that I have also made many others: which if they shall be layd to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heape of humane error. For seeing wee digresse in all the wayes of our liues: yea, seeing the life of man is norbing else but digression; I may the better be excused, in writing their liues and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Lawes of Historie, and of the Kindes.

The same hath bene taught by many; but by no man better, and with greater breuitie, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. Christian Lawes are also taught vs by the Prophets and Apostles; and every day preacht vnto vs. But wee still make large digressions: yea the teachers themselves doe not (in all) keepe the path which they point out to others.

For the rest; after such time as the Persians had wrested the Empire from the Chaldeans, and had raised a great Monarchie, producing Actions of more importance then were else-where to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; whilest it so florished, that the affaires of the nations adioyning had reference there-vnto. The like obseruance was to be vsed towards the fortunes of Greece, when they againe began to get ground vpon the Persians, as also towards the affaires of

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Rome, when the Romans grew more mighty then the Greekes.

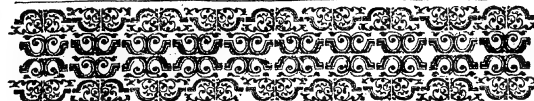
As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians, and other Nations, who ressele the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement: it seemed best to remember what was knowne of them from their seuerall beginnings, in such times and places, as they in their flourishing estates opposed those Monarchies; which in the end swallowed them up. And herein I have followed the best Geographers: who seldome giue names to those small brookes, whereof many, ioyned together, make great Rivers; till such time as they become vnited, and runne in a maine streame to the Ocean Sea. If the Phrase be weake, and the stile not euery-where like it selfe: the first, shewes their legitimation and true Parent; the second will excuse it selfe vpon the Variety of Matter. For Virgil, who wrote his Eclogues, gracili auena, vsed stronger pipes, when he sounded the warres of Aeneas. It may also be layd to my charge that I vse diuers Hebrew words in my first booke, and else-where: in which language others may thinke, and I my-selfe acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant: but it is true, that some of them I finde in Montanus; others in Iattaine Carester in S. Senenlis, and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my learned friends. But say I had bene beholding to neyther, yet were it not to be wondred at, ha-ving had a eleuen yeares leasure, to attaine the knowledge of that, or of any other tongue; How-soeuer, I know that it will be said by many, I hat I might haue bene more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine owne times; hauing bene permitted to draw water as neare the Well-head as another. To this I answere, that who-so-euer in writing a moderne History, shall follow truth too neare the beeles, it may happily strike out his teeth. There is no Mistresse or Guide, that hath led her followers and ser- uants into greater miseries. Hee that goes after her too farre off, losseth her sight, and losseth him-selfe: and hee that walkes after her at a middle di- stance; I know not whether I should call that kinde of course Temper or Base- nesse. It is true, that I neuer trauailed after mens opinions, when I might haue made the best vse of them: and I haue now too few dayes remaining, to imitate those, that cyther out of extreame ambition, or extreame cowardise, or both, do yet (when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world, be- tweene the bed and the graue. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times: wherein also why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and take the vices of those that are yet li- uing, in their persons that are long since dead; and haue it laid to my charge? But this I cannot helpe, though innocent. And certainly if there be any, that finding themselves spotted like the Tigers of old time, shall finde fault with me for painting them ouer a new; they shall therein accuse themselves iustly, and me falsely.

For

The Preface.

For I protest before the Maieſty of GOD, That I malice no man vnder the Sunne. Impossible I know it is to please all: seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subjection to their private passions; but that they seeme diuers persons in one and the same day. Seneca hath said it, and so doe I: Vnus mihi propulo erat: and to the same effect Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis fed tibi; or (as it hath since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient Philosopher, Satis est vnus, Satis est nullus. For it was for the seruice of that inestimable Prince Henry, the successe hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I undertooke this Worke. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amisse. It is now left to the world without a Maister: from which all that is presented, hath received both blowes and thanks. Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis iudicii, in quo lis secundum plures datur. But these discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will iudge charitably: so against those, qui gloriantur in malitia, my present aduersity hath disarmed me. I am on the ground already; and therefore haue not farre to fall: and for rising againe, as in the Naturall priuation there is no recession to habit; so it is seldome seene in the priuation politique. I doe therefore for-beare to stile my Readers Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promise a second and third volume (which I also intend) if the first receiue grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certaine, let vs claw the Reader with neuer so many courteous phrases; yet shall wee ever more be thought fooles, that write foolishly. For conclusion; all the hope I haue lies in this, That I haue already found more vngentle and vncourteous Readers of my Lowe towards them, and well-deseruing of them, than euer I shall doe againe. For had it bene otherwise, I should hardly haue had this leisure, to haue made my selfe a foole in print.

THE



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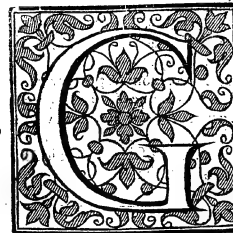


10 THE FIRST PART OF
THE HISTORIE OF THE
WORLD: INTREATING OF THE
Beginning, and first ages of the same,
from the Creation, vnto
20 ABRAHAM.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

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Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World.

30 ¶ I.
That the invisible God is seene in his Creatures.



40 O D, whom the wisest men acknowledge to
bee a Power vnesseable, and Vertue infinite, a
Light by abundant claritie invisible, an Vn-
derstanding, which it selfe can onely compre-
hend, an Essence eternall and spirituall, of
absolute purenesse and simplicitie, was, and is
pleased to make himselfe knowne by the
worke of the World: in the wonderfull
magnitude whereof, (all which hee imbra-
ceth, filleth, and sustainerh) wee behold the
Image of that glorie, which cannot be mea-
sured, and withall that one, and yet vniuersall
Nature, which cannot bee defined. In the
glorious Lights of Heaven; wee perceiue a shadow of his diuine Countenance;
in his mercifull prouision for all that liue, his manifold goodnesse: and lastly, in crea-
ting and making existent the world vniuersall, by the absolute art of his owne word,
50 his Power and almightinesse, which Power, Light, Vertue, Wisdome, and Good-
nesse, being all but attributes of one simple Essence, and one God, wee in all admire,
and in part discern *per speculum creaturarum*, that is, in the disposition order, and va-
riety of celestiall and terrestriall bodies: terrestriall, in their strange and manifold di-
uersities; celestiall, in their beautie and magnitude; which in their continuall & con-
trary

p. IIII.

Of the meaning of the words Heauen and Earth.

Genesis 2. 1.

THe vniuersall matter of the world (which *Moses* comprehendeth vnder the names of *Heauen and Earth*) is by diuers diuerly vnderstood: for there are that conceiue, that by those wordes, was meant the first matter, as the *Peripatetikes* vnderstand it, to which, *S. Augustine* and *Istodorus* seeme to adhere. *Fecisti mundum* (saith *S. Augustine*) *de materia informi, quam fecisti de nullare, pend nullam rem*: (that is) *Tbou hast made the world of a matter without forme; which matter thou madest of nothing, and being made, it was little other then nothing.*

But this potentiall and imaginary *materia prima*, cannot exist without forme. *Peter Lombard*, the Schoole-men, *Beda*, *Lytanus*, *Comestor*, *Tostatus* and others, affirme, that it pleased God first of all to create the Emphyrean Heauen: which at the succeeding instant (saith *Beda* and *Strabo*) hee filled with *Angels*. This Emphyrean Heauen *Steuchius Euegubinus* calleth *Diuine claritie*, and vncreated: an error, for which hee is sharply charged by *Pererius*, though (as I conceiue) he rather failed in the sublequent, when he made it to be a place, and the seat of *Angels*, & iust Soules, then in the former affirmation: for of the first, That God liueth in eternall light, it is written; *My soule, praise thou the Lord, that covereth himselfe with light*: and in the Reuelation; *And the Citie hath no neede of Sunne, neither of the Moone to shine in it: for the glory of God did light it.* And herein also *John Mercer* vpon *Genesis* differeth not in opinion from *Euegubinus*: for as by Heauen created in the beginning, was not meant the inuisible or supercelestiall, so in his iudgement, because it was in all eternitie, the glorious seat of God himselfe, it was not necessary to be created; *Quem mundum supercelestem meo iudicio creari* (saith *MERCER*) *non erat necesse.*

But as *Moses* forbore to speake of *Angels*, and of things inuisible, and incorporate, for the weakenes of their capacities, whom he then cared to informe of those things, which were more manifest, (so wit) that God did not only by a strong hand deliuer them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promise made to their forefathers: but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this aspeetable, and perceiueable Vniuersall; so on the other side I dare not thinke, that any supercelestiall Heauen, or whatsoever else (not himselfe) was increate and eternall: and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wisdom of mortall men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the seat of infinite power, no more then infinite power it selfe can be limited: for his place is in himselfe, whom no magnitude else can containe: *How great is the House of God* (saith *BARUCH*) *how large is the place of his possessions! it is as great, and hath no end, it is high and vnmesurable.*

But leauing multiplicitie of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the wordes, *Heauen and Earth*, was meant the solid matter and substance, as well of all the Heauens, and Orbes supernall, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which cohered it ouer; (so wit) that very matter of all things; *materia*, *Chaos*, *possibilis*, *sue posse fieri*: Which matter (saith *Caluin*) was so called; *quod totius mundi semen fuerit*: Because it was the seed of the Vniuersall: an opinion of ancient Philosphers long before.

Beda. Hex. Syn. be super Genes. Eueg. Cel. & de mat. incorp.

Psal. 104. 12. Claritas diuina non celus fallet, sed sapientia, sed non creata, sed nata.

Apo. 11. 23. Inter, in Gen. cap. 7. vers. 7.

Bar. 3. 24. 25.

Cusan in compend. fol. 224. Operis.

Caluin. in Gen.

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That the substance of the waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by *Moses* vnderstood in the word *Earth*: and that the *Earth*, by the attributes of vnformed and void, is described, as the *Chaos* of the ancient *Heathens*.

M*OSES* first nameth *Heauen and Earth* (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word *Earth*, but afterwards hee nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to distinguish the confused Masse, and (as *Basil* saith) *preparare naturam aque ad fructum vitam*; to prepare the nature of water to a vitall fruitfulness.

For vnder the word *Heauen*, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, and nature expressed: and by the name of *Earth and Waters*, all was meant, whatsoever is vnder the Moone, and subiect to alteration. Corrupt feedes bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heauens are not subiect, though subiect to perishing. *They shall perish* (saith *David*) *and the heauens shall vanish away like smoke*, saith *Esay*. Neither were the waters the matter of *Earth*: for it is written, *Let the waters vnder the heauens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appeare*: which prooueth that the dry land was mixt and couered with the waters, and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or feede of the *Earth*, much lesse of the Vniuersall. *In illo die Domine terram fundasti*, Thou, O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the *Earth*: and againe, *The Earth was couered with the Deepe* (meaning with waters) as with a garment, saith *David*. And if by naturall arguments it may be prooued, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth vs also, that earth rarified may become water: water, aire, fire; and so on the contrary, *Deus ignis substantiam per aerem in aquam conuertit*, God turneth the substance of fire, by aire, into water. For the *Heauens* and the *Earth* remained in the same state, in which they were

created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicitie of perfection, in respect of beuty and ornament. *Celum vero & terra in statu creationis remanserunt, quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est.* And the word which the Hebrewes call *Maim*, is not to be vnderstood according to the Latine translation simply, and as specificall water; but the same more properly signifieth liquor. For (according to *Montanus*) *Est autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero aquas fecit.* For *Maim* (saith he) is a double liquor, (that is, of diuers natures) and this name or word the Latines wanting a voice to expresse it, call it in the Plural, *Aguas*, *Waters*.

This Masse, or indigested matter, or *Chaos* created in the beginning, was without forme, that is, without the proper forme, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the *Earth*, and digested it from the waters: *And the earth was void*: that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruites, or flowers. But after the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters, and wrought this indigested matter into that forme, which it now retaineth, then did the earth budge forth the herbe, which seedeth seeds, and the fruitfull tree according to his kinde, and God saw that it was good; which attribute was not giuen to the *Earth*, while it was confused, nor to the *Heauens*, before they had motion, and adornment. God saw that it was good: that is, made perfect: for perfection is that, to which nothing is wanting. *Et 50 perfecti Dei perfecti sunt opera, the workes of the perfect God, are perfect.*

From this lump of imperfect matter had the ancient Poets their inuention of *Demogorgon*: *HESIODVS* and *ANAXAGORAS* the knowledge of that *Chaos*, of which *Onid*:

Psal. 104. 26. Esi 11. Gen. 1. v. 9.

Psal. 104. 6.

Zeno.

Gul. Peri. Chaos.

A. Mont. dem.

Gen. 1. a.

11.

Ovid. Metam.
lib. 1.

*Ante mare, & terras, & (quod tegit omnia) calum,
Faus erat toto naturæ vultus in Orbe,
Quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestæ, moles.*

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heauen, that all doth hide,
In all the world one only face of nature did abide:
Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heape.

§. VI.

*How it is to be understood that the Spirit of God moued upon the waters, and that
this is not to be searched curiously.*



After the creation of Heauen and Earth, then voide and without forme,
the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters. The *Seuenty Interpreters* vse
the word *super-ferebat*, moued vpon or ouer: *incubabat*, or *fovebat*
(saith *Hierome*) out of *Basil*; and *Basil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem
non in tam tibi, sed viri cuiusdam Syri sententiam recenseo* (saith *Basil*)
which wordes *incubare* or *seuer* importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, haue a
speciall likenesse. *Verbum translatum est ab anibus pulitici sui incubantibus, quæmuis spiri-
tuali, & planè inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo*; The word is taken of *birds* hatching
their yong, not corporally, but in a spiritual and vnexpressible manner.

Some of the Hebrewes conuert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volitabat*, The Spirit of
God did flatter: the Chaldaean Paraphrast in this sense, *uentus à conspectu Dei sufflatus*,
or as other vnderstand the Chaldaean, *flabat, pellebat, remouebat*: the wind from the face
of God did blow vnder, drine, or remoue, or did blow vpon, according to the 147. Psalme.
He caused his winde to blow, and the waters increase: but there was yet no winde nor ex-
halation: *Arias Montanus* in these wordes, *Et spiritus Elohim Aeracebat, id est, effica-
citer motuans, confouens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris*; The Spirit of God effe-
ctually and often mouing, keeping warme, and cherishing, quickning and stirring vpon
the face of this double liquor. For he maketh foure originals, whereof three are agents,
and the last passive and materiall, to wit, *causa*, which is the diuine goodnesse: *lecti*,
which is, *fiat, sine erit*, let it be, or it shall be. *Qua vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit*:
which voice (saith he) was the first that was uttered by the word of God. The third *Spiri-
tus Elohim*, the Spirit of God, id est, *vis quædam diuina, agilis ac præsens per omnia per-
tingens, omnia compens*, that is, a certaine diuine power, or strength euery where, al-
lue and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things. The fourth he
calleth *Materia*, id est, *materia ad omnem rem consensendam habilis*; matter apt to become
euery thing. For my selfe I am resolu'd (Cum Deus sit *supernaturale omni ratione, See-
ing God is in all reason above reason*) that although the effects which follow his won-
derfull wayes of working, may in a measure be perceived by mans vnderstanding, yet
the manner and first operation of his diuine power cannot be conceiued by any
minde, or spirit, compassed with a mortall body. *Animalis homo qua Dei sunt non
percipit*: For my thoughts (saith the Lord in *Esa*) are not your thoughts, neither are your
wayes my wayes. And as the world hath not knowne God himselfe: so are his wayes
(according to *S. Paul*) past finding out. *Orighen* says, *the world hath not knowne*
thee, saith *CHRIST*. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality and operation, were
by incubation or how else, the manner is onely knowne to God, *Quomodo in omnibus sit
rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit*; For how God (saith
S. Augustine, speaking of his *Vbiuicque*) is in all things, either by essence, presence, or
power, our vnderstanding cannot comprehend. *Nihil inter Deum hominem distaret*: si
consilia, & dispositiones illius materiam æternæ, cogitatio assequeretur humana: There
would be no difference betwene God and Man, if mans vnderstanding could conceiue the
counsels

Basil. Hexam.

Iunius.

Psal. 147. 18.
Arias Montanus
in Canticis
Sol. 13.Arias Montanus
in Canticis
Sol. 13.

Esa. 55. 8.

Aug. Tract. 50.
in Iohann. 17. 25.

Laus. in Prola.

counsels and disposing of that eternall Maiestie; and therefore to be ouer-curious in fear-
ching how the all-powerfull Word of God wrought in the creation of the World or
his all-piercing and operative Spirit distinguishing, gave forme to the matter of the
Vniuersall, is a labour and search like vnto his, who not contented with a knowne
and late foord, will presume to passe ouer the greatest Riuier in all parts, where he is
ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his vnder-
standing. We behold the Sunne, and enioy his light, as long as we looke towards it,
buttenderly, and circumspectly: we warme our selues safely, while we stand neere
the fire; but if we seeke to outface the one, to enter into the other, we forth with be-
come blinde or burnt.

But to eschew curiositie: this is true, that the English word (moued) is most pro-
per and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatfoeuer is
effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeede be truly called,
Principium motus, and with *Miracula*, *vis causæ efficientis*, The force of the efficient cause,
Saint *Augustine* sometimes taketh for the holy Ghost; sometime for a winde or
breath, *Sub nomine Spiritus*, vnder the name of a Spirit, which is sometimes so taken:
or for *virtualis creatura*, for a created virtuality: *Terullian* and *Theodoret* call it also a
breath or winde: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem*, a pure or thine
intelligible spirit: *ANAXAGORAS*, *mentem*: *TOSTATVS*, *voluntatem* or *mentem*
20 *Dei*, The will and minde of God; which *mens*, *Plato* in *Timæo*, maketh *animam mundi*,
The soule of the world: and in his first Booke de *Republica*, he calleth it the law of Heauen;
in his Epistles, the leader of things to come, and the presence of things past. But as *Cy-
prius* wrote of the Incarnation of *CHRIST* our Sauour, *Mens deficit, vox silet, & non
mentantur, sed etiam Angelorum*: My minde faileth, my voice is silent, and not mine onely,
but euen the voer of Angels: so may all men else lay in the vnderstanding, and viterance
of the wayes and workes of the Creation; for to him (saith *Nazianzenus*) there is
not one substance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed consubstantiale illi
est, quicquid eius est, & quicquid est, whatsoeuer attribute of him there is, and whatsoeuer
he is, it is the very same substance that himselfe is.*

30 But the Spirit of God which moued vpon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath
or winde, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite actiue power of God,
which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustainerth, and giueth conti-
nuance to the Vniuersall. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the
same is it which maintaineth all things, saith *SALOMON*. If thou send forth thy Spirit,
(saith *DAVID*) they are created: And *GREGORIE*, *Deus (sua præsentia) esse, et omni-
bus rebus esse, ita quod, si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihi-
lum defluerent vniuersa*; God giueth being to all things, by being present with all things,
so as if he should withdraw himselfe from them, then, as of nothing the world was made, it
would againe fall away and vanish into nothing. And this working of Gods Spirit in all
40 things, *Virgil* hath exprest excellently:

*Principio calum acterræ, camposq; liquentes,
Lucentemq; globum Luna, Titanique, æthera,
Spiritus intus alit: totamq; insula per artem,
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.*

The Heauen, the Earth, and all the liquid Mayne,
The Moones bright Globe, and Starres Titanian,
A Spirit within maintaines: and their whole Masse,
A Minde, which through each part infused doth passe,
Fashiones, and workes, and wholly doth transpierce
All this great Body of the Vniuerse.

And this was the same Spirit, which moued in the Vniuersall, and thereby both
distinguished and adorned it. His Spirit hath garnished the Heauens, saith *Iob*. So
then

Nexim. libas
Theol.vis. cap. 1.
Prol. 1.Virg. Aeneid.
lib. 8. 724.

Iob. 26. 13.

Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, all confuted, and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry land, and the Heavens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was vncouered, and before it was called *Aride*, or dry land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated, and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or enriched with their vertuall formes: so the Sunne, although it had not his formall perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (vnder the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day vnted, and set in the Firmament of Heauen: for to Light created in the first day, God gaue no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation*, (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this Light was congregated, and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisdom of God finde cause why it should moue (by which motion, dayes and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by mouing, the Sunne might giue light, heat, and operation.

But after the Earth (distinguished from waters) began to budde forth the budde of the herbe, &c. God caused the Sunne to moue, and (by interchange of time) to visite euery part of the inferior world; by his heat to stirre vp the fire of generation, and to giue aduinity to the feedes of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth some goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the same to that vse and end, to which it was ordained; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the Light to be; which by his all-powerfull word he approoued, and approving it, disposed thereof, to the vse and comfort of his future Creatures.

But in that it pleased God to aske of Iob, *By what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth?* wee thereby know that the nature thereof falleth not vnder mans vnderstanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by Gods grace we enjoy the effects thereof. For this light is of the treasure of God (saith *ESDRAS*). And those which inhabit the Heavens, we only know the essence thereof. *Nihil ignotum in celo, nihil notum in terra: Nothing unknowne in Heauen, nothing perfectly knowne on earth. Res vera sunt in mundo inuisibilibus, in mundo visibilibus vmbra rerum: Things themselves are in the inuisible world, in the world visible, but their shadowes.* Surely, if this light be not spirituall, yet it approacheth neerer vnto spirituality; and if it haue any corporality, then of all other the most subtile and pure; for howsoeuer, it is of all things scene, the most beautifull, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficiall. For it ministrereth to men, and other creatures, all celestiall influences; it dissipeth those sad thoughts and sorrowes, which the darknesse both begetteth and maintaineth; it discovereth vnto vs the glorious workes of God, and carrieth vp with an Angelicall swiftnesse, our eyes vnto Heauen, that by the sight thereof, our mindes being informed of his visible maruailes, may continually trauaile to surmount these percelued Heavens, and to finde out their omnipotent cause and Creatour. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis: Our knowledge doth not quiet it selfe in things created. Et ipsa lux facit, ut cetera mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cum suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet: It is the light, (saith S. AMBROSE) that maketh the other part of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it selfe communicateth its goodness and beauty vnto all: of which Ouid out of Orpheus:*

*Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum,
Omnis qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,
Mundus oculis.*

The world discernes it selfe, while I the world behold,
By me the longest yeeres, and other times are told,
I the worlds eye.

Lastly,

Lastly, if we may behold in any creature, any one sparke of that eternall fire, or any farre-off dawning of Gods glorious brightnesse, the same in the beauty, motion, and vertue of this light may be perceived. Therefore was God called *lux ipsa*, and the light, by *Hermes* named *lux sancta*, and *Christ* our Sauour laid to bee that Light, which lighteneth euery man that cometh into the world. Yet in respect of Gods incomprehensible sublimitie, and puritie, this is also true, that God is neither a minde, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits; nor a light, such as can be discerned. *Deus profecto non mens est, at uerò ut sit mens causa est, nec spiritus, sed causa qua spiritus extat, nec lumen, sed causa qua lumen existit.* God (saith *HARNES* in *PCEMANDRO*) certainly is not a minde, but the cause that the minde hath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which every spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.

So then the *Masse* and *Chaos* being first created, void, darke, and informed, was by the operative Spirit of God, pierced and quickened, and the Waters having now received Spirit & motion, resolved their thinner parts into Aire, which God illightened: the Earth also by being contiguous, and mixt with waters (participating the same diuine vertue) brought forth the budde of the herbe that feedeth feede, &c. and for a meane and organ, by which this operative vertue might be continued, God appointed the light to be vnted, and gaue it also motion and heat, which heat caused a continuance of those feuerall species, which the Earth (being made fruitful by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begate the time and times succeeding.

¶ VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters above the Firmament: and whether there be any crystalline Heauen, or any Primum mobile.

Frer that the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters, and light was created, God said, *Let there be a Firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters:* that is, those waters which by rarification and euaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth and Sea.

But these waters separate about this extension, which the Latine Translation calleth *firmamentum*, for *expansum* (for so *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Iunius* turne it) are not the crystalline Heavens, created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Basilus Magnus* calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned arguments against this fancie. For the waters above the Firmament, are the waters in the Aire above vs, where the same is more solid and condense, which God separated from the nether waters by a Firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the wordes *Raguis*, which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*, and *Shamajim*, being indifferently taken for the Heauen & for Aire, and more properly for the Aire & ether, then for the Heavens, as the best Hebraicis vnderstand them, *quo suprema actenus ab infimis crassis diducta, intersectaq; distant*, for that whereby the supreme and thinnest bodies were placed in distance, being severed and cut off from low and grosse matters: and the waters above the Firmament, exprest in the word *Majim*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters above the Aire, or in the vppermost Region of the same.

And that the word Heauen is vsed for the Aire, the Scriptures euery-where witness, as in the blessings of *Ioseph*, and in the 104. Psalm. * By these springs shall the fowle of the Heauen dwell; and in *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* it rained brimstone and fire out of the Heavens; and in *Isaies* blessing to *IACOB*, God grieue thee therefore of the dew of Heauen; and in *Deuteronomie* the 11. But the land whither you goe to possess it, is a land, that drinketh water of the raine of Heauen; and in *Iob*, Who hath ingendred the frosts of Heauen; and in *S. MATTHEW*, Behold the Fowles of Heauen, for they sowe not.

So

*Quoniam dominum Rex aliquis
Gen. 1.*

*Iob 38. 24.
9.*

Et al. 12. c. 6. 40.

Mum.

Ficin.

Ouid. Met. 1. 1.

*Iob. 1. 9 & 14.
46.*

Gen. 1. 10.

*Mont. nat. hist.
lib. 15.*

*Gen. 49. 25.
* Psal. 104. 12.
a Gen. 19. 24.
Cap. 27. 28.
Deut. 11. 21.
Iob. 38. 29.
Mat. 6. 16.*

Gen. 11. 4.

So as in all the Scriptures of the old Testament throughout, is the word Heaven very often vsed for aire, and taken also hyperbolically for any great height, as, *Let vs build vs a Tower, whose toppe may reach to Heauen, &c.* And in this very place *Basila* a-uoucheth, that this appellation of Heauen for the Firmament, is but by way of similitude: his owne wordes be these; *Et vocauit Deus firmamentum caelum. Haec appellatio alijs quidem proprie accommodatur, huius autem nunc ad similitudinem; And God called the firmament Heauen: This appellation (saith Basil) is properly applyed to another (that is, to the Starry Heauen) but to this, (that is, to the Firmament diuiding the waters) it is impossi- by similitude: and if there were no other prooffe, that by the Firmament was meant the Aire, and not the Heauen, the wordes of *Moses* in the eighth Verse, conferred with the same word Firmament in the twentieth Verse, makes it manifest: for in the eighth Verse it is written, that God called the Firmament, which diuided waters from waters, Heauen; and in the 20. Verse hee calleth the Firmament of Heauen, Aire, in these wordes: *And let the foules fite vpon the earth in the open firmament of Heauen;* and what vie there should bee of this ycie, or cristalline, or waterie Heauen, I conceiue not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the *Firmament mobile* would otherwise gather and increase: though in very truth, in stead of this helpe, it would adde an vnmeasurable greatnesse of circle, whereby the swiftnesse of that first Moueable would exceede all possibilitie of beleefe. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impossibilia; but no man ought to be held to impossibilities;* and saith it selfe (which furremeth the height of all humane reason) hath for a forcible Conduiter, the Word of Truth, which also may be called *lumen omnis rationis & intellectus*, the light of all reason and vnderstanding. Now that this supposed first Moueable, turneth it selfe so many hundred thousand miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures teach it not) let those that can beleue mens imaginations, apprehend it, for I can not: but of these many Heauens, let the Reader that desireth satisfaction, search *Orotius*, and of this waterie Heauen, *Basilius Magnus* in his *Hexam. sol. 40. 41. &c.* and *Matth. Beroldus*, his second Booke, and sixt Chapter. For my selfe, I am perfwaded, that the waters, called, The waters aboue the Heauens, are but the cloudes and waters ingendred in the vppermost Aire.*

§. I X.

A conclusion repeating the summe of the workes in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing of it.



O conclude, it may be gathered out of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, that this was the order of the most wise *God* in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or being, but Gods incomprehensible eternitie. First, hee created the matter of all things: and in the first three daies he distinguished & gaue to euery nature his proper forme; the forme of lenitie to that which ascended, to that which descended, the forme of grauitie: for he separated light from darkenesse, diuided waters from waters and gathered the waters vnder the Firmament into one place. In the last three dayes, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the world: he set in the Firmament of Heauen, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres; filled the Earth with Beasts, the Aire with Fowle, and the Sea with Fish, giuing to all that haue life; a power generatiue, thereby to continue their Species and kindes; to Creatures vegetatiue and growing, their seeds in themselves; for hee created all things, that they might haue their being: and the generations of the world are preferred.

M. A. Sol. 1. 14.

§. X.

§. X.

That Nature is no Principium per se; nor forme the giver of being: and of our ignorance, how second causes should haue any proportion with their effects.



N O for this working power, which wee call Nature, the beginning of motion and rest, according to *Aristotle*, the same is nothing else, but the strength and facultie, which God hath infused into euery creature, hauing no other selfe-abilite, then a Clocke, after it is wound vp by a mans hand, hath. These therefore that attribute vnto this facultie, any first or sole power, haue therein no other vnderstanding, then such a one hath, who looking into the Sterne of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helme and Rudder, doth ascribe some absolute vertue to the piece of wood, without all consideration of the hand, that guides it, or of the iudgement, which also directeth and commandeth that hand; forgetting in this and in all else, that by the vertue of the first act, all Agents worke whatsoever they worke: *Fortute primi actus agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt:* for as the minde of man seeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the eares, and maketh choice by the will: and therefore we attribute light to the eye, and hearing to the eares, &c. and yet it is the minde only, that giueth abilitie, life, and motion to all these his instruments and Organs; so God worketh by Angels, by the Sunne, by the Starres, by Nature, or infused properties, and by men, as by severall organs, several effects; all second causes whatsoever, being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carrie and disperse what they haue receiued from the head and fountaine of the Vniuersall. For as it is Gods infinite power, and euery-where-presence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giueth to the Sunne power to draw vp vapours, to vapours to bee milde cloudes, cloudes to containe raine, and raine to fall: so all second and instrumentall causes, together with Nature it selfe, without that operative facultie which God gaue them, would become altogether silent, vertuelesse, and dead: of which excellently *Orpheus*; *Per te virescunt omnia, All things by thee spring forth in youthfull Greene.* I enforce not these things, thereby to annihilate those variable vertues, which God hath giuen to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heavenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his workes in their vertues prayse him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philosophers, and those that follow them, haue taken on them to teach: I say, there is not any one among them, nor any one among vs, that could euer yet conceiue it, or expresse it, euer enrich his own vnderstanding with any certaine truth, or euer edifie others (not foolish by selfe-flatterie) therein. For (sayth *Lactantius*, speaking of the wisdom of the Philosophers) *40 si facultas inueniende veritatis hinc sinito subiaceret, aliquando esset inuenta; cum vero tot temporibus, tot ingenijs in eius inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nullam ibi esse sapientiam, If in this studie (sayth hee) were meanes to find out the truth, it had ere this bene found out: but seeing it is not yet comprehended, after that so much time, and so many wits haue bene worne out in the inquiry of it, it appeareth, that there is no wisdom there to be had. Nam si de vna re precisa scientia haberetur, omnium rerum scientia necessario haberetur: If the precise knowledge of any one thing were to bee had, it should necessarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to bee had.* And as the Philosophers were ignorant in Nature, and the wayes of her working: so were they more curious, then knowing, in their first matter and Physicall forme. For if their first matter 50 had any being, it were not then the first matter: for, as it is the first matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaueth, when it doth subsist. And seeing it is neither a substance perfect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other substance should thence take consence, it hath not bene taught, neither are these formes (sayth a learned Authour) any thing, *si ex ea exprimantur potentia,*

Natura enim creat omnia, mata providentia & potestate divina, proinde nihil est, sed de seipso sapientia 3. cap. 28.

Cyprianus de demon. 12. lib. 5.

potentia, quæ nihil est. Again, how this first matter should be *subiectum formarum*, and passive, which is vnderstood to precede the forme, it is hard to conceiue: for to make forme which is the cause, to be subsequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary to all reason, diuine and humane: only it may be said, that originally there is no other difference between matter & forme, then between heat and fire, of which the one cannot subsist without the other, but in a kind of rationall consideration. Leaving therefore these Riddles to their Louers, who by certaine scholasticall distinctions wrest and pervert the truth of all things, and by which Aristotle hath laboured to proue a false eternitie of the World, I thinke it farre safer to asseme with Saint AUGUSTINE, That all species and kinds are from God, from whom, 10 what soeuer is natural procedeth, of what kind or estimation soeuer, from whence are the seeds of all formes, and the formes of all seeds and their motions; *A quo est omnis species, & quæ est omnis forma, forme seminum, motus seminum atq; formarum.* And thus much Auerois is forced to confesse. For all formes (sayth he) are in primo motore; which is also the opinion of Aristotle in the twelfth of his *Metaph.* and of Albertus vpon Dionysius.

122. Metaph.

§. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Starres haue great influence: and that their operations may diuersly be prevented or furthered.



NOW, as of Nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that haue written thereof, may be safely receiued, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an inuitable necessitie, and made it more generall, and vniuersally powerfull then it is; by giuing it Dominion ouer the mind of man, and ouer his will; of which Ouid and Lucretius.

20

Iuuen. sat. 7. 101

*Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.
Sermi regna dabunt, captiuus Fata triumphos.*

'Gainst Fate no counsell can preuaile.
Kingdoms to Slaues, by Destinie,
To Captiues triumphs giuen be.

Basil. 8. 14.
Aug. de haref.
70. c. 35.
I. bo. cont. Gent.
3. cap. 83.
Ficin. in 22. de
leg.
Cic. de fat.

An error of the Chaldeans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharisees, Priscilianists, the Bardisants, and others, as Basil, Augustine, and Thomas haue obserued: 40 but, that Fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceiued of Hermes, and Apuleius the Platonist. Plotinus out of the Astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestiall Orbes, vnnchangeably working in inferior bodies, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things, which a rationall mind doth not order nor direct. Plotinie, Seneca, Democritus, Epicurus, Chrysippus, Empedocles, and the Stoicks, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and inuitable necessitie; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (*quod de vnoquoque nostrum fatus est Deus*) and the definite lot of all liuing. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Starres are instruments of farre greater vse, then to giue an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sun-set: it being manifest, that the diuersitie of seasons, the Winters and Summers, more hot and cold, are not so vncertaind by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keepe one and the same course, but that the Starres haue also their working therein.

And if we cannot denie, but that God hath giuen vertues to Springs, and Fountaines,

taines, to cold earth, to plants and Stones, Minerals, and to the excrementall parts of the basest liuing creatures, why should wee rob the beautifull Starres of their working powers; for seeing they are many in number and of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not thinke, that in the treasury of his wisdom who is infinite, there can be wanting (euen for euery Starre) a peculiar vertue and operation; as euery herbe, plant, fruit, and flower, adorning the face of the Earth hath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to couer and shadow her dustie face, but otherwise for the vse of man and beast, to feed them and cure them: so were not those vncountable glorious bodies set in the Firmament, to no other end, 10 then to adorne it, but for instruments and organs of his diuine prouidence, so far as it hath pleased his iust will to determine. Origen vpon this place of Genesis, Let there be light in the Firmament, &c. affirmeth that the Starres are not causes (meaning per chance binding causes) but are as open Bookes, wherein are contained and set downe all things whatsoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wisdom: which latter part I beleue well, and this saying of Syracus withall: That there are Ecc. 1. 3. 2. 3. hid yet greater things then these bee, and wee haue seene but a few of his workes. And though, for the capacitie of men, we know somewhat yet in the true and vttermost vertues of herbes and plants, which our selues sow and yet, and which grow vnder our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celestiall bodies: for hardly (sayth SALOMON) can we discern the things that are vpon the earth, and with great labour find we out those things that are before vs: who can then inuestigate the things that are in Heauen? Multum est de rebus celestibus aliquid cognoscere: Aristotle. It is much to know a little of heavenly things. But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen we doe not bind God to his creatures, in this supposed necessitie of destinie, so on the contrary we doe not rob those beautifull creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes deposed God of his prerogative, or had God himselfe constrained the minde and will of man to impious acts by any celestiall inforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some were iustificable; of whom Saint AUGUSTINE: Impia peruersitate in ma- Aug. ad. super 30 is facta rectissime reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potius auctorum syderum, quam commissorum scelerum. Where we reprehend them of cull deads, they againe with wicked peruerseesse urge, that rather the Author and Creatour of the Starres, then the doer of the euill is to be accused.

Gen. 1. 19.

Ecc. 1. 3. 2. 3.

Wis. 2. 6.

Aristote.

Aug. ad. super

Gen. ad. lit.

Gal. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Seq. temp.

But that the Stars and other celestiall bodies incline the will by mediation of the sensitive appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. Corpora celestia (sayth DAMASCENE) constituent in nobis habitus, complexionis, & dispositiones, The heavenly bodies (sayth he) make in vs habits, complexionis, & dispositiones: for the bodie (though Galen inforce it further) hath vndoubtedly a kind of drawing after it the affections of the minde, especially bodies strong in humour, and mindes weake in vertues: for those of cholericke complexion are subiect to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they suffer themselves to be transported, where the minde hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her Vassals, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonlesse minde I am reuolued: For all those which were created mortall, as birds, beasts, and the like, are left to their naturall appetites, ouer all which, celestiall bodies (as instruments and Executioners of Gods prouidence) haue absolute dominion. What we should iudge of men, who litle differ from beasts, I cannot tell: for as he that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily master or resist them: so whoeuer shall neglect the remedies by vertue and pietie prepared, putteth himselfe altogether vnder the power 50 of his sensuall appetite; Vincitur fatum si resistas, vincit si contempseris: Fate will be overcome, if thou resist it, if thou neglect it, it conuereeth.

But that either the Starres or the Sunne haue any power ouer the minds of men immediately, it is absurd to thinke, other then as afore said, as the same by the bodies temper may be effected. Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilibus corporum confert, &c. Aug. de ciuit. Dei. lib. 5.

C 2

ad

Hex. lib. 4. de
term. 3.

ad vitam ipsam mouet, & nutrit, & auget, & perfect: The light of the Sunne (sayth Saint AVGVSTINE) helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moueth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them: yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: *Bonus quidem est Sol, in ministerio, non imperio; The Sunne is good to serue, not to sway* (saith S. Ambrose.) And Saint AVGVSTINE: *Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora; God ruleth the bodies below by those above*, but he auoucheth not, that superiour bodies haue rule ouer mens minds, which are incorporeall.

Hor. lib. 4. Od. 4.
30.

But howsoever wee are by the Starres inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation: and Aristotle himselfe confesseth, that the Heauens doe not alwayes worke their effects in inferiour bodies, no more then the signes of raine and wind doe alwayes come to passe: And it is diuers times sene, that paternall vertue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. *Est in lucentia patrum virtus; In the young off-spring the Fathers vertue is*, and so the contrary, *patrum vitia*: and herein also there is often found an enterchange; the Sonnes of virtuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice, and of vicious men, to vertue.

Egregia est soboles, scelerato nata parente.

A worthy sonne is borne of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods reserved power) that so much setteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the world so wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing vp may fashion anew, and reforme them; nor any so well disposed, whom (thereines being left loose) the continuall fellowship and familiaritie, and the examples of dissolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Vessels will euer retaine a sauour of their first liquor: it being equally difficult eyther to cleanse the mind once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet sauour of vertue first received, when the mind was yet tender, open, and easily seasoned; but where a fauourable constellation (allowing that the Stars incline the will) and a vertuous education doe happily arriue, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found to exceeding vertuous or vicious, Heaven and Earth (as it were) running together, and agreeing in one: for as the seedes of vertue may by the art and husbandry of Christian counsaile produce better and more beautifull fruit, then the strength of selfe-nature and kind could haue yeilded them; so the plants apt to grow wild, and to change themselves into weeds, by being set in a soyle suitable, and like themselves, are made more vnsauoury and filled with poyson. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapiens adiunabit opus astrorum, quemadmodum agricola terre naturam*, A wise man assisteth the worke of the Starres, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the soyle. And Ptolomie himselfe confesseth thus much, *Sapiens, & omnia sapientia medici dominabuntur astris, A wise man, and the ominous art of a wise Physician shall preuaile against the Starres*. Lastly, wee ought all to know, that GOD created the Starres, as he did the rest of the vniuersall, whose influences may be called his reserved and vnwritten Lawes. But let vs consider how they binde: euen as the Lawes of men doe; for although the Kings and Princes of the world haue by their Lawes decreed, that a Thiefe and a murderer shall suffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Iudges and Magistrates (the Starres of Kings) executed accordingly, yet these Lawes doe not deprive Kings of their naturall or religious compassion, or bind them without prerogative, to such a seuer execution, as that there should be nothing left of libertie to iudgement, power, or conscience: the Law in his owne nature being no other then a deafe Tyrant. But seeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe sometimes for causes to themselves knowne, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselves, it were then impious to take that power and libertie from God himselfe, which

which his Substitutes enioy; God being mercy, goodnesse, and charitie it selfe. Otherwise that example of Prayer by our Saviour taught; *And let vs not bee led vnto temptation, but deliuer vs from euill*, had beene no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his owne creatures truly) hath assured vs, that there is no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble Prayers and desires may not make frustrate, and breake asunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceiue) that Fate or Destinie, though depending vpon eternall power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immutable dependencie, that God himselfe should in a kind haue shut vp himselfe therein: *How miserable then were the condition of men* (sayth Saint AVGVSTINE) *left altogether without hope!*

And if this strength of the Starres were so transfer'd, as that God had quitted vnto them all dominion ouer his creatures; be he Pagan or Christian that so beleueeth, the only true God of the one, and the imaginary gods of the other would thereby be depoyled of all worship, reuerence, or respect.

And certainly, GOD which hath promised vs the reward of wel-doing, which Christ himselfe claimed at the hands of the Father, (*I haue finished the worke which thou gapest mee to doe*.) And the same God, who hath threatned vnto vs the sorrow and torment of offences, could not contrary to his mercifull nature be so vnjust, as to bind vs ineuitably to the Destinies, or influences of the Starres, or subiect our soules to any imposed necessitie. But it was well sayd of Plotinus, that the Stars were significant, but not efficient, giuing them yet something lesse then their due: and therefore as I doe not consent with those, who would make those glorious creatures of God vertuelesse: so I think that we derogate from his eternal and absolute power and providence, to ascribe to them the same dominion ouer our immortall soules, which they haue ouer all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the soules of men, louing and fearing God, receiue influence from that diuine light it selfe, whereof the Sunnes claritie, and that of the Stars is by Plato called but a shadow. *Lumen est umbra Dei, & Deus est lumen luminis; Light is the shadow of Gods brightnesse, who is the light of light*: But to end this question, because this Destinie, together with Providence, Prescience, and Predelination are often confounded, I thinke it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two, for every man hath not obserued it, though all learned men haue.

¶ XII.

Of Prescience.

Prescience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greekes call *Prognosis*, the Latines *præcognitio*, or *prescientia*) considered in order and nature (if we may speake of God after the manner of men) goeth before Providence: for God fore-knew all things, before hee had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Prescience is no other then an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatsoever our selues fore-know, except the same be to succede accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Prescience of God (as it is Prescience only) is not the cause of any thing futurely succeeding: neither doth Gods fore-knowledge impose any necessity, or binde. For in that we fore-know that the Sunne will rise, and set; that all men borne in the world shall die againe; that after Winter, the Spring shall come; after the Spring Summer and Harvest, and that according to the seuerall seedes that we sow, we shall reape seuerall sorts of graine, yet is not our fore-knowledge the cause of this, or any of these: neither doth the knowledge in vs binde or constrain the Sunne to rise and set, or men to die; for the causes (as men perswade themselves) are otherwise manifest and knowne to all. *The eye of man* (saith BOETIVS) *beholdeth those things subiect to sense,*

Boetius de consol.

sense, as they are; the eye seeth that such a beast is a horse, it seeth men, trees, and houses, &c. but our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they bee in their owne natures. And againe out of the same Authour: *Divina providentia rebus generandis non imponit necessitatem, quia si omnia euenirent ex necessitate, premia bonorum, & poena malorum periret; Divine providence (sayth he) imposeth no necessitie upon things that are to exist, for if all came to passe of necessitie, there should neither be reward of good, nor punishment of euill.*

§. XIII.

Of Providence.



OW Providence (which the Greekes call *Pronoia*) is an intellectuall knowledge, both fore-seeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which Prescience (simply taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the Philosophers (saith Saint *Augustine*) is deu-
 uided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory of the past, Knowledge of the present, and Care of the future; and we our selues account such a man for provident, as remembering things past, and obseruing things present, can by iudgement, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future, and times succeeding. That such a thing there is as Providence, the Scriptures euery-where teach vs, *Moses* in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions: Christ himselfe and his Apostles assure vs hereof; and, besides the Scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus*, and (in effect) all li-
 men acknowledge the Providence of God: at therein, as they refuse not to accompany
 diseases; nor thun any perill whatsoeuer, ent it selfe.

The places of Scripture prouing particular, as I shall need to repeat

Psal. 147. 5.

9.
 Psal. 104. 27.
 18. 13.
 1. Reg. 17. 4.
 24. 6. 36.
 Luke 12. 6. 7.
 1. Pet. 1. 7.
 1. Psal. 98. 6.

1. Reg. 12. 34.

Esa. 42. 8.

God therefore, who is euery-where present, who filleth the Heauens and the Earth, whose eyes are vpon the righteous, and his countenance against them that doe euill, was therefore by *Orpheus* called, *oculus infinitus, an infinite eye*, beholding all things, and cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other: for it is contrary to his owne Word: *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo: I will not give my glory to another.* No man commandeth in the Kings presence, but by the Kings direction; but God is euery-where present, and King of Kings. The example of Gods vniuersall Providence is seene in his creatures. The Father prouideth for his children: beasts and birds, and all liuing for their young ones. If Providence be found in second Fathers, much more in the first and vniuersall: and if there be a naturall louing care in men, and beasts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whose Diuine loue was the beginning, and is the bond of the vni-
 uersall: *Amor diuinus verum omnium est principium, & vinculum vniuersi* (saith *PLATO*).
Amor Dei est nodus perpetuus, mundi capula, partiumq; eius immobile sustentaculum, ac vniuersa

vniversa machina fundamentum; The loue of God is the perpetuall knot, and linke or chayne of the world, and the immouable pillar of euery part thereof, and the Basis and foundation of the vniuersall. God therefore who could only be the cause of all, can onely provide for all, and suitayne all; so as to absolute power; to euery-where presence; to perfect goodnesse; to pure and diuine loue; this attribute and transcendent habilitie of Providence is only proper and belonging.

Ioh. 1. 3. 4. 9. 8.
God is loue.

§. XIII.

Of Predestination.



OW for Predestination; we can difference it no otherwise, from Providence and Prescience, then in this, that Prescience only fore-seeth: Providence fore-seeth and careth for, and hath respect to all creatures, euen from the brightest Angels of heauen, to the vnworthiest wormes of the earth, and Predestination (as it is vied specially by Diuines) is only of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their saluation properly, in the common vse of Diuines, or perdition, as some haue vied it. Yet *Peter Lombard*, 20 *Thomas, Berneſius Theologus*, and others, take the word Predestination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicitie: diuers of the Fathers take it more largely sometimes: among whom *S. Augustine* speaking of two Cities, and two Societies, vseth these wordes, *Quarum est vna, que predestinata est in aeternum regnare cum Deo, altera aeternum supplicium subire cum Diabolo; whereof one is it, which is predestinated to reigne for euer with God, but the other is to vndergoe eueraſting torment with the Deuill: for according to NONIVS MARCELLVS, destinare est preparare; and of the same opinion are many Protestant writers, as Caluyn, Beza, Buchanan, Dimes, and such like: and as for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leaue them to the Diuines; and why it hath pleased God to create some vessels of honor, and some of dishonor, I will
 30 answere with *Gregorie*, who saith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem suam considerans, cur non videt, rationem videt; He that seeth no reason in the actions of God, by consideration of his owne infirmitie perceiueſt the reason of his blindness.* And againe with *S. AUGVSTINE*, *Occulta esse causa potest, inuisa esse non potest; Hidden the cause of his Predestination may be, vniust it cannot be.**

Rom. 8. 29.

Lomb. 1. 2. diff. 39.
Thom. part. 1. diff. 39.
Bern. in probl. de p. d.

Aug. 1. 2. c. 2. de ciuit. Dei.

Cal. in cap. 9. ad Rom. vii. 1.
Bec. in image, an. not in cap. 9. ad Rom.Daneu. l. 3. de Sala. Greg. Magn. 10b. 9.
Aug. ad Polim. 47. 59.

§. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reason of some things that seeme to be by fortune, and against Reason and Providence.



ASTLY, seeing Destinie or Necessitie is subſequent to Gods prouidence, and seeing that the Starres haue no other dominion, then is before spoken, and that Nature is nothing, but as *Plato* calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificium Dei Organum; The art, or artificial Organ of God, and CVSANVS*, *Diuini precepti instrumentum; The instrument of the diuine precept: we may then with better reason reiect that kinde of Idolatrie, or God of fooles, called Fortune or Chance: a Goddesse, the most reuerenced, and the most reuiled of all o-*
 50 *ther, but not ancient; for Homer* maketh her the Daughter of *Oceanus*, as *Pausanias* witnesseth in his *Messenians*. The Greekes call her *tyche*, signifying a relatiue being, or betiding, so as before *Homer*, time this great Lady was scarce heard of; *Hesiodus*, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfait gods, hath not a word of *Fortune*: yet afterward shee grew so great and omnipotent, as from
 Kings

Sen. ep. 91.

Kings and Kingdomes, to Beggars and Cottages, she ordered all things, resisting the wisdom of the wisest, by making the Possessor thereof miserable: valuing the folly of the most foolish by making their successe prosperous, inasmuch as the actions of men were said to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens liues, but her palliues: of which PALLADIVS, *Vita hominum ludus fortuna est*; The life of man is the play of Fortune: and because it often falleth out, that enterprises guided by ill counsels haue equall successe to those by the best iudgement conducted, therefore had Fortune the same externall figure with Sapience: whereof

Athenians:

Ant. v. de per. tina. c. Sen. ep. 74. Demetrius Polit. c. 10. & often changes of his Fortune, is said to haue viued to

cry out vpon Fortune, applying to her a Verse of Æschylus, Tu me extulisti, eandem me (senio) perdidisti. 10

*Longissime à Sapiencia Fors disidet,
Sed multa perficit tamen similitima.*

From Wisedome Fortune differs farre,
And yet in workes most likethey are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly vnderstood) is nothing else but a power imaginarie, to which the successe of humane actions and endeouours were for their varietie ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be giuen, then was it attributed to Fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant, contrary to this true ground of PLATO: *2 (ibi est ortum sub Sole, cuius causa legitima non præcesserit; Nothing euer came to passe vnder the Sunne, of which there was not a iust preceding cause. But Aquinas hath herein answered in one distinction, whatsoever may be objected; for many things there are (saith he) which happen, besides the intention of the Inferior, but not besides the intention of the Superior; Præter intentionem inferioris, sed non præter intentionem superioris, (to wit) the ordinance of God; and therefore (saith MELANCHTON) Quod Poeta fortunam, nos Deum appellamus; Whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God, and that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth vs, as in the law of Murder. He that smiteth a man, and he die, shall die the death, and if a man hath not laid waite, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee. Now, where the Scripture hath these wordes, God hath offered him into his hands, we say, if he hurt him by Chance: and in Deuteronomie the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Axe from the helue, whereby another is slaine, was the worke of God himselfe, we in our phrase attribute this accident to Chance or Fortune: and in the Proverbs the sixteenth, The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord: so as that which seemeth most casuall and subiect to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wiser sort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as Cicero witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of Aristotle and his Sectators, with those of Plato, and the Academicke to this effect, That the same power which they called animam mundi; The soule of the world, was no other then that incomprehensible wisdom, which we expresse by the name of God, governing euery being aswell in heauen as in earth; to which wisdom and power they sometime gaue the title of Necessitie or Fate, because it bindeth by inevitable ordinance: sometime, the title of Fortune, because of many effects there appeare vnto vs no certaine causes. To this effect speaketh S. Augustine in his questions vpon Genesis the first Booke: the same hath Seneca in his fourth of Benefits; which was also the doctrine of the Stoicks, of which Sect he was: For whatsoever (saith he) thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, differenced by diuers termes, according as he useth, and exerciseth his power diuersly.*

But it may be objected, that if Fortune and Chance were not sometimes the causes of good and euill in men, but an idle voice, whereby we expresse successe, how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depend vpon so many vnworthy and

Te facimus Fortunam Deum, cuius legem, incutimus. Sæd. 10. 366. Exod. 12. 17.

Verf. 5.

Verf. 33.

Cic. ac. quæst. 1. 3.

Seneca. 1. 4. c. 7.

and emptie-headed fooles; that riches and honor are giuen to externall men, and without kernell: and so many learned, vertuous, and valiant men weare out their liues in poore and dejected estates. In a word there is no other inferior, or apparent cause, beside the partialitie of mans affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our selues according to the nature of the time wherein we liue, for whoeuer is most able, and best sufficient to discern, and hath withall an honest and open heart and louing truth, if Princes, or those that gouerne, endure no other discourte then their owne flatteries, then I say such an one, whose vertue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall euermore hang vnder the wheele, which kind of deferring well and receiuing ill, we alwayes faultily charge Fortune withall. For whoeuer shall tell any great Ma or Magistrate, that he is not iust, the Generall of an Armie, that he is not valiant, and great Ladies that they are not faire, shall neuer be made a Counsellor, a Captayne, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wife with a wife Prince, valiant with a valiant, and iust with him that is iust, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperitie; but he must also change with the successor, if he be of contrary qualities, faile with the tyde of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Estate or the Estates Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attayne to honor and riches, but by such an obseruant flauith course? These men hauing nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kinde of wondring at other men, and by making them beleue that all their vices are vertues, and all their dulle actions cristalline, haue yet in all ages prospered equally with the most vertuous, if not exceeded them. For according to MENANDER, *Omnis insipiens arrogantia & plaufibus capitur; Every foole is wonne with his owne pride, and others flattering applause*: so as whoeuer will liue altogether out of himselfe, and studie other mens humours, and obserue them, shall neuer be vnfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the season wherein he liueth be of all these, and of all sorts of goodnesse fruitfull) shall neuer prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to warre or contend in vaine against the nature of times wherein he liueth: for such a one is often the author of his owne miserie, but best it were to follow the aduice, which the Pope gaue the Bishops of that age, out of Ouid, while the Arian Heretic raged:

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.

Ouid. rem. am. lib. 1.

While furie gallops on the way,
Let no man furies gallop stay.

And if Cicero (then whom that world begat not a man of more reputed iudgement) had followed the counsaile of his brother QUINTVS, *Potuisse (saith PETRARCH) in lectulo suo mori, potuisse integro caduere sepeliri; He might then haue dyed the death of nature, and bene with an vnborne and vndisseured body buried*; for as Petrarch in the same place noteth: *Quid stultius quam desperantem (præsertim de effectibus) litibus perpetuis implicari; What more foolish then for him that despaires, especially of the effect, so be entangled with endless contentions*: Whoeuer therefore will set before him MACHIAVELLS two markes to shote at (to wit) riches, and glorie, must set on and take off a back of yron to a weake wooden Bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble: for as he, that first deuised to adde sayles to rowing vessels, did either so proportion them, as being fastened aloft, and towards the head of his Mast, he might abide all windes and stormes, or else he sometime or other perished by his owne inuention: so that man which prizeth vertue for it selfe, & cannot endure to hoile and strike his failles, as the diuers natures of calmes & stormes require, must cut his failles, and his cloth, of meane length and breadth, and content himselfe with a slow and sure nauigation, (to wit) a meane and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and

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the rest, or of whatsoever Lords or Gods, imaginarie powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishnesse) of man hath found out: let vs resolute with S. Paul, who hath taught vs, that there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord, Iesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; there are diuerities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all.

1. Cor. 8. v. 6.
Cap. 12. vers. 6.

CHAP. II.

Of mans estate in his first Creation, and of Gods rest.

§. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.



GEN. 1. 26.

Trism. A. 1. 2. 6.
de volent. Dei.
Placid. 1. 1.

Sanctum, quia
pars totius im-
mortalis, ani-
mal, quia in
mortalis.
In locum Ouid.
Met. 1. 1. 96.

Sanctus his animal menti, & acipere alia
Deerat adhuc: & quod dominari in cetera possit.
Natus homo est.

More holy then the rest, and vnderstanding more
A living creature wants, to rule all made before,
So man began to be.

Of this Image and similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoole-men, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceive, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire & Dominion, as S. Chrysostome, Ambrose, and some others: which Saint Ambrose denyeth to the woman in these words, *Et sicut Deus unus, ab eo fieret homo unus, & quomodo ex Deo uno omnia, ita ex uno homine omne genus esset super faciem totius terra: Unus igitur unum fecit, qui unitatis eius habere imaginem; That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kinde should be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one made one, that should haue the Image of his unitie.* But whereas it is gathered out of the following wordes of the

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same Verse, that man was after the image of God in respect of rule and power, it is written *Dominamini* in the plurall number, and let them rule over the fish in the Sea, &c. and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceiue, that man is said to be after the image of God in respect of his immortall soule only, because as God is inuisible, so the soule of man is inuisible, as God is immortall and incorporeall, so is the soule of man immortall and incorporeall; and as there is but one God which governeth the world, so but one soule which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in euery part of the world, so is the soule of man wholly in euery part of the body: *Anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte; The soule is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in euery part thereof,* according to Aristotle; though Chalcidius, and other learned men denie that doctrine; which that it is otherwise then potentially true, all the Aristotelians in the world shall neuer proue. These and the like arguments doe the Iewes make (saith Tostatus) and these resemblances, betwene the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The Schoole-men resemble the Minde or Soule of Man to God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Minde there are three distinct powers, or faculties, (to wit) Memorie, Vnderstanding, and Will, and yet all these, being of reall differences, are but one minde: so in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Similitude diuers; and againe, they distinguish betwene *imaginem Dei*, and *ad imaginem Dei*, and spinne into small threds, with subtile distinctions, many times the plainenesse, and licentious of the Scriptures: their wits being like that strong water, that eateth through and dissolueth the purest gold. Victorinus also maketh the image of God to be substantiall, but not the similitude: *sed in substantia uero qualitas declarationum; A word-declaring qualitie in the substance.* Out of which wordes, and that which followeth, it is infer'd, that as the image and similitude doe greatly differ: so the sinnefull soule doth not therefore leaue to be the image of God; but it hath not his similitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. Augustine also against Adimantus the Manichee affirmeth, that by sinne, the perfection of this image is lost in man, and 30 in his Retractions maintayneth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, then the Image.

But howsoever the Schoole-men and others distinguish, or whatsoeuer the Fathers conceiue, sure I am that S. Paul maketh the same sense of the image, which Victorinus doth of the similitude, who saith: *As we haue borne the image of the earthly, so shall we beare the image of the heavenly;* and it cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, that the wordes image and similitude were vsed but in one sense, and in this placethe better to expresse each other; whatsoever Lombard hath said to the contrary. For God knows, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himselfe in the Scriptures, which neither Moses, the Prophets, or Apostles, euer conceiued. Now as S. Paul vseth the word (image) for both: so S. Iames vseth the word 40 (similitude) for both in these wordes: *Therewith blisse we God euen the Father, and Iam. 3. 9: therewith curse we Men, which are made after the similitude of God:* Howsoever therefore S. Augustine seemeth, out of a kinde of elegancy in writing, to make some difference, as where he writeth, *Consecratur imaginem in aeternitate, similitudinem in moribus inueniri;* We confesse that this image is found in eternitie, but his similitude in manners, that is, in the spirituall dispositions and qualities of the minde, yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainly: *Quasi uero postea esse imago aliqua in qua similitudo non sit: si aut. 1. 3. 9. enim omnino similis non est, proculdubio nec imago est; As if (saith he) there could be any image, where the similitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeness, there is no 50 image.* The very wordes of the Text make this most manifest, as, *Let vs make man in our image, according to our likeness:* which is, Let vs make man in our image, that he may be like vs; and in the next Verse following, God himselfe maketh it plaine, for there he vseth the word (image) only, as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him.* And to take away all dispute or ambiguity, in the first

1^o 1^o 10.

Rom. 1. 23.

Zanchi de op. Dei
l. 5. c. 11.

In Gen.

Ph. 6. 12.
10. 18. 36.

Eist. in Crayl.

O'Griss de Iust.
lib. 1.

first Verse of the fifth Chapter, the word (similitude) is used againe by it selfe, as, *In the day that God created ADAM, in the likenesse of God made he him.* And this similitude S. Paul Colos. the third, calleth the image. *Put on (saith he) the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him, that created him.* And in Siracides it is written, *He made them according to his image.* Now if we may beleue S. Paul before Peter Lombard and other Schoole-men, then it is as manifest as wordes can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same, for S. Paul vlieth both the words directly in one sense. *For they turned the glorie of the incorruptible God, to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man.*

Zanchius laboureth to proue, that man was formed after the image of God, both 1^o in body and minde: *Nulla pars in homine que non fuerit huiusce imaginis particeps, No part in a man (saith he) which was not participating Gods image: for God said, Let us make man according to our owne image.* But the soule alone is not man, but the *Hypostasis* or whole man compounded of body and soule. The body of man (saith he) is the *Imago* of the world, and called therefore *Microcosmus*; but the *Idea* and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his body must needs be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his owne obiection seemeth to me sufficient, where he allegeth, that it may be said, that *Moses* spake by the figure *Synecdoche*, as when a man is called a mortall man, yet is not the whole man mortall, but the body only: so when God said, Let vs make man after our image, he meant 2^o the soule of man, and not the body of earth and dust: *Male dictus qui deitatem ad hominis lineamentum refert* (saith S. AUGUSTINE), *Cursed is he that referreth the Deities of God to the lineaments of mans body.* Deus enim non est humane forme particeps, neque corpus humanum diuine (saith PHILE) God is not partaker of humane forme, nor humane body of the forme diuine: The Hebrew word for image is *Tselem*, which significth a shadow or obscure resemblance: *in imagine pertransit homo; Man passeth away in a shadow:* Let vs then know and consider, that God, who is eternal and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition, for it is both against his Nature & his Word; an error of the *Anthropomorphite*, against the very essence and Maiestie of God.

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more diuine vnderstanding then 3^o these grosse Heretikes: *Ad similitudinem Dei propius accedebat humana virtus, quam figura; The vertue which is in man (saith he) came neerer the similitude of God, then the figure.* For God is a spirituall substance, inuisible, and most simple; God is a iust God: God is Mercifull: God is Charitie it selfe, and (in a word) Goodnesse it selfe, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himselfe to teach vs, and to make vs know of himselfe. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of such a nature, or wherein can man be said to resemble his vnexogitable power and perfectnesse? certainly, not in dominion alone: for the Dewill is said to be the Prince of this world, and the Kingdome of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father: neither, because man hath an immortall 4^o soule, and therein the faculties of Memorie, Vnderstanding, and Will, for the Devils are also immortall, and participate those faculties, being called *Dæmones*, because *scienter* of Knowledge and subtilty; neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are distinguished from beasts: for who haue rebelled against God? who haue made Gods of the vilest beasts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owles, yea, euen of shamefull parts, of lusts and pleasures, but reasonable men? Yet doe I not condemne the opinion of S. Chrysostome and Ambrose, as touching dominion, but that in respect thereof, man was in some sort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, such as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Iustice and Pietie: for God did not only make man a Ruler and Governour over the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowles of Heauen 5^o (or of the aire) and ouer the Beasts of the Field; but God gaue vnto man a dominion ouer men, he appointed Kings to gouerne them, and Iudges, to iudge them in equitie. Neither doe I exclude Reason, as it is the abilitie of Vnderstanding. For I doe not conceiue, that *Demus* did therefore call man, the image of God, because he was

animal

animale rationale only; but that he vnderstood it better, with SYRILLA: *Imago mea est homo, recte am rationem habens: Man, that is ended with right reason, is (said to) resemble God, (that is) by right reason to know and confesse God his Creatour, and the same God to serue, loue, and obey: and therefore said Saint Augustine (who herein came nearer the Truth) fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem suam in mente* God made man, in respect of the intellectu, after his owne Image and similitude; and REXNERIVS; *Homo, quod habet mentem, factus est ad imaginem Dei, Man was made after the Image of God, in minde, or in that he had a minde.*

Rogate ment.

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p. II.

Of the intellectuall mind of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sinne.

BUT *Mens* is not taken here for *anima physica*, according to Aristotle, which is *forma, vel natura hominis*: The forme or nature of man; but this facultie or gift of God, called *Mens*, istaken for *prima vis animi*, the principal strength of the minde, or soule, *cuius actus est perpetua veritatis contemplatio; whose act, exercise, or office, is the perpetual contemplation of* 20 *truth; and therefore it is also called intellectus diuinus, intellectus contemplatiuus, & Panauder. anima contemplatiua, A diuine vnderstanding, and an intellectu or minde contemplatiue. Est autem mens nostra (saith CYSANVS) vis comprehendendi, & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum: Our intellectuall minde (saith hee) is a power of comprehending, euen the whole, that is in this kind powerfull, compounded of all the powers of comprehension: vnto which Mercurius attributeth so much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he esteemeth it to be the very essence of God (which was also the error of the Manichees and others) and no otherwife separate from God (saith hee) then the light from the Sunne: for this *Mens* or vnderstanding (saith MERCV- 30 *RIUS) est Deus in hominibus: Is God in men, or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man.* For as the Sunne is not of the same essence or nature with the diuine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; so is this *Mens* or vnderstanding in men, not of the essence of Gods infinite vnderstanding, but a power and facultie of our soules the purest; or the *lumen anime rationalis*, by the true and eternall light illightned. And this *Mens* others call *animam animam, The soule of the soule*, or with S. Augustine, the eye of the soule, or receptacle of Sapience and diuine knowledge, *qua a uenore sapientia tanquam ducem sequitur, which followeth after the loue of sapience as her guide (saith Phile) betweene which and reason, betweene which and the minde, called anima, betweene which and that power which the La- 40 tines call animus, there is this difference. Reason is that facultie by which wee iudge and discourse; Anima, by which we liue. Hereof it is said, Anima corpus animat, id est, uiuificat, anima, or the soule is that which doth animate the body, that is, gueseth it life: for death is the separation of body and soule; and the same strength (saith Phile) which God the great Director hath in the World, the same hath this *Animus*, or mind, or soule in man. *Animus*, is that, by which wee will and make election; and to this Basil agreeeth, which calleth this *Mens*, or diuine vnderstanding, *perspicacem anime partem, the perceiving part of the minde, or the light by which the Soule discerneth: dormientium mens, non anima, sopitur, & in furiosis mens extinguatur, anima manet, in men that sleep it is this (mens) for vnderstanding, and not the minde or soule, which resteth, during 50 which time it is but habituall in wise men, and in mad men this (mens) is extinguished, and not the Soule: for mad men doe liue, though distracted.***

Sen. Ep. 65. f. 6.
31. 1.

Therefore this word being often used for the Soule giuing life, is attributed abusiuely to mad men, when wee say that they are of a distracted minde, in stead of a broken vnderstanding, which word (mind) we vse also for opinion, as, I am of this mind,

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or

or that minde: and sometimes for mens conditions or vertues, as hee is of an honest minde, or, a man of a iust minde: sometimes for affection, as I doe this for my mindes sake; and *Aristotle* sometimes veth this word (*Mens*) for the phantasie, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we haue without discouise: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels and Intelligences: but as it is vled in the proper signification, including both the vnderstanding agent & possible, it is described to be a pure, simple, substantiall act, not depending vpon matter, but hauing relation to that, which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at large thus; a part or particle of the Soule, whereby it doth vnderstand, not depending vpon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion comming from without, and apt to bee discouered, as, eternall from that which is mortall. Hereof excellently

MERCURIVS: *Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti praest, mens anima, anima corporis; The Soule* (meaning that which giueth life) *is the Image of this vnderstanding, or Mens, and this (Mens) or vnderstanding is the Image of God. God is President or Ruler over this vnderstanding, this vnderstanding ouer the Soule, and this Soule ouer the bodie.* This diuision and distinction out of the *Platonikes* and *Peripatetikes*, I leaue to the Reader to iudge of. That, *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ,

Lib. 9. cap. 5

Zanch. de op. Dei. part. 2. lib. 1. cap. 2.

Marcellus Ficinus in his ninth Booke of the Soules immortallitie laboureth to proue. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words, for (sayth hee) *ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam non eget Mens organum, tanquam medio, per quod intelligat, quantum* 20 *ergo obiecto in quod intuetur, & ex quo intelligentiam concipiat: hoc autem obiectum sunt phantasmata, seu verum a sensibus perceptarum simulachra ad phantasia prolata. To exercise the facultie of vnderstanding, the mind of man* (sayth hee) *needeth no instrument, as a means, by which it may vnderstand: but it needeth an object, whereon to looke, and whence to conceive the act of vnderstanding. This object are the phantasies, or the resemblances of things received from the sense, and carried to the phantasie: But in effect his conclusion seemeth to carry a contrarie sense, when he maketh the Phantasie, in representing the object to the vnderstanding, to be a corporall Organum; neither can it be vnderstood to be an Organum of any thing, but of the vnderstanding. And he addeth that the resemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his vnderstanding and minde, as* 30 *colours are to the sight: whence it so followeth, that the imagination or phantasie it selfe is to the facultie of vnderstanding, as the eye is to the facultie of seeing, and as this is an Organum: so that. Of this question, How the Mind in all her actions maketh vse of the body, and hath communion with the body, I referre the Reader to a most graue and learned Discourse in the last Reply of Master Doctor Bifson, late Bishop of Winchester, vnto Henry Jacob. Howsoever the Truth be determined, wee must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which wee discouise, nor in respect of the minde it selfe, by which wee liue, nor in respect of our soules simply, by which wee are immortal, that we are made after the Image of God. But most safely may wee resemble our selues to God, in mente, and in respect of that pure facultie which is neuer separate from the contemplation and loue of God. Yet this is not all.* 40

Pag. 185. & sequent.

Ad imaginem
Dei creatum il-
lum, id est, sapie-
ntiam, virtutem,
ac bonitatem con-
potem, qui fide
intuitus Creato-
rem agnosceret
suum, et imita-
ri, progredi, pro-
sequi, ambrosia-
tis, suis concessa
ratione studeret.
Exa.

For Saint Bernard maketh a true difference betweene the nature and faculties of the Minde or Soule, and betweene the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, essence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God, whose words are these: *Non propterea imago Dei est, quia sui meminit Mens, sed, intelligit & diligit* (which was also the opinion of Saint AUGUSTINE) *sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere ac diligere eum a quo facta est, (that is) The minde (or Mens) was not therefore the* 50 *Image of God, because it remembereth, vnderstandeth, and loneth it selfe, but because it can remember, vnderstand, and loue God, who created it. And, that this Image may be deformed and made vnprofitable, heare BASIL: Homo ad imaginem & similitudinem Dei factus est, peccatum vero imaginis huius pulchritudinem deformauit: & inutilem reddidit; dum animam corruptis concupiscentie affectibus immergit: Man was made after the Image and similitude of God, but Sinne hath deformed the beautie of this Image, and made* it

it vnprofitable by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiscentie.

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of Immortallitie, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by it selfe, nor in all these ioyned, by any of which, or by all which wee resemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and vnderstanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Originall righteousnesse, most perfectly infused by God into the mind and Soule of man in his first Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberallitie, that wee were printed with the scale of Gods Image (though Reason may be faid to be of her gift, which ioyned to the soule 10 is a part of the Essentiall constitution of our proper Species) but from the bountifull grace of the Lord of all goodnesse, who breathed life into Earth, and continued within the Truncke of Dust and Clay, the inimitable habilitie of his owne Iustice, Pietie, and Righteousnesse.

Gen. 5. 22.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which Dominion hath) doe those that are powerfull retain the Image of God, as according to his Commandements they exercise the Office of Magistracy to which they are called, and sincerely walke in the wayes of God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; and all other men 20 so long retain this Image, as they feare, loue, and serue God truly, (that is) for the loue of God alone, and do not bruite and detache his Seale by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obstatinate finnes. For the vniust minde cannot bee after the Image of God, seeing God is Iustice it selfe; The bloud-thirstie hath it not; for God is Charitie, and mercie it selfe: Falshood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Sathan; and therefore cannot dwell in one soule, together with God; and to bee thort, there is no likelihood betweene pure light and blacke darknesse, 2. Cor. 6. 14. betweene beautie and deformitie, or betweene righteousnesse and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common vnderstanding, haue made vs capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receiue this Image of Gods goodnesse, which the sensuall soules of beasts cannot perceiue; yet were that aptitude naturall more inclinable to follow and imbrace the false and durelesse pleasures of this Stage-play

30 World, then to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of Gods wisdom, and the liberallitie of his mercy, formed eyes to our soules, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurie of our flesh, behold the Highest Heavens, and thence bring Knowledge and Object to the Mind and Soule, to contemplate the euer-during glory, and termelesse ioy, prepared for those, which retain the Image and similitude of their Creator, preferring vn- defiled and vnrent the garment of the new man, which, after the Image of God, is created in Righteousnesse, and true Holinesse, as saith Saint Paul. Now, whereas it is thought by some of the Fathers, as by Saint Augustine, with whom Saint Ambrose 3. Cor. 3. 9. S. Ambrose. ioyneth, that, by sinne, the perfection of the Image is lost, and not the Image it selfe; 40 both opinions by this distinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes; for eyther it is considered, according to natural gifts, and consisteth therein: namely to haue a reasonable and vnderstanding nature, &c. and in this sense, the Image of God is more lost by sinne, then the very reasonable or vnderstanding nature, &c. is lost: (or sinne doth not abolish and take away these naturall gifts) or, the Image of God is considered, according to supernaturall gifts, namely, of Diuine grace, and heavenly glory, which is indeed the perfection and accomplishment of the naturall Image; and this manner of similitude and Image of God, is wholly blotted out and destroyed by sinne.

50

D 2

§. III.

p. III.

Of our base and frail bodies: and that the care thereof should
yeeld to the immortall Soule.



Arias Mont. de
nat. f. 156.

The external man God formed out of the dust of the Earth, or according to the signification of the word, Adam of *Adamath*, of red Earth, or, *ex limo terra*, out of the slime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. *Non ex qualibet humo sed ex ghaphar adamath (ideff) ex pinguisima & mollissima: Not that God made an Image or Statue of Clay, but 10*

Gen. 18. 27.
Job. 4. 19. 27.

out of Clay, Earth or dust God formed and made flesh, blond, and bone, with all parts of man. That Man was formed of Earth and Dust, did Abraham acknowledge, when in humble feare he called vnto God, to saue Sodome: *Let not my Lord now be angry, if I speake, I, that am but dust and ashes: And in these houses of Clay, whose foundation is in the dust, doe our soules inhabit, according to Job, and though our owne eyes doe euery where behold the fudden and relentless assaults of Death, and Nature assureth vs by neuer-failing experience, and Reason by infallible demonstration, that our times vpon the Earth haue neither certaintie nor durabilitie, that our Bodies are but the Anduiles of paine and diseases, and our Minds the Hiuies of vnnumbred cares, and sorowes, and passions: and that (when we are most glorified) wee are but those painted posts, against which Enuie and Fortune direct their Darts; yet such is the true unhappinesse of our condition, and the darke ignorance, which couereth the eyes of our vnderstanding, that wee only prize, pamper, and exalt this Vassall and Slaue of Death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our cast-away leasure) the imprisoned immortall Soule, which can neyther dye with the Reprobate, nor perith with the mortall parts of vertuous men: seeing Gods Iustice in the one, and his goodnesse in the other is exercised for euermore, as the euer-living subiects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that we examine this great account? neuer while wee haue one vanitie left vs to spend: we plead for Titles, till our breath faile vs; digge for Riches, while our strength enableth vs; exercise malice, while wee can reuenge; 30 and then, when Time hath beaten from vs both youth, pleasure, and health, and that nature it selfe hateth the house of old age, we remember with Job, that *wee must goe the way from whence we shall not returne, and that our bed is made ready for vs in the darke; And then I say, looking ouer-late into the bottome of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked vp from vs all our liues, we behold therein the fearful Images of our actions past, and withall, this terrible inscription: That God will bring euery worke into iudgement, that man hath done vnder the Sunne.**

Job. 10. 21. 27.
13.

Eccle. 12. 14.

But what examples haue euer moued vs; what perswasions reformed vs; or what threatnings made vs afraid? we behold other mens Tragedies plaied before vs, wee heare what is promised and threatened: but the worlds bright glorie hath put out the eyes of our minds; and these betraying lights, (with which we only see) doe neither looke vp towards themselves ioyes, nor downe towards endless sorrowes, till wee neither know, nor can looke for anything else, at the worlds hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor.*

*Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil deniq; morbi
Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc famus, siq; periculis
Tentati, nibilo meliores reddimur unquam,
Sub vitij nullo caluparnum sine mercentis.*

Diseases, famine, enemies, in vs no change haue wrought,
What erst we were, we are; still in the same snare caught:
No time can our corrupted manners mend,
In Vice we dwell, in Sinne that hath no end.

But

But let vs not flatter our immortall soules herein: for to neglect God all our liues, and know that we neglect him, to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, casting our hopes on the Peace, which we trust to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) euen a contemptuous laughing to scorne, and deriding of God, his Lawes and Precepts. *Frangit sperant, qui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur; They hope in vaine, sayth BERNARD, Bern. in Ps. Qui*

habitat.

p. IIII.

Of the Spirit of life, which God breathed into man, in his Creation.



IN this frame and carcassee God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a liuing soule: (that is) God gaue to a Body of earth and of corruptible matter, a Soule spirituall and incorruptible; not that God had any such bodily instruments as men vse, but God breathed the Spirit of life and immortallitie into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into such as loue and feare him. *The Spirit of God (saith E. 1. 14. in 10. 8) hath made 10*

Job. 33. 41.

*me, and the breath of the Almighty hath giuen me life: In qua sententia (saith RABANVS) vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporis de viuere formasse corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labijs suis inspirasse in faciem formati, ut viuere possit, & spiraculum vitæ habere: Nam & Propheta cum ait, Manus tue fecerunt me, &c. Tropica hac locutione magis quam propria (ideff) iuxta consuetudinem, qua solent homines operari, loquutus est: In which sentence (saith he) the boggerness of carnall sense is to bee auoided, lest perhaps we should thinke, eyther that God with bodily hands made mans body of slime, or breathed with tawes or lips vpon his face (being formed) that hee might liue, and haue the spirit of life: for the Prophet also when he saith, Thy hand: hunc made me, (saith 30 this Tropically, rather then properly (that is) according to the custome which men vse in wor- king. Quantum est periculi hys, qui Scripturas sensu corporis legunt? In what danger are they that read the Scriptures in a carnall sense? By this breath was infused into man both life and soule; and therefore this (Soule) the Philosophers call *Animam, quæ viuitificat corpus, & animat. Which doth animate, & giue life to the body. The inspiration of the Almighty giueth vnderstanding, saith Job; and this Spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soule of man, returneth againe to God that gaue it, as the body returneth vnto the Earth, out of which it was taken, according to Ecclesiastes: And dust shall returne to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit shall returne to God that gaue it. Neither is this word (spirit) vually otherwise taken in the Scriptures, then for the soule; as when Stephen cryed vnto God: Domine, suscipe spiritum meum; Lord Iesus, 40 receive my spirit: and in Saint Iohn, And Iesus bowed his head, and gaue up the Ghost, (which was) that his life and soule left his body dead. And that the immortall soule of man differeth from the soules of beafts, the manner of the creation maketh manifest: for it is written, Let the waters bring forth in abundance euery creeping thing; and let the Earth bring forth the liuing thing, according to his kind, the best of the Earth, &c. But of Man it is written, Let vs make man in our owne Image, &c. and further, that the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life. Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence receiued life: so shall they againe be dissolved into the same first matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath euerlasting, which God breathed into man, shall according to Eccle- 50 siastes, returne againe to God that gaue it,**

Eccle. 12. 7.

Abi. 7. 59.
Job. 19. 30.

Gen. 1. 20.
24.

Gen. 1. 7.

Eccle. 12. 7.

D 3

p. V.

d. V.

That man is (as it were) a little World: with a digression touching
our mortality.

MA

AN thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or modell, or briefe Storie of the Vniuersall: in whom God concluded the Creation, and worke of the World, and whom he made the last and most excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a diuine vnderstanding, by which he might contemplate and serue his Creator, after whose Image hee was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of reason and other abilities, that thereby also he might gouerne and rule the World, and all other Gods creatures therein. And whereas God created three sorts of liuing natures, (to wit) Angelicall, Rationall, and Brutall; giuing to Angels an intellectuall, and to Beasts a sensuall nature, hee vouchsafed vnto Man, both the intellectuall of Angels, the sensitiue of Beasts, and the proper ratiouall belonging vnto man; and therefore (saith GREGORY NAZIANZENE:) *Homo est vtriusq[ue] naturæ vinculum, Man is the bond and chaine which tyeth together both natures:* and because in the little frame of mans body there is a representation of the Vniuersall, and (by allusion) a kind of participation of all the parts thereof, therefore was man called *Microcosmos*, or the little World. *Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum quendam mundum in breui magnum,* atq[ue] *exiguo totum interris statuit,* God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom hee had made, as it were another World, the great and large World in the small and little World: for out of the Earth and Dust was formed the flesh of Man, and therefore heaue and lumpish; the bones of his body wee may compare to the hard Rockes and Stones, and therefore strong and durable; of which *Ouid*:

*Arif. Phys. lib. 8.
cap. 2.
1. 17. f.
Greg. Nazianze.
Epiol.
Quoniam in homine
crea. ura, & car-
non & terra.
Aug. l. 1. qu. 83. c. 4.
67. 2. 1. 1. c. 2. 3.*

Ouid Met. l. 1.

*Inde genus durum sumus, experientq[ue] laborum,
Et documenta damus, qua simul origine nati:*

From thence our kind hard-hearted is, enduring paine and care,
Approuing, that our bodies of a stonie nature are,

His bloud, which disperseth it selfe by the branches of veines through all the bodie, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by brookes and riuers ouer all the Earth; his breath to the Aire, his naturall heate to the inclosed warmth, which the Earth hath in it selfe, which stirred vp by the heate of the Sunne, assisteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth: Our radicall moisture, Oile, or Balsamum (whereon the naturall heat feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertilitie of the Earth; the haire of mans bodie, which adorne or ouer-shadowes it, to the grasse, which covereth the vpper face and skin of the Earth; our generatiue power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light, wandering and vnstable clouds, carried euery where with vncertaine winds; our eyes, to the light of the Sun and Moone, and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the Suns heat dry vp, and wither away, or the fierce pusses of wind blow them from the stalkes; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure vnderstanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which alwaies looketh vpwards) to those intellectuall natures, which are alwaies present with God; and lastly, our immortall soules while they are righteous) are by God himselfe beautified with the title of his owne Image and similitude. And although, in respect of God, there is no man iust, or good, or righteous: for *in Angelis deprebensa est stultitia*, Behold, hee found folly in his Angels, (saith *Iob*) yet with such a kind of difference, as there is betweene the substance, and the shadow, there may be found a goodnesse in man: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called man, the Image and similitude of his own righteousness.

Iob. 4. 18.

In this also is the little World of man compared, and made more like the Vniuersall (man being the measure of all things; *Homo est mensura omnium rerum*, saith *Aristotle* and *Pythagoras*) that the foure Complexions resemble the foure Elements, and the seuen Ages of man the seuen Planets: Whereof our Infancie is compared to the *Moone*, in which wee see only to liue and grow, as Plants; the second Age to *Mercurie*, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the dayes of loue, desire, and vanitie; the fourth to the *Sunne*, the strong, flourishing, and beautiful age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which wee seeke honor and victorie, and in which our thoughts trauaile to ambitious ends; the sixth Age is ascribed to *Iupiter*, in which wee begin to take account of our times, iudge of our felices, and grow to the perfection of our vnderstanding; the last and seuenth to *Saturne*, wherein our dayes are sad and ouer-cast, and in which we finde by deare and lamentable experience, and by the losse which can neuer be repayed, that of all our vaine passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth: Our attendants are sicknesses, and variable infirmities; and by how much the more we are accompanied with plentie, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whom when *Time* hath made vnfoolish to others, wee become a burthen to our felices: being of no other vse, then to hold the riches wee haue, from our Successors. In this time it is, when (as afore said) we, for the most part, and neuer before, prepare for our eternall habitation, which we passe 20 on vnto, with many sighes, grones, and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanhip of death, finish the sorrowfull businesse of a wretched life, towards which we alwaies trauaile both sleeping and waking: neither haue those beloued companions of honor and riches any power at all, to hold vs any one day, by the promises of glorious entertainments; but by what crooked path focuer wee walke, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death: whose doores lye open at all houres, and to all persons. For this tyde of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, euer runneth with a perpetuall Ebbe and falling Streame, but neuer floweth againe: our Lease once fallen, springeth no more, neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne vs againe, with the garments of new Leaues and Flowers.

30

*Redditur arboribus florens reuiventibus ætas,
Ergo non homini, quod fuit ante, redit.*

To which I giue this sense,

The plants and trees made poore and old
By Winter enuious,
The Spring-time bounteous
Cowers againe, from shame and cold:
But neuer Man repay'd againe
His youth and beaute lost,
Though arte, and care, and cost,
Doe promise Natures helpe in vaine.

40

And of which

*CATVLLVS, EPIGRAM. 53:
Sole occidere & redire possunt:
Nobis cum semel occidi breuis lux,
Nec est perperna vna dormienda.*

The Sunne may set and rise:
But we contrariwise
Sleepe after our short light
One euermlasting night:

50

For if there were any bayting place, or rest, in the course or race of mans life, then, according to the doctrine of the *Academikes*, the same might also perpetually be main-

maintayned; but as there is a continuance of motion in naturall living things, and as the sap and iuyce, wherein the life of Plants is preferred, doth euermore ascend or descend: so is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either encreasing towards ripeness and perfection, or declining and decrealing towards rottenness and dissolution.

¶ VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his first creation, to dispose of himselfe.

THese be the miseries which our first Parents brought on all mankind, vnto whom God in his creation gaue a free and vnconstrayned will, and on whom he bestowed the liberall choice of all things, with one only prohibition, to trie his gratitude and obedience. God set before him, a mortall and immortal Life, a Nature celestiall and terrene, and (indeed) God gaue man to himselfe, to be his owne guide, his owne workman, and his owne painter, that he might frame or describe vnto himselfe what he pleased, and make election of his owne forme. *God made man in the beginning* (saith *SIRACIDES*) *and left him in the hands of his owne counsaile.* Such was the liberalltie of God, and mans felicitie: whereas beasts, and all other creatures reasonlesse brought with them into the world (saith *Lucilius*) and that euen when they first fell from the bodies of their Dammes, the nature, which they could not change; and the supernall Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or loone after, of that condition, in which they remaine in perpetuall eternitie. But (as aforesaid) God gaue vnto man all kinde of feedes and grafts of life (to wit) the vegetatiue life of Plants, the sensuall of Beasts, the rationall of Man, and the intellectuall of Angels, wherof which soener he tooke pleasure to plant and cultiue, the same should futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his owne choice and plantation. This freedome of the first man *Adam*, and our first Father, was anigmatically described by *Alepius Atheniensis* 30 (saith *Mirandula*) in the person and fable of *Proteus*, who was said, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated *Metamorphoses* among the Pythagorians, and ancient Poets, wherein it was sayned, that men were transformed into diuers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from Reason to Brutalltie, from Vertue to Vice, from Meeknesse to Crueltie, and from Iustice to Oppression. For by the liuely image of other creatures did those *Ancients* represent the variable passions, and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents, were signified Deceiuers; by Lyons, Oppressors, and cruell men; by Swine, Men giuen ouer to lust and sensualltie; by Wolves, rauening and greedie Men; which also *S. Matthew* resemblen to false prophets, *Which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are rauening Wolves*, by the images of fiones and stocks, foolish and ignorant men, by Vipers, vngratefull men: of which *S. Iohn Baptist*, *O yee generation of Vipers, &c.*

¶ VII.

Of Gods ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the vniuersall created was exceeding good.

IN this worke of Man, God finished the creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, *Cui voluisse est fecisse*; With whom, to will is to make, saith *Beda*. Neither did God so rest, that he left the world made, and the creatures therein to themselves: for my Father worketh to this day (saith *Christ*) and I worke; but God

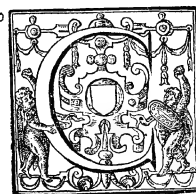
God rested, (that is) he created no new species or kindes of creatures, but (as aforesaid) gaue vnto man a power generatiue, and so to the rest of liuing creatures, and to Plants and Flowers their seedes in themselves; and commanded man to multiply and fill the earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their severall kindes: all which being finished, God saw that his workes were good; not that before knew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they weres for God made every Plant of the field before it was in the Earth, but he gaue to all things which he had created the name of good, thereby to teach men, that from so good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whose simple puritie and from so excellent a cause, there could proceede no impure or imperfect effect. For man hauing a free will and liberall choyce, purchased by disobedience his owne death and mortalitie, and for the crueltie of mans heart, was the earth afterward cursed, and all creatures of the first age destroyed: but the righteous man *Noah*, and his familie, with those creatures which the Arke contained, referred by God to replenish the earth.

CHAP. III.

Of the place of Paradise.

¶ I.

That the seate of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and that it is no maruaile that men should erre.



CONCERNING the first habitation of man we reade, that the Lord God planted a Garden, Eastward, in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made, GEN. 2. 6. Of this seate and place of *Paradise*, all ages haue held dispute; and the opinions and iudgements haue been in effect, as diuers, among those that haue written vpon this part of *Genesis*, as vpon any one place therein, seeming most obscure: some there are, that haue conceived the being of the terrestriall *Paradise*, without all regard of the worlds Geographie, and without any respect of East and West, or any consideration of the place where *Moses* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the heauens) the way how to finde out and iudge, in what Region of the world this garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respectiue and precise. Others, by being themselves ignorant in the *Hebrew*, followed the first interpretation, or trusting to their owne iudgements, vnderstood one place for another; and one error is so fruitfull, as it begetteth a thousand Children, if the licentiousnesse thereof be not timely restrayned. And thirdly, those Writers which gaue themselves to follow and imitate others, were in all things so obseruant Sectators of those Masters, whom they admired and beleueed in, as they thought it safer to condemne their owne vnderstanding, then to examine theirs. For (saith *Vadius* in his Epistle of *Paradise*) *Magnos errores (magnorum virorum auctoritate persuasi) transmissimus; We passe over many grosse errors, by the authoritie of great men led and perswaded.* And it is true, that many of the Fathers were farre wide from the vnderstanding of this place. I speake it not, that I my selfe dare presume to censure them, for I reuerence both their learning

learning and their pietie, and yet not bound to follow them any further, then they are guided by truth: for they were men; *Et humanum est errare.* And to the end that no man should be proud of himselfe, God hath distributed vnto men such a proportion of knowledge, as the wisest may behold in themselves their owne weakness: *Nullumqum dedit omnid Deus; God neuer gave the knowledge of all things to any one.* S. Paul confesse that he knew not, whether he were taken vp into the third heauen in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and Christ himselfe acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, seeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to S. Iude) who is only wise. *Sapientia vbi inuenitur? (saith Io. 1.) but where is wisdom found? and where is the place of vnderstanding? man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the Land of the living.* And therefore seeing God found folly in his Angels, mens iudgements (which inhabit in houses of clay) cannot be without their mistakings: and so the Fathers, and other learned men excusable in particulars, especially in those whereupon our saluation dependeth not.

¶ II.

A recitall of strange opinions, touching Paradise.

NOW touching *Paradise*, first it is to be enquired, whether there were a *Paradise*, or no? or whether *Moses* description were altogether mytical, and allegoricall? as *Origen*, *Philo*, *Fran. Georgius*, with others haue affirmed, and that vnder the names of those foure Riues, *Pison*, *Gehon*, *Hiddekel*, and *Perath*. The tree of life, and the tree of Knowledge, there were deliuered vnto vs other mysteries and significations; as, that by the foure Riues were meant the foure Cardinal vertues, *Iustice*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Prudence*, or (by other) *Oyle*, *Wine*, *Milke*, and *Honny*. This Allegoricall vnderstanding of *Paradise* by *Origen* diuulged, was againe by *Franciscus Georgius* receiued (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) whose triuolous imaginations *Sixtus* himselfe doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 34. Annotation of his fitt Booke, fol. 338. the last Edition.

Amb. de Parad.

S. Ambrose also leaned wholly to the Allegoricall construction, and set *Paradise* in the third heauen, and in the vertues of the minde. *Et in nostro principali*, which is, as I conceiue it, in *mente*, or in our soules: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this sort. By the place or garden of *Paradise*, was meant the soule or minde; by *Adam*, *Ment*, or *Vnderstanding*; by *Eue*, the *Senle*; by the *Serpent*, *Delectation*; by the *Tree* of good and euill, *Sapience*; and by the rest of the *Trees*, the vertues of the minde, or in the minde planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, vpon the first of the *Corinthians*, cap. 6. he in direct wordes alloweth both of a celestiall and terrestriall *Paradise*; the one, into which S. Paul was rapt; the other, into which *Adam* was put by God. *Aug. Chrysostomus* was of opinion, that a *Paradise* had beene, but that there was not now any marke thereof on the earth: the same being not onely defaced, but withall the places now not so much as existing. To which *Luther* seemeth to adhere.

The *Manichees* also vnderstood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion *Vadianus* inclineth, as I conceiue his wordes in two seuerall places. First, vpon this: *Fill the earth*, GEN. 10. Of which he giueth this iudgement. *Hoc ipso etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini vniuersis animantibus, subicite terram, clarissime docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (vt tum erat) fructibus constam, sedem & hortum illud ADAM, & posteritatis futuræ fuisse;* These wordes (saith he) in which God said, *Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule over every creature*, doe cleerly shew, that the vniuersall earth set or filled with all sorts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and estate of ADAM, and of his future posteritie. And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the Acts the 17. *Apostolus ex vno sanguine*

Cor. 12. 1.

Mat. 24. 36.

Iude Ep. 3. 27.

Iob 28. 12.

13.

4. 18.

Baruc. 3. 1.

4. 1. 143.

guine omne genus humanum adeo factum docet, ut habitarent super vniuersam faciem terre: tota igitur terra Paradisus ille erat; The Apostle (saith he) teacheth, that God hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell ouer all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth (saith he) was that *Paradise*. Which coniectures I will answer in order. *Goropius Becanus* differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that *Adam* was first planted by God in one certaine place, and peculiar Garden; which place *Goropius* findeth neere the Riuier of *Arcsinus*, in the confines of *India*.

Tertullian, *Bonauenture*, and *Durandus*, make *Paradise* vnder the *Aequinoctiall*, and *Possellus*, quite contrarie, vnder the *North* pole: the *Chaldeans* also for the most part, and all their Sectators, followed the opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs, who would either make *Paradise* a figure, or Sacrament only, or else would haue it located out of this sensible world, or rayled into some high and remote Region of the Aire. *Strabus*, and *Rabanus*, were both sicke of this vanitie, with *Origen*, and *Philo*: so was our venerable *Beda*, and *Pet. Comestor*, and *Moses Barcephas* the Syrian, translated by *Masius*. But as *Hopkins* sayes of *Philo Iudeus*, that he wondred, *Quo malo genio affectus; By what euill Angell he was blowne vp into this error*: so can I not but greatly maruaile at these learned men, who so grossly and blindly wandered; seeing *Moses*, and after him the *Prophets*, doe so plainly describe this place, by the Region, in which it was planted, by the Kingdomes and Prouinces bordering it, by the Riues which watered it, and by the points of the Compasse vpon which it lay, in respect of *India*, or *Canaan*.

Neuimagus also, vpon *Beda*, *De naturæ verum*, beleueneth that all the Earth was taken for *Paradise*, and not any one place. For the whole Earth (saith he) hath the same beaue adscribed to *Paradise*. He addeth, that the *Ocean* was that Fountayne, from whence the foure Riues, *Pison*, *Gehon*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, had their beginning: for he could not thinke it possible, that these Riues of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, (whereof the one ranne through *India*, the other through *Egypt*, and the other two through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*) could rise out of one Fountayne, were it not out of the Fountayne of the *Ocean*.

¶ III.

That there was a true locall Paradise Eastward, in the Countrie of Eden.



O the first therefore, that such a place there was vpon the earth, the words of *Moses* make it manifest, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had made.* And howsoever the vulgar translation, called *Hieronymus* translation, hath conuerted this place thus, *Plantauerat Dominus Deus Paradisum voluptatis à principio;* The Lord God planted a *Paradise* of pleasure from the beginning; putting the word (pleasure) for *Eden*, and (from the beginning) for *Eastward*: It is manifest, that in this place *Eden* is the proper name of a Region. For what sense hath this translation (saith our *Hopkins*, in his Treatise of *Paradise*) that he planted a garden in pleasure, or that a Riuer went out of pleasure to water the garden? But the seuentie Interpreters call it *Paradisum Edenis*, the *Paradise* of *Eden*, and so doth the *Chaldean Paraphrast* truly take it for the proper name of a place, and for a *Neome* appellative; which Region in respect of the fertilitye of the soile, of the many beautifull Riues, and goodly Woods, & that the trees (as in the *Indies*) doe alwaies keepe their leaues, was called *Eden*, which signifieth in the *Hebrew*, pleasantness or delicacie, as the *Spaniards* call the Countrie opposite to the Isle of *Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, that as *Florida* was a Countrie, so called for the flourishing beautie thereof, so was *Eden* a Region called pleasure, or delicacie, for the pleasure, or delicacie: and as *Florida* signifieth flourishing: so *Eden* signifieth pleasure, and yet both are the proper names

Gen. cap. 3.

Perf. ad.

names of Countries; for Eden being the proper name of a Region (called Pleasure in the Hebrew) and Paradise being the choice seat of all that Region, Paradise was truly the Garden of Eden, and truly the Garden of Pleasure.

Now, for Eastward, to translate it, from the beginning, it is also contrarie to the translation of the Septuagint; to the ancient Greeke Fathers, as *Basil, Chrysostome, Theodoret, Gregorie*; and to the Rabbins, as *Ramban, Rabbi Salomon, R. Abraham, and Chimebi*; and of the Latines, *Seuerinus, Damascenus, &c.* who plainly take Eden for the proper name of a Region, and let the word (Eastward) for *ab initio*: for *Damascenus* owne wordes are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter constructus; Paradise is a place, maruailously planted by the hands of God, in Eden, to ward the East.*

And after all these Fathers, *Guilhelmus Parisiensis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senensis*, of later times, doe both vnderstand these wordes of Eden, and of the East, contrarie to the vulgar translation; *Parisiensis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senensis*, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their owne wordes: *After this I will beginne to speake of Paradise terrestriall, which God planted from the beginning, or Eastward, &c. Post hac incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantasse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem, &c.* And then *Senensis*; *Moses enim clarissime prodit, Paradisum à Deo constum in regione terre Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem esse proprium nomen apparet ex quarto capite Gen. ubi legitur CHAM habitasse ad Orientalem plagam Eden; For Moses (saith he) doth shew most cleerely, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrey, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we reade, that CHAM dwelt on the East border of Heden. PERRIUS endeavoureth to qualifie this translation: for this particule (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very first day; alleging this place of Christ, that although the Deuill was said to be a man-slayer from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I thinke (referring my selfe to better iudgement) the Deuill was from the instant of this fall a man-slayer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise till mans creation. And for conclusion, *S. Hierome* (if that be his translation) aduise himselfe better in the end of the third Chapter of Genesis, conuerting the word (Eden) by (ante) and not (à principio) as, *God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden; Collocauit Deus ante Paradisum voluptatis Cherubin; and Pererius himselfe acknowledged, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew. Posuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin; He set on the East-side of the Garden of Heden, Cherubin. BECANVS* affirmeth, that the Hebrew word (Be) significeth (with) aswell as (in) and so the Text beareth this sense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But *Becanus* followeth this construction, only to the end, to finde Paradise vpon the Riuer of *Acefinis*: for there he hath heard of the *Indian* Fig-tree in great abundance, which he supposeth to be the tree of Knowledge of good and euill, and would therefore draw Paradise to the Fig-tree: which conceit of his I will answer hereafter.*

Now, because Paradise was seated by *Moses* toward the East, thence came the custome of praying toward the East, and not by imitation of the *Chaldeans*: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the Sunne riseth in *March*, which is directly ouer Paradise (saith *Damascenus*;) affirming, that we alwayes pray towards the East, as looking towards Paradise, whence we were cast out; and yet the Temple of *Salomon* had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themselves in their seruice and diuine ceremonies, alwayes toward the West, thereby to auoid the superstition of the *Aegyptians* and *Chaldeans*.

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although Paradise were East from *India*, yet it was West from *Persia*) and the seruing of God is euery where in the world, the matter is not great which way we turne our faces, so our hearts stand right, other than this, that we who dwell West from Paradise, and pray turning

turning our selues towards the East, may remember thereby to beseech God, that as by *Adams* fall we haue lost the Paradise on Earth: so by Christs death and passion we may be made partakers of the Paradise celestiall, and the Kingdome of Heauen. To conclude, I conceiue, that there was no other myserie in adding the word (East) to Eden by *Moses*, then to shew, that the Region of Eden, in which Paradise was, lay Eastward from *India* and *Canaan*: for the Scriptures alwayes called the people of those Nations, the Sonnes of the East, which inhabited *Arabia, Mesopotamia, Chaldaea, and Persia*: of which *Ouid*:

10

*Eurus ad Auroram, Nabataean, regna recessit,
Persidag, & radijs iuga subdita matutinis.*

The East wind with *Aurora* hath abiding
Among th' *Arabian*, and the *Persian* Hills,
Whom *Phœbus* first salutes at his vp-rising.

And if it be objected, that *Micemie* the Prophet threatening the destruction of *Iherusalem*, doth often make mention of Northerne Nations, it is to be noted, that the North is there named, in respect of those Nations that followed *Nabuchodonosor*, and of whom the greatest part of his Armie was compounded; not that *Babylon* it selfe stood North from *Iherusalem*, though inclining from the East toward the North.

Now to the difference of this Translation, *Peter Comestor* giueth best satisfaction: for he vseth the word, *From the beginning, that is, from the first part of the world, (à principio) id est* (saith hee) *à prima orbis parte*, and afterward hee affirmeth, that (*à principio*, and *ad Orientem*) haue the same signification; *From the beginning and Eastward is all one, à principio id est quod ad Orientem.*

But to returne to the proofe of this place, and that this Story of Mankind was not Allegoricall, it followeth in the Text of the second Chapter and ninth Verse in these words: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow euery Tree pleasant to the sight, and good for meate, &c.* so as first it appeared that God created *Adam* elsewhere, as in the World at large, and then, put him into the Garden: and the end why, is exprest: that hee might dress it and keepe it; Paradise being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and (withall) good for meate: which proueth that Paradise was a terrestriall Garden, garnished with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to make it more plaine, and to take away all opinion of Allegoricall construction, hee affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a Riuer; expressing also the Region, out of which this Riuer sprang, which he calleth *Heden*; and that *Heden* is also a Countrey neere vnto *Charan* in *Me-*

40 *sopotamia*, *Ezechiel* witnesseth.

But to all these *Cabalists*, which draw the Truth and Story of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* answereth in these wordes: *Si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est citian sens, si non est sens, non est flumen, si non est flumen, non sunt quatuor principia, non Pison, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates, non est ficus, non folia, non comedit Eva de arbore, non est ADAM, non sunt homines, sed veritas iam fabula est, & omnia ad Allegoria reuocantur: If Paradise be not sensible, then there was no fontaine, and then no Riuer; if no Riuer, then no such foure heads or branches, and then not any such Riuer as Pison, or Gehon, Tigris, or Euphrates, no such Fig-tree, or fruit, or leanes, Eve then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any ADAM, or any man, the truth was but a Fable, and all things effect-
50 mea are called backe into Allegories. Words to the same effect hath Saint Hierome vpon DANIEL: Conticebant eorum deliramenta, qui vmbra & imagines in veritate sequentes, ipsam conantur euertere veritatem, ut Paradisum & flumina, & arbores patient Allegoria Legimus debere subnuere, Let the dotages of them bee silent, who following shadowes and images in the Truth, endeavour to subuert the Truth it selfe, and thinke that they ought*

to bring *Paradise*, and the *Rivers* and the *Trees* under the rules of *Allegorie*.

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the *Storie* is the place made more manifest. For God gave *Adam* free libertie to eate of every Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledge excepted) which Trees *Moses* in the ninth verse saith that they were good to eate; meaning the fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all beasts to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and these beasts were neither in the third Heauen, nor neere the Circle of the Moone, nor beafts in imagination: for if all these things were Enigmati- cally or Mytically, the same might also bee said of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel* speaking of the glory of the *Assyrian* Kings vseth this speech: *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, enuied him*, which is proueth both *Eden*, and *Paradise* therein seated to bee terrestriall: for the Prophets made no imaginary comparisons. But *Moses* wrote plainly, and in a simple stile, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of *Paradise*, then in any other place of Scriptures, of purpose to take away all scruple from the incredulitie of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecie) to be apt to fabulous inuentions, and that if he had not described both the Region and the *Riuers*, and how it stood from *Canaan*, many of the vnbeleeing *Israelites*, and others after them, would haue misconstrued this *Storie* of Mankind. And is it likely, there would haue beene so often mention made of *Paradise* in the Scriptures, if the same had beene an *Utopia*? For we find that the Valley, wherein *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* stood, (sometimes called *Pentapolis*, of the five principall Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their vnnatural sinne purchased) compared to the *Paradise* of the Lord, and like to the Land of *Egypt* toward *Zoar*; In like manner was *Isaie* resembled to the *Paradise* of God, before the *Babylonians* walked it: which proueth plainly, that *Paradise* it selfe exceeded in beautie and fertilitye, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a seat and soyle of farre exceeding excellencie.

Besides, whence had *Homer* his inuention of *Alcinous* Gardens, as *Iustin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses* his description of *Paradise*? *Gen. 2.* and whence are their prayes of the *Elisian* fields, but out of the *Storie* of *Paradise*? to which also appertaine those Verses of the Golden Age in *Ouid*:

*Vix erat aeternum, placidus, repentibus auris
Mulcebant Zephyri uates sine semine flores.*

The ioyfull Spring did euer last,
And Zephyrus did breed
Without the helpe of seed
Sweet flowers by his gentle blast.

And it is manifest, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Hesiodus*, and *Homer*, and after him, *Ouid*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their Sectarours, did greatly enrich their inuentions, by venting the stolne Treasures of Diuine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poetical conuersions, as if they had beene conceived out of their owne speculations and conceptions.

But besides all these testimonies, if we find what Region *Heden* or *Eden* was; if we proue the *Riuier* that ranne out of it, and that the same afterwards was diuided into foure branches; together with the Kingdomes of *Manila* and *Cash*, and that all these are Eastward from *Canaan*, or the Desarts of the *Amoritae*, where *Moses* wrote, I then conceiue, that there is no man that will doubt, but that such a place there was. And yet I doe not exclude the Allegoricall sense of the Scripture; for aswell in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout: the *Storie* being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (saith Saint *Augustine*)

Tres

Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententiae: una est eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradisum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantum (id est) Ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradisum accipiunt, (that is) There are three opinions of Paradise: the one of those men, which will haue it altogether corporal: a second of those which conceiue it altogether spiritual, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of those, which take it in both senses; which third opinion Saint Augustine approoueth, and of which Suidas giueth this allowable iudgement: Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic & huius sanctissimum nuncus, sensible simul & intelligibile, & duplici specie est praeformatum, (that is) A man was created at one time both sensible and intelligible: so was this holy Grove or Garden to be taken both wayes, and endued with a double forme.

*Aug. de Ciuit.
B. l. 19. c. 21.
Suidas in uerbo
Paradisi.*

§. IIII.

Why it should be needfull to intreat diligently of the place of *Paradise*.

BUT it may be objected, that it is needlesse, and a kind of curiositie to enquire so diligently after this place of *Paradise*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no vse. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the Scriptures, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the *Storie* be necessary, then by the place proued, the same is also made more apparent. For if we should conceiue that *Paradise* were not on the Earth, but lifted vp as high as the Moone; or that it were beyond all the Ocean, and in no part of the knowne World, from whence *Adam* was sayd to waite through the Sea, and thence to haue come into *Iudas*, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would giue any credit vnto it. For what could seeme more ridiculous then the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this feare of *Paradise* so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Pisbon* should bee *Ganges*, which watereth the East *India*, and *Schon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*; and these two *Riuers* so far distant, as (except all the World were *Paradise*) these streames can no way be comprized therein?

Secondly, if the birth and workes, and death of our Sauour, were said to haue beene in some fuch Countrey, of which no man euer heard tell, and that his Miracles had bene performed in the Ayre, or no place certainly knowne: I assure my selfe, that the Christian Religion would haue taken but a slender roote in the minds of men: for times and places are approued witness of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should relye, or giue place to the iudgements of some Writers vpon this place of *Genesis* (though otherwife for their doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour and reuerence) I say that there is no fable among the *Grecians* or *Aegyptians* more ridiculous: for who would beleuee that there were a piece of the World so set by it selfe and separated, as to hang in the Ayre vnder the Circle of the Moone? or who so doltish to conceiue, that from thence the foure *Riuers* of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, should fall downe, and runne vnder all the Ocean, and rise vp againe in this our habitable World, and in those places where they are now found? Which lest any man thinke, that I enforce or straine to the world, these are *Peter Comestor* owne words. *Est autem locus amoenissimus, longo terra & maris tractu a nostra habitabili Zona secretus, aduocatus, ut vix ad Lunarem globum attingat, &c.* (that is) It is a most pleasant place, cuered from our habitable Zone by a long tract of Land and Sea, elevated so, that it reacheth to the Globe of the Moone.

And *Moses Barcephas* vpon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quoque responsum volumus, Paradisum multo sublimiore positum esse regione, atq. hac nostra exte- terra, eog. fieri, ut illic per precipitium delabantur fluij tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non possis; eog. impetu impulsu praesig. sub Oceani vada rapinuntur, vnderius sus prosilant ebulliant q. in hoc a nobis culto orbe:* which haue this sense: Furthermore

*hanc conuertit
per Masium.*

E 2

(sayth

(sayth he) we giue this for an answer, that *Paradise* is sit in a Region farre rayed about this part which wee inhabit; whereby it comes to passe, that from thence these *Riuers* fall downe with such a headlong violence, as words cannot expresse; and with that force so impelled and prest, they are caried vnder the deepe Ocean, and doe againe arise and boyle vp in this our habitable World: and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephram*, which is this. *Ephram dicit Paradisum ambire terram, atq; ultra Oceanum ita positum esse, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet regione, non aliter atq; Luna orbis Lunam cingit*, (which is) That *Paradise* doth compass or embrace the whole Earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean Sea, as it enuiroth the whole Orbe of the Earth on every side, as the Orbe of the *Moon* doth embrace the *Moon*. To the end therefore that these ridiculous expositions and opinions doe not bring question vnto Truth it selfe, or make the same subiect to doubts or disputes, it is necessarie to discouer the true place of *Paradise*, which *God* in his wisdom appointed in the very Naele of this our World, and (as *Melanchton* saies) in parte terrae meliore, in the best part thereof, that from thence, as from a Centre; the *Vniuersall* might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, wee shall the better iudge of the beginning of Nations, and of the Worlds inhabitation: for neere vnto this did the *Sonnes* of *Noah* also disperse themselves after the Flood, into all other remote Regions and Countries. And if it be a generous desire in men, to know from whence their owne forefathers haue come, and out of what Regions and Nations, it cannot be displeasing to vnderstand the place of our first Ancestor, from whence all the freames and branches of Mankind haue followed and beene deduced. If then it doe appeare by the former, that such a place there was as *Paradise*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be vnprofitable, it followeth in order to examine the severall opinions before remembred, by the Truth it selfe; and to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture, and with common reason, and afterward to prouoe directly, and to delineate the Region in which *God* first planted this delightfull Garden.

§. V.

That the Flood hath not utterly defaced the markes of *Paradise*, nor caused Hills in the Earth.



N^o first, whereas it is supposed by *Aug. Clysamenis*, that the Flood hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no man can find any marke or memory thereof: (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the Flood the cause of those high Mountaines, which are found on all the Earth ouer, with many other strange effects) for my owne opinion, I thinke neither the one nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of *Paradise* was after the Flood withered, and growne old, in respect of the first beautie: (for both theages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had beene no signe of any such place, or if the soile and fcare had not remained, then would not *Moses*, who wrote of *Paradise* about 850. yeeres after the Flood, haue described it so particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moses* would not haue made so often mention thereof. And though the very Garden it selfe were not then to beee found, but that the Flood, and other accidents of time made it one common field and pasture with the Land of *Eden*, yet the place is still the same, and the *Riuers* still remaine the same *Riuers*. By two of which (neuer doubted of) to wit, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, wee are sure to find in what longitude *Paradise* lay; and learning out one of these *Riuers*, which afterward doth diuide it selfe into foure branches, wee are sure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it selfe. For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a *Riuer* to water the Garden, and from thence it was diuided and became into foure heads: Now whether the word in the Latine Translation (*Inde*) from thence, be referred to *Eden* it selfe,

Gen. 1. 10.

selfe, or to *Paradise*, yet the diuision and branching of those *Riuers* must bee in the North or South side of the very Garden (if the *Riuers* runne as they doe, North and South) and therefore these *Riuers* yet remaining, and *Eden* manifestly knowne, there could be no such defacing by the Flood, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be so altered as future ages know it not, so is there no probability, that either these *Riuers* were turned out of their courses, or new *Riuers* created by the Flood which were not, or that the Flood (as aforesaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decrease, was the cause of high Hills, or deepe Vallies. For what descent of waters could there bee in a Sphericall and round bodie, wherein there is nor high nor low? seeing that all violent force of waters is eyther by the strength of winde, by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebbe or flood of the Sea. But that there was any winde (whereby the Seas are most enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a winde to passe vpon the Earth, and the waters ceased*. So as it appeareth not, that vntill the waters stanke, but there was any winde at all, but that *God* afterward, out of his goodnesse, caused the winde to blow, to dry vp the abundant slime and muddle of the Earth, and make the Land more firme, and to cleanse the Ayre of thicke vapours and vnholosome mists; and this we know by experience, that all downe-right raines doe euer more disfigure the violence of outrageous winds, and beat downe, and leuell the swelling and mountainous billow of the Sea: for any ebbs and floods there could be none, when the waters were equal and of one heighth ouer all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bayes, or Gulfs to receiue a Flood, or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round forme of the Earth and waters, as aforesaid: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reason, that the waters rather flood in a quiet calme, than that they moued with any raging or ouer-bearing violence. And for a more direct proofe that the Flood made no such destroying alteration, *Ioseph*. auoweth that one of those pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to beee seene in his dayes, which Pillars were set vp about 1426. yeeres before the flood, counting *Seth* to be an hundred yeeres old at the erection of them, and *Ioseph*. himselfe, to haue liued some 40. or 50. yeeres after *Christ*: of whom although there be no cause to beleene all that he wrote, yet that, which hee auouched of his owne time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruine thereof might then be seene. Now that such Pillars were rayed by *Seth*, all Antiquitie hath auowed. It is also written in *Berosus* (to whom although I giue little credit, yet I cannot condemne him in all) that the Citie of *Enoch* built by *Cain*, about the Mountaines of *Libanus*, was not defaced by length of time: yea the ruines thereof *Annius* (who commented vpon that inuented Fragment) saith, were to be seene in his dayes, who liued in the Raigne of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of Castile; and if these his words bee not true, then was hee exceeding impudent. For, speaking of this Citie of *Enoch*, hee concludeth in this sort: *Cuius maxima & ingentis molis fundamenta visuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Citius Cain, ut nostri mercatores, & peregrini referunt; The foundation of which huge Masse is now to be seene, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the Citie of Cain, as both our strangers and Merchants report*. It is also auowed by *Pomponius Mela*, (to whom I giue more credit in these things) that the Citie of *Ioppa* was built before the Flood, ouer which *Cephus* was King: whose name with his Brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found grauen vpon certaine Altars of stone; and it is not vnpossible, that the ruines of this other Citie, called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might be seene, though founded in the first Age: but it could not be of the first Citie of the World, built by *Cain*, the place, rather then the time, denying it.

And to prouoe directly, that the flood was not the cause of Mountaines, but that there were Mountaines from the Creation it is written, that the waters of the flood ouerflowed by fiftene Cubits the highest Mountaines. And *Masius Damasenus* speaking of the

the Flood, writeth in this manner. *Et supra Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confingentes multos sermo est diluuij tempore liberator, And vpon Minyada there is an high Mountaine, in Armenia (called Baris) vnto which (as it is said) that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they saued themselves thereon. Now although it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were sated then eight persons (which *Mais* doth not auaunch, but by report) yet it is a testimonie, that such Mountaines were before the Flood, which were afterwards, and euer since, knowne by the same names; and on which Mountaines it is generally receiued that the *Arke* rested: but vntruely, as I shall prouue hereafter. And againe it appeareth, that the Mount *Sion* (though by another name) was knowne before the Flood: on which the *Talmudists* report, that many Giants saued themselves also; but (as *Annus* saith) without all authoritie, eyther Diuine or Humane.*

Gen. 8. 11.

Lastly, it appeareth that the Flood did not so turne vp side-downe the face of the Earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this that, when *Noah* sent out the *Dove* the second time, she returned with an *Olive leaf* in her mouth, which (hee had pluckt, and which (vntill the Trees were discouered) hee found not: for otherwise hee might haue found them floating on the water; a manifest proofe, that the Trees were not torne vp by the rootes, nor swamme vpon the waters, for it is written: *solum Olina, raptum or decerptum, a leafe pluckt*, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to reare off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrarie) that the Flood made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of *Paradise* might be seene to succeeding Ages, especially vnto *Moses*, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and vnto the Prophets which succceeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Discouerie.

§. VI.

That *Paradise* was not the whole Earth, as some haue thought: making the Ocean to be the fountaine of those foure Rivers.



His conceit of *Aug. Chylamenus* being answered, who only giueth his opinion for reason, I will in a few words examine that of the *Manichees*, of *Neuionagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius Becanus*, and all those that vnderstood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many words, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Vniuersalitie will appeare altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alleageth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply, fill the Earth and subdue it, rule ouer every Creature, &c.* with this of the *Acts*, and *hath made of one blood all Mankind, to dwell on all the face of the Earth*, doe no way proue such a generalitie: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his vse: Now although all men were of one and the same fountaine of blood originally; and *Adams* Posteritie inhabited in procelle of time ouer all the face of the Earth; yet it disproueth in nothing the particular Garden, assigned to *Adam*, to dresse and cultiue, in which he liued in so blessed a estate before his transgression. For if there had beene no other choice, but that *Adam* had bin left to the Vniuersall; *Moses* would not then haue sayd, *Eastward in Eden*, seeing the World hath nor East nor West, but respectiue. And to what end had *Angell* of God bene set to keepe the East-side, and entrance into *Paradise* after *Adams* expulsion, if the Vniuersall had bene *Paradise*? for then must *Adam* haue bene chased also out of the World. For if All the Earth were *Paradise*, that place can receiue no better confutation then this, That *Adam* was driuen out of the World into the World, and out of *Paradise* into *Paradise*, except we should beleue with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to denie; bee thinke all one, as to affirme,

Gen. 1. 28.

Acts 17. 26.

Gen. 2. 8.

3. 24.

firmly, That in so large a field, as the vniuersall, there should grow but one thistle. *NOVIOMAGVS* vpon *Beda*, seemeth to belee by this, that it was vnpossible for those three Riueres, *Ganges*, *Nilus*, and *Euphrates* (which water three portions of the World so farre distant) to rise out of one Fountayne, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

And it is true, that those foure Riueres, being so vnderstood, there could be no coniecture more probable; but it (shall plainly appeare, that *Pisyon* was fallily taken for *Ganges*, and *Gebon* fallily for *Nilus*; although *Ganges* be a Riuer by *Hindlabia* in *India*, and *Nilus* runne through *Ethiopia*. The *Senenite* write *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, and therefore by the errors of the *Manichees*, and the mistakings of *Neuionagus*, *Goropius*, and *Vadianus*, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their coniecture farre more probable, then that of *Ephram*, *Cyrillus*, and *Abanasius*: That *Paradise* was seated farre beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at last came toward the Countrey, in which he was created, and was buried at *Mount Caluwy*, in *Iherusalem*. And certainly, though all those of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many yeeres after the flood, yet *Adams* shin-bones must haue containyd a thousand fadomes, and much more, if he had forded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needes no argument to disproue it.

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§. VII.

Of their opinion, which make *Paradise* as high as the Moone: and of others, which make it higher than the middle Region of the ayre.



Hardly, whereas *Beda* saith, and as the Schoole-men affirme, *Paradise* to be a place, altogether remoued from the knowledge of men (*locus a cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Bacephas* conceiued, that *Paradise* was farre in the East, but mounted aboue the Ocean, and all the Earth, and neere the Orbe of the Moone (which opinion, though the Schoole-men charge *Beda* withall, yet *Peterius* layes it off from *Beda* vpon *Strabus*, and his Master *Rabanus*); and whereas *Rupertus* in his Geographie of *Paradise*, doth not much differ from the rest, but findes it seated next or neerest heauen; It may seeme, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*; but neither of them (as I conceiue) well vnderstood: who (vndoubtedly) tooke this place for heauen it selfe, into which the foules of the blessed were carried after death.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for feare of the *Arcopagites* (in this and many other diuine apprehensions) set downe what they beleued in plaine termes, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death, for acknowledging one onely powerfull God; and therefore did the Deuill himselfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Infinite Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and *S. Augustine* gaue this iudgement of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to me, that both *Terrentian* and *Eusebius* conceiue, that *Socrates*, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestiall *Paradise*, and not this of *Eden*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull and healthfull, vpon the top of *Mount Atho* (called *Aerobonos*) which being aboue all clouds of rayne, or other inconuenience, the people (by reason of their many yeeres) are called *Macrobioi* (that is) *Long-lived*. A further argument is vsed, for prooffe of the height of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preferred from the violence of the flood: approved by *Isidore*, and *Peter Lombard*; in which place also *Terrentian* conceiued, that the blessed foules were preferred till the last iudgement; which *trenant*, and *Infinite Martyr* also beleued. But this opinion was of all *Catholike* Diuines reproued, and in the *Florentine Conncell* damned; of which *S. Augustine* more modestly gaue this iudgement.

Diog. Laert. in Sec.

Infin. Mart. adu. Gent. Aug.

iudgement. *Sicut certum est ENOCH & ELIAS nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc sunt, an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est;* (that is) *As it is certayne that ENOCH and ELIAS doe now live: so where they now live, in Paradiso or elsewhere, it is uncertayne.* But *Barcephas* gives a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessarie that *Paradise* should be set at such a distance and height, because the foure Rivers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient force to have thrust themselves vnder the great Ocean, and afterwards have forced their passage through the earth, and have risen againe in the farre distant Regions of *India*, *Aegypt*, and *Armenia*.

These strange fancies and dreames have beene answered by diuers learned men this long since, and lately by *Hopkins* and *Pererius* writing vpon this subiect; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: for to vie long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be iudged a vanitie in the Answerer, not much inferior to that of the Inuenter.

It is first therfore alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being set so neere the Moone, it had beene too neere the Sunne, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have beene too ioynt a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the aire in that Region is so violently moued, and carried about with such swiftnesse, as nothing in that place can consist or haue abiding. Fourthly, because the place betweene the Earth and the Moone (according to *Ptoleme* and *Alfraganus*) is seuentene times the Diameter of the Earth, which makes by a grosse account about one hundred and twentie thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that *Paradise*, being raised to this height, must haue the compass of the whole earth for a Basis & foundation. But had it been so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men: seeing it would deprive vs of the Sunnes light, all the fore-part of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Tostatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell neere those falls of waters, are deafe from their infancie, like those which dwell neere the *Catadupa*, or ouer-falls of *Nilus*. But this I hold as fayned. For I haue scene in the *Indies*, far greater water-falls, than those of *Nilus*, and yet the people dwelling neere them, are not deafe at all. *Tostatus* (the better to strengthen himselfe) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrose* together: to which *PERERIVS*, *Sed ego hac apud BASILIUM & AMBROSIVM in eorum scriptis, quae nunc exstant, nusquam me legere memini; But I doe not remember* (saith he) *that I euer read those things, either in BASIL or AMBROSE.*

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his wisdom. Their taking vp might be into the celestiall *Paradise*, for ought we know. For although flesh and blood, subiect to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdome of heauen, and the seede must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith *S. PAUL*) *but all shall be changed: which change, in Enoch and Elias, was easie to him that is Almighty.* But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the flood all perished on the earth, sauing eight persons, and therefore in the terrestriall *Paradise* they could not be.

For *Tostatus* his owne opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but beleued that *Paradise* was rayed above the middle Region of the aire, and twentie cubits above all Mountaines, that the flood did not therefore reach it: (which *Scotus* and other later Schoole-men also beleued; for, say they, there were no sinners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to ouerwhelme it:) this is also contrarie to the expresse letter of the Scripture: which directly, and without admitting of any distinction teacheth vs, that the waters ouer-flowed all the mountaynes vnder heauen. And were it otherwise, then might we as well giue credit to *Masius Damasus*, and the *Thalmudists*, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that saued themselves on the Mountaine *Baris*, and on *Sion*. But to helpe this, *Scotus*, being (as the rest of the Schoole-men are) full of distinctions, saith; That the waters stood at *Paradise*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at *Jordan*; and as the flood was not naturall, so was *Paradise* faued by

Cicero Somn. Scip.

1. Cor. 15. 51. 1 Pet. 3. 20.

Gen. 7. 19.

Exod. 14. 22.

by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this supposition; That it was not beleued, that *Paradise* was so feared, as *Beda* and others seeme to affirme in wordes, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatiuely, for the delicacie and beautie so resembled. But this I dare auow of all those Schoole-men, that though they were exceeding wittie, yet they better teach all their Followers to shift, then to resolute, by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tostatus*, I confesse that it is written, that the Mountaynes of *Olympus*, *Athos*, and *Atlas*, ouer-reach and surmount all windes and clouds, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the Hills both springs and fruits; and the Pagan Priests, sacrificing on these Mountaine tops, do not find the ashes (remaining of their sacrifices) blownethence, nor thence waith off by raines, when they returne: yet experience hath resolved vs, that these reports are fabulous, and *Plinie* himselfe (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) auoweth the contrarie. But were it granted, yet the height of these Mountaynes is far vnder the supposed place of *Paradise*; and on these selfe Hills the ayre is so thinne (saith *S. Augustine*, whom herein I miltrust) that it is not sufficient to beare vp the body of a bird, hauing therein no feeling of her wings, or any sensible resistance of ayre to mount her selfe by.

§. VIII.

Of their opinion that seate *Paradise* vnder the *Aequinoctiall*: and of the pleasant habitation vnder those Climates.



Hose which come neerer vnto reason, finde *Paradise* vnder the *Aequinoctiall* line, as *Tertulian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Laudandus* iudging, that there vnder might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertilitye of soile: but against it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the disemperate heate, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly vnder the Sunne; but this is farre from it, in which *Paradise* was; and because there is no part of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, or *Ganges* vnder it, (*Ganges* being one of the foure Rivers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of disemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very vntue, though for the coniecture not to be condemned, considering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that euery Countrey, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropick, and so toward the *Aequinoctiall*, did so much the more exceede in heate; It was therefore a reasonable coniecture, that those Countreies which were situated directly vnder it, were of a disemper vnhabitable: but it seemeth that *Tertulian* conceiued better, and so did *Auicenne*, for they both thought those habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those dayes it might be thought a fantasticall opinion (as all are which goe against the vulgar) yet we now finde, that if there be any place vpon the earth of that nature, beaurie, and delight, that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed vnhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neerest to the line it selfe. For hercof experience hath informed Reason, and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be discovered. Indeepe it hath so pleased God to provide for all liuing creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that such inconueniences which we contemplate a farre off, are found by tryall and the witness of mens traualles, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vaine, or so as a fruitlesse lump to fashion out the rest. For, God himselfe (saith *Isaie*) that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vaine, he formed it to be inhabited. Now we finde that these hottest Regions of the world, seated vnder the *Aequinoctiall* line, or neere it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of Easterly winde (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brize*, that doth euermore blow strongest in the heate

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159 451.8.

of the day, as the downe-right beames of the Sunne cannot so much master it, that there is any inconuenience or distemperate heate found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fith, and equal, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my selfe haue seene, neere the Line and vnder it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equall temper: Onely there are some tracts, which by accident of high Mountaynes are barr'd from this aire and fresh wind, and some few sandie parts without trees, which are not therefore so best inhabited as the rest; and such difference of soiles we finde also in all other parts of the World. But (for the greatest part) those Regions haue so many goodly Riuer, Fountaynes and little Brookes, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees casting shade, so many sorts of delicate fruits, euer bearing, and at all times beautified with blosome and fruit, both Greene and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the *Paradise of Eden*: the boughes and branches are neuer vnclouted and left naked, their sap creepeth not vnder ground into the roote, fearing the iniurie of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* at any times despise her withered husband *Vertumnus*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countries called *Terra vitioles*, *Vitioles Countries*: for Nature being liberall to all without labour, needfullie imposing no industrie or trauell, idleness bringeth forth no other fruits then vaine thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that to conclude this part. *Tertullian* and those of his opinion were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who misliketh this opinion, and followed a worse. And (to say the truth) all the Schoole-men were grosse in this particular.

þ. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that *Eden* in *Caldeya*, there is a Country in *Babylon*, once of this name, as is proued out of *Esa. 37.* and *Ezech. 27.*

THese opinions answered, and the Region of *Eden* not found in any of those imaginarie worlds, nor vnder *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now we discouer and finde out the seate thereof, for in it was *Paradise* by God planted. The difficultie of which search resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations haue often changed names with their Masters; so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembered, forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers, as well ancient as moderne.

Besides, we finde that the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians* (*Cyrus* only and few other excepted) fought to extinguiish the *Hebrewes*. The *Gracians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romanes* despised once to remember them in any of their stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transforme the names of all those principall Places & Cities in the East: and after them, the *Turke* hath sought (what he could) to extinguiish in all things, the ancient memorie of those people; which he hath subiected and intrahled.

Now besides those notable marks, *Euphrates* & *Tigris*, the better to find the way, which leadeth to the Countrey of *Eden*, we are to take for guides these two considerations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from *Canaan* & *Iudea*; and that it was of all other the most beautiful and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Countrey to *Iudea* Eastward was *Arabia Petrea*; but in this Region was *Moses* himselfe when he wrote: and the next vnto it Eastward also was *Arabia the Desert*, both which in respect of the infertility could not be *Eden*, neither haue any of the *Arabians* any such Riuer, as are exprest to run out of it: So as it followeth of necessity, that *Eden* must be Eastward, and beyond both *Arabia Petrea*, and *Deserta*. But because *Eden* is by *Moses* named by it selfe, and by the fertility, and the Riuer only described, we must

seeke

seeke it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations better described. In the Prophet *I say* I finde it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in these wordes, spoken in the person of *Sennacherib* by *Rabshakeh*: *Haue the gods of the Nations deliuered them, which my Fathers haue destroyed, as GOSAN, and HARAN, and RESEPH, and the children of EDEN, which were at Telassar?* and in *Ezechiel*, where he prophesieth against the *Tyrians*: *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Aflur, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants, &c.*

But to auoid confusion, we must vnderstand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembreth, where he diuideth *Syria* into three Prouinces; whereof, the first he maketh *Syria Damasene*, or *Decapolis*: the second part is that Valley called *Auenis*, otherwise *Connallis*, or the Tract of *Chamath*, where *Assyria* is ioyned to *Arabia the Desert*, and where *Ptolemie* placeth the Citie of *Aueria*: and the third is knowne by the name of *Domus Edenis*, or *Caldeya*, otherwise *Valis*, or the hollow Valley, because the Mountaynes of *Libanus* and *Avilibanus*, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it: for *Coele* in *Greece* is *Causa* in *Latine*. But this is not that *Eden*, which we seeke: neither doth this Prouince lye East from *Canaan*, but North, and so ioyneth vnto it, as it could not be vnknewne to the *Hebrewes*. Yet, because there is a little Citie therein called *Paradise*, the *Iewes* beleued this *Caldeya* to be the same which *Moses* describeth. For the same cause doth *Hopkins* in his Treatise of *Paradise* reprehend *Beroldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden* of *Paradise*: though to giue *Beroldus* his right, I conceiue that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later Writers, saying, That he sayled in distinguishing these two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether misvnderstood two of the foure Riuer (to wit) *Pison* and *Gehon*, as shall appeare hereafter. Now to finde out *Eden*, which (as *Moses* teacheth vs) lay Eastward from the Deserts, where he wrote, after he had passed the Red Sea; we must consider where those other Countries are found, which the Prophet *I say* and *Ezechiel* ioyneth with it. For (saith *Esaiah*) *Gosan, Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar*. Also *Ezechiel* ioyneth *Haran* with *Eden*, who, together with those of *Sheba*, *Aflur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the Citie of *Tyre*, which was then (saith *Ezechiel*) *the Mart of the people for many Isles*. And it hath euer beene the custome, that the *Persians* conueyed their merchandise to *Babylon*, and to those Cities vpon *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and from thence transported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterrane Sea*: as in ancient times to the Citie of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the Bay of *Isicus*, now *Laias*. So, *Ezechiel* in the description of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the onely Mart-towne of that part of the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what commodities euerie Countrey yielded: and hauing counted the severall People and Countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exercised: *They were thy Merchants* (saith the Prophet) *in all sorts of things, in sayments of blue silke, and of bordered workes, fine linnen, corall and pearle: and afterwards speaking of the Merchants of Sheba and Raamah, and what kindes they traded, he hath these wordes: The Merchants of Sheba and Raamah were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Fayres, with the chiefe of all Spices, and with all precious stones and gold.* Now these be indeed the riches which *Persia* and *Arabia Felix* yeeld: and because *Sheba* and *Raamah* are those parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Persian Gulfe*, therefore did those Nations both vent such Spice, sweet Gummes, and Pearles, as their owne Countries yeilded, and (withall) hauing trade with their Neighbours of *India*, had from them also all sorts of spices, and plenty of gold. The better to conuey these commodities to that great Mart of *Tyre*, the *Shebas* or *Arabians* entred by the mouth of *Tigris*, and from the Citie of *Teredon* (built or enlarged by *Nabuchodonozor*, now called *Balsara*) thence

thence sent vp all these rich merchandises by boate to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as farre as it bended Weltward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three dayes iourney of *Aleppo*, and then ouer Land they past to *Tyre*, as they did afterward to *Tripoly* (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to past to *Tyre*, as aforelaid. Now the Merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezechiel* ioyneith *Alexandretta*, as aforelaid. Now the Merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezechiel* ioyneith with *Eden*, inhabited farre vp the Riuer, and receiued this trade from *Arabia* & *India*, besides those proper commodities which themselves had, and which they receiued out of *Persia*, which bordered them. S. *Hierome* vnderstandeth by *Canneh*, *Seleucia*, which is seated vpon *Euphrates*, where it breaketh into foure heads, and which tooke that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent Citie. *Hieronymus* thinks it to be *Ctesiphon*, but *Ctesiphon* is seated downe low vpon *Tigris*, and *Canneh* cannot be on that side, I meane on the East-side of *Tigris*, for then were it out of the Valley of *Shinar*. *Plinie* placeth the *Schenite* vpon *Euphrates*, where the fame beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaueth to be the bound of *Arabia* the *Desart*, & where the Riuer of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the *Desart* of *Palmirena*: for these people of *Canneh* (afterward *Schenite*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, stretching themselves from their owne Citie of *Canneh* in *Shinar* Weltward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as farre as the Citie of *Thapsacus*, where *Ptoleme* appointed the Foords of *Euphrates*: which also agreeth with the description of the *Schenite* by *Strabo*, whose wordes are these: *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam & Babyloniam cunctibus iter est per Schenitas; The Merchants which traueile from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites.* Therefore those which take *Canneh* for *Charan*, doe much mistake it. For *Charan*, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* in *Chaldea* (called by God) standeth also in *Mesopotamia*, not vpon *Euphrates* it selfe, but vpon the Riuer of *Chaboras*, which falleth into *Euphrates*: and the Merchants of *Charan* are distinctly named with those of *Canneh* in *Ezechiel* (as) *they of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Albur, and Chilmad were thy Merchants.* Wherefore *Charan* which is sometime called *Charre*, and *Haran*, and *Aran*, is but the fame *Charan* of *Mesopotamia*; and when it is writteu *Aran*, then it is taken for the Region of *Mesopotamia*: or *Aran* *fluminis*, the Greeke word (*Mesopotamia*) importing, a Countre betwene Riuers: for *Mes* in Greeke, is *Medius* in Latine, and *Potamos*, *fluminis*; and when it is writteu *Haran* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the Citie it selfe, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* (as aforelaid.) For *Strabo* in the description of *Arabia*, giueth that Tract of Land from the borders of *Calefryia*, to the edge of *Mesopotamia*, to the *Schenite*, who also inhabited on both sides of *Euphrates*, and were in after-ages accounted of these *Arabians* which inhabite *Batañes*, and the North part of the *Desarts*, stretching themselves toward the vnhabited Solitude of *Palmirena*, which lyeth betwene *Syria*, and *Arabia* the *Desart*. So as these of *Canneh* lay in the very high-way from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were Neighbours (indifferent) to *Charan* and to *Eacn*: and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, &c.* But S. *Hierome* made a good interpretation of *Canneh*, or *Chalne*, by *Seleucia*: for *Seleucia* was anciently called *Chalanne* (witnesseth *Appian*;) and so *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries vpon *Genesis*: the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from *Chalne* or *Canneh*, to *Chalanne*: of which name there are two other Cities, standing in Triangle with *Seleucia*, and almost the next vnto it, (as) *Thelbe-canne*, and *Mann-canne*, the one a little to the West of *Seleucia*, and the other opposite vnto it, where these Riuers of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are readie to ioyne. Therefore, which of these the ancient *Canne* was, (being all three within the bound of the Valley *Shinar*) it is vncertaine; but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certayne lease thereof, that so many other Cities did retayne a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it vnlikely, that these additions of *Thelbe* and *Mann* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference betwene the East and the West, or the greater and the lesse *Canne*, or betwene *Canne* the old, and the new: which additions to distinguish Cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the world.

Now

Now of the other Citie ioyne with *Eden*, as *Haran* or *Charan*, S. *Hierome* on the *Iudges* speaketh thereof in these wordes: *Cunq; reuertentur, peruenient ad iud. 3. Charan, qua est in medio itinere contra Nininum, undecima die; When they returned, they came to Charan, (which is the mid-way against Ninine) the eleventh day.*

This Citie is by the Martyr *Stephen* named *Charan* (speaking to the high Priest:) *Ye Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: The God of glorie appeared to our Father ABRAHAM, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charan. But the fate of this Citie is not doubted of: for it is not only remembred in many Scriptures, but, withall, exceeding famous for the death and ouerthrow of Crasus the Romaine, who for his insatiabable greedinesse was called Gorgas auraritis; The gulfe of avarice. Whereof* *Lucan:*

Affrias Latio maculauit sanguine Carras,

Lucan, li. 1055

With Roman blood th' Assyrian Carre he defild.

But this Citie *Canne* or *Chalne* is made manifest by *Moses* himselfe, where it is written of *NIMROD*: *And the beginning of his Kingdome was Babel, and Erecb, and Acad, and Chalne, in the Land of Sinaar, or Shinar: where Moses* (the worth the first composition of the *Babylonian* Empire, and what Cities and People were subiect vnto *Nimrod*, all which lay in the said Valley of *Shinar* or neere it; and this Valley of *Shinar* is that Tract, afterwards called *Babylonia* and *Chaldea*, into which also *Eden* stretcheth it selfe. *Chaldea*, *Babylonia*, *Sinaar*, idem sunt (saith *COMESTOR*.) Three names of one Countre: which Region of *Babylonia* tooke name of the Tower *Babel*, and the Tower, of the confusion of tongues. And that *Shinar* was *Babylonia*, it is proved in the eleventh Chapter of *Genesis*, in these wordes: *And as they went from the East, they found a Playne in the Land of Shinar, and there they abode: in which Playne Babylon was built* (as aforelaid.)

Now *Shinar* being *Babylonia*, and *Canneh*, in the first beginning of *Nimrod's* greatness, and before he had subdued any strange, or farre-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by *Moses* to be in *Shinar*, it proueth, that *Canneh* ioyneith to *Babylonia*; which also *Ezechiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth, that those of *Eden* were also the Merchants, which traded with the *Tyrans*; and *Esey* in the threats of *Sennacherib* against *Hierusalem* (with other Nations that *Sennacherib* vaunted that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of *Eden* which were at *Telaasar*. But before I conclude where *Eden* it selfe lyeth, it is necessarie to describe those other Countreies, which *Ezechiel* ioyneith therewith in the places before remembred, as, those of *Sheba* and *Raamah*. It is written in *Genesis* the tenth: *Moreover Cus, the sonnes of Ham were CUSH, &c. And the sons of CUSH were SHEBA, and HAVILAH, and SABTAR, & RAAMAH, &c. And the sons of RAAMAH were SHEBA, &c. and anon after, CUSH begat NIMROD: so as Sheba was the grand-child of CUSH, and Nimrod the sonne of CUSH, whose elder brother was Sheba: though some there are that conceiue to the contrary, that Nimrod was the elder in valour and understanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, afterwards Babylonia. His brother Raamah or Regma tooke that part adioyning to Shinar, toward the Sea side and Persian Gulfe (called afterward Raama and Sheba, by the Father and his Sonnes, which possessed it.) For (saith EZECHIEL) the Merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Faues with the chiefe of all spices, and all precious stones, and gold. So as Sheba was that Tract of Countre, which parteth Arabia Deserta from Arabia Felix, and which ioyneith to the Sea where Tigris and Euphrates fall out, and render themselves to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Countre *Strabo* calleth *Catabaria*, where the best Myrrhe and Frankincense is gathered; which people haue an interchange or trade with *Elans*, lying on*

the

hood of *Ninive*; and that it is the famous *Selucia Parthorum*. The *Nestorian Christians* in their former Epistle, call it *Attur* in these words: *Ex omnibus Ciuitatibus & pagis quas sunt circum Ciuitatem Mosal (hoc est) Attur in uicinia Ninive;* Of all the Cities and townes which are about the Citie of *Mosal* (that is) *Attur* in the neighbourhood of *Ninive*. As also *Niger* acknowledgeth *Ctefphon*, a Citie thereabout to be called *Assur* (which is the same as *Attur*, after the *Dialect* of those Nations, which change *Sh* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he should mistake *Ctefphon* (which is not farre off *Selucia*) for *Selucia*, to be *Assur*. By this then wee may come somewhat neere the end of our purpose. For the Ile of *Eden*, which lyeth in the brest of *Tigris*, is but twelue miles from *Mosal*, and that ancient Citie, which *Ptoleme* and *Tacitus* call *Nimue*,¹³ and the Scriptures *Ninue*, *Phisfratu*, and *Simcon Sethi*, *Mofala*, and *Iohn Lean Mosal*, others *Mosse*, (though it bee not the same with *Mosal*) is set but a little higher vpon the same riuer of *Tigris*, neere *Mosal*: so that wee are like to finde this Ile of *Eden* here-about. For the same *Andreas Masius*, which placeth it about *Mosal*, makes it to be belowe *Mofin chepha*, which is vpon the same riuer of *Tigris*.

The onely difficultie is this, that some perhaps may thinke, that the words of the *Nestorian* in both their Epistles, speake not of any Ile in *Tigris*, called the Ile of *Eden*, but of an Ile in *Tigris*, a riuer of *Eden*. But this sence of their words in my opinion seemeth the more vnp probable. And yet if this were the meaning here, we haue a testimonye from the learned of those parts, that not onely *Euphrates*, but also *Tigris* was a riuer of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in those parts is not yet quite worne out, though the Region hath bene subiect to the same change, that all other kingdomes of the world haue bene, and hath by conquest, and corruption of other languages, receiued new and differing names. For the South part of *Eden*, which stretcheth out *Euphrates*, was after the flood called *Shinar*, and then of the tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*; and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, and *Armenia*, which embraceth both the banks of *Tigris*, betwene Mount *Taurus*, and *Selucia*. And of this Region of *Eden*, that ancient *ETHICVS* maketh mention, (not that latter *ETHICVS*, discipule of *CALLINICVS*, otherwise by *PLUTARCH* and *ATHENÆVS* called *ISTRIS*, who liued in *Egypt* in the reigne of *PHILADELPHVS*, but another of a farre higher and remoter time) the same being made Latine out of Greeke by *S. HEROME*. And though by corruption of the ancient copie it bee written in *ETHICVS*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*; yet *Adonis* being a riuer of *Phenicia*, cannot be vnderstood to be the Region named by *ETHICVS*. For *ETHICVS* makes it a Countrey, and not a riuer, and ioyneth it with *Mesopotamia* and *Aethiopia*, calling the land of *CHVS Aethiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And lastly, the Riuer which watereth the Regions (sayth *ETHICVS*) falleth into the Gulfe of *Persia*: which Riuer hee calleth *Armodius*, for *Tigris*; *Tigris* being but a name imposed for the swiftnesse thereof. And out of *Armenia* both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* haue their originall: for out of *Eden* came a riuer, or riuers, to water the Garden, both which Riuers (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them traueleth *Mesopotamia*, Regions first of all knowne by the name of *Eden* for their beautie and fertilitie. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained also some part of *Armenia*, and the excellent fertilitie thereof in diuers places, is not worthe the name of *Eden*. For in some part thereof (sayth *STRABO*) the leaues are alwayes greene, and therefore therein a perpetuall Spring. Also *STEPHANS de uerbis* mentioneth the Citie of *Adana* vpon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in vse in *Amos* time, though he speake not of *Eden* in the East, but of *Eden in Calesyria*. But to the end I may not burden the Readers patience with too long a discourse, it may suffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (once ioyned together, and afterward separate) are two of those foure heads, into which these Riuers which are said to water the Garden of *Paradise*, were diuided: whose courses being knowne, *Eden*, (out of which they are said to come) cannot be vnknowne. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath* were *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all: for the Sentencie and all others

others conuert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: & *Hiddekel Tigris* omnes exponunt: and all men vnderstand *Hiddekel* by *Tigris* (sayth *VATABLE*.) And because that which I haue sayd of the Ile of *Eden*, shall not bee subiect to the censure of selfe-inuention, I haue heere-vnder set downe the words out of the two generall Epistles of the *Nestorians*, as *Masius* (ad verbum) hath conuerted them into Latine. The occasion of those Letters and Supplications to the Pope were, that the *Nestorian Christians* which inhabit *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, and *Babylonia*, and haue to this day (at least in Queene *Mariet* time they had) fifteene Churches in one Citie, called *Selucia Parthorum*, or *Masfel* vpon the Riuer of *Tigris*, hauing no sufficient authoritie to chooſe themselves a Patriarch (which cannot be done without foure or three Metropolitan Bishops at least) sent to the Bishop of *Rome* in the yeere of Christ 1552. (as aforesaid) a Petition to obtaine allowance vnto such an election as themselves had made: hauing three hundred yeere before that vpon the like defect, sent one *Martius* thither to bee confirmed; and in this negotiation they made knowne to the Bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian Church in those parts: for vpon the death of their Patriarch (who of a couetous desire to enrich himselfe had forborne to institute *Metropolitane Bishops*, when the places fell void) they all assembled themselves together to consult of the Church-gouernment. And because all the Patriarchs for 100. yeeres had bene of one house and family to the preiudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same Stocke and Kindred, who aspired to the same dignitie, which his Predecessours had held, the rest of the Professours refused to allow him. Vpon which occasion, and for the choice of a Gouernour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches assembled themselves. The words of the generall Epistle to the Pope are these, about the middle of the said Epistle: *verum nos non acceptimus neq. proclamamus ipsum, sed subito conuenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus; & ex omnibus Ciuitatibus & Pagis quas sunt circum Ciuitatem Mosel (hoc est) Attur, in uicinia Ninive, ex Babylonia, ex Charrha, ex Arbella, ex Insula que est in medio Tigris, fluminis Eden, ex Tauris Persie, ex Nisibi, &c.* which is: But wee did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we assembled our selues out of all parts of the East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about *Mosel* (or *Attur*) neighbouring *Ninue*, and out of *Babylon*, *Carra*, *Arbella*, and out of the land which lyeth in the middle of *Tigris*, a Riuer of *Eden*, or rather, out of the Ile of *Eden*, which lyeth in the Riuer *Tigris*. And in a second Epistle at the same time sent, they vse these words: *Neq. super sunt apud nos Metropolitani, quorum est ordinare Catholicum, sed solum pauci Episcopi, Episcopus Arbela, Episcopus Salmasti, Episcopus Adurbeigan, eni vestigio conuenimus in Insulam, que est intra Tigrim flumen, Eden, fecimusq. compactum inter nos, &c.* (which is) Neither are there remaining among vs any Metropolitan Bishops to whom it belongs to ordaine a Patriarch, but onely a few Bishops, as the Bishop of *Arbela*, the Bishop of *Salmastus*, and the Bishop of *Adurbeigan* but loe, we assembled speedily in the land *Eden*, which is in *Taurus*: and agreed betwene our selues, &c.

Now this land of *Eden Masius* describeth with other places; which being well conceiued, the *Nestorian Epistles*, and the state of the Church may bee in those parts (sayth he) the better vnderstood. And after hee hath distinguished the foure sorts of Christians in those parts of the World, and in the South part of *Africa*, which hee calleth *Nestorians*, *Iacobites*, *Maronites*, and *Coptis*, hee goeth on in these words: *Mos, audita illius morte, concurrebat turbulento in illam quam modo dixi Tigris Insulam, que duodecim circiter passuum millibus supra Mosal posita, decem fere millia passuum suo ambitu continet, muris undiq. cincta, & a paucis alijs quam Christianis hominibus habitata*: which is, Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch, (as those that came to *Rome*) reported they ran tumultuously together into that land of *Tigris* or *Eden* before spoken of, which land is situated about 12. miles above *Mosel*, containing very neere ten miles in compasse, and euery where inclosed with a wall, inhabited by a few other men than Christians. And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest he addeth the Ile of *Eden* by the name of *Geserta*, *Insula Tigris: sive Geserta*.

Furthermore, describing the Citie of *Hosam-cepha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *supra pradiam Tigris insulam rupi aspera impositam*; Above the foresaid land of *Tigris*, being seated on a steepe rocke. Of this land of *Geserta*, *Andrew Thevet* maketh mention in his tenth booke of his generall Cosmographie in these wordes: *Geserta ou Gesire est au milieu de la riviére du Tigre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie*; *Geserta* or *Gesire* is in the middle of *Tigris*, the soile the most fertile of all *Asia*.

By this we see that the ancient name of *Eden* liueth, and of that *Eden*, which lieth Eastward from *Arabia Petrea*, and the Desart where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Charran* according to *Ezechiel*, and that *Eden* which is seated according to the assertion of the said Prophet, and ioyned with those Nations of *Reseph*, *Canneh*, and *Charran*, and the rest which traded with the *Tyrans*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Assyria* and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelassar* were garrisoned to resist the *Assyrians*, whose displantation *Sennacherib* vaunted of (as aboue written) and lastly, the same *Eden*, which embraceth *Tigris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*; two of the knowne Riueres of those foure, which are by all men ascribed to *Paradise*.

Þ. XI.

Of the difficultie in the Text, which seemeth to make the foure Riueres to rise from one streame.

BVt it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, That a Riuer went out of *Eden*, and not Riueres, in the Plurall, which scruple *Matthæus Beroaldus* hath thus answered in his *Chronologie*: The Latine Translation (saith he) hath these wordes: *Et fluius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde diuidebatur in quatuor capita: Que verba melius consentiunt cum re narratione, & eiusdem explicatione, si ita reddatur. Et fluius erat egrediens ex Edene, (hoc est) fluius procedebat ex Edene regione ad irrigandum pomarium, & inde diuidebatur, & erat in quatuor capita: which is, And a Riuer went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was diuided into foure heads: which wordes (saith *Beroaldus*) doe better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated: And a Riuer was going forth of *Eden* (that is) Riueres went forth, and ran out of the Region of *Eden* to water the Orchard, and from thence it was diuided, and they became foure heads. The *Tigurine* differs from the *Vulgar* or *Latine*, for it conuerts it thus: *Et fluius egrediebatur de delicijs; And a Riuer went out of pleasure*, in stead of *Eden*; and the *Latine* addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis; And a Riuer went out of the place of pleasure*: and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to *Eden*, which was (of all other) a Region most delightfull and fertile; and so also the word (*inde*) and thence was diuided, hath reference to the Countrey of *Eden*, and not to the Garden it selfe.*

And for the word (*Riuer*) for Riueres, it is vsuall among the *Hebrewes*: for it is written: *Let the earth bud forth the bud of the herbe, that seedeth seeds, the fruitfull tree, &c.* Here the *Hebrew* vseth the Singular for the Plurall, *Herbe* and *Tree*, for *Herbes* and *Trees*; and againe, we eate of the fruit of the tree, in stead of (trees): And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God; In medio ligni Paradisi; In the middle of the tree of the Garden*, for (trees). And of this opinion is *David Kimhi*, and *Vatablus*, who vpon this place of *Genesis* say, that the *Hebrewes* doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as *ilud*, for *unumquodq; illorum*, and he giueth an instance in this question it selfe, as, *A Riuer* (for *Riueres*) went out of *Eden*.

And this answer out of diuers of the learned, may, not without good reason, be giuen to the objection, That *Moses* speaketh but of one Riuer, from which the heads should diuide themselves. Howbeit I denie not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may expound the foure heads, to be foure notable passages into fa-

mous

mous Countries. And so we may take the word (*Riuer*) Verse the tenth for one *Riuer* (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this *Riuer*, after he is past the place, where we suppose *Paradise* to haue bene, diuides it selfe, and ere long yeeldeth foure notable passages into severall Countries, though not all the way downe streame, (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the *Riuer* downward, there is conueynance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to *Assyria*) were vp *Tigris*.

To this end the Text speaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riseth from the *Riuer* of *Eden*, doth not say it compasseth or watheth the whole Region of *Assyria*, (as it had vseth this phrase of *Pison* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth toward *Assyria*. The first branch *Pison*, is *Nahar-maleba*, (by interpretation) *Balsim*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tigris* vnder *Apamia*, whence ariseth the name of *Pasi-tigris*, (as it were) *Piso-tigris*. This leadeth to the Land of *Hauila* or *Susiana*. The second branch *Gehon*, is that which in Historians is *Nabar-jares*, or *Narrages*, for *Nabar-ragas*: both which names signifie *flumen derivatum* (a *Riuer* deriued) also *Acacarus*, quasi *Ranofus*, by reason of the froggie Fennes which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the first seate of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldea* and *Arabia*, and it is lost at length in the Lakes of *Chaldea*. The third branch, *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the vpper streame of *Pison*, or *Balsim*, which runneth into *Hiddekel* properly so called (that is, into *Tigris*) about *Selenucia*, where it sheweth a passage vp *Tigris* into *Assyria*: where, because at length it is called *Hiddekel*, or *Tigris*, having before no knowne proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The fourth *Peraib* or *Euphrates*, so called *per excellentiam*, being the body of the *Riuer* *Euphrates*, which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otriv*. But, be it a *Riuer* or *Riueres*, that come out of *Eden*, seeing that *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that *Paradise* was not farre from these *Riueres*: for that *Peraib* in *Moses* is *Euphrates*, there can be no question; and (indeede) as plaine it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tigris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (saith *Moses*) Eastwards towards *Assur*, as we finde, that *Tigris* is the *Riuer* of *Assyria* proprie dicta, whose chiefe Citie was *Ninive*, as in *Genesis* the tenth it is written: That out of that Land (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Assur*, and builded *Ninive*, which was the chiefe Citie of *Assyria*.

And as for the kinde of speech here vset in the Text, speaking of foure heads; though the heads of *Riueres* be (properly) their Fountaynes, yet here are they to be vnderstood, to be spoken of the beginning of their diuision from the first streame. *Caput aque* (saith *VLPRIANVS*) illud est, unde aqua nascitur; *sex fonte nascitur fons*; *si ex flumine, vel ex loco prima initia, &c.* If the beginning of the water be out of a Fountayne, then is the Fountayne taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake; and if from a maine *Riuer* any branch be separate and diuided, then where that branch doth first bound it selfe with new bankes, there is that part of the *Riuer*, where the branch forsaketh the mayne streame, called the head of the *Riuer*.

Þ. XII.

Of the strange fertilitie and happinesse of the Babylonian Soile, as it is certayne that *Eden* was such.

IT may also be demanded, whether this Region of *Eden*, by vs described, be of such fertilitie and beautie, as *Eden* the seate of *Paradise* was: which if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the earth, that retaineth that fertilitie and pleasure, that it had before the curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the earth, nor the same vertue to any plant thereon growing, that they had before

before

Herod. Clia. 1.1.

before the flood; and therefore this Region of *Eden* may be now no such flourishing Countrey, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I finde written of it: First in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witnesse, and speaketh of the very place it selfe, for the Ile of *Eden* is but twelue miles or thereabout from *Ninive*, and so from *Mosul*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, iuxta quod Vrbis Ninus sita erat. Hac regio, omnium quas non vidimus, optima est.* &c. Where *Euphrates* runneth out into *Tigris*, not farre from the place where *Ninus* is seated, This Region, of all that we haue seene, is most excellent; and he addeth afterward: *Cerevis autem fructu procreando adeo ferax est, ut nunquam non ferè ducentis reddat.* &c. (that is) it is so fruitfull in bringing forth Corne, that it yeldeth two hundred fold: The leaves of Wheate and Barley being to almost foure fingers broad: As for the height of Millet and Sefame, they are even in length like unto trees, which although I know to be true, yet I forbear to speake hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfullnesse, will seeme very incredible to those, which neuer were in the Countrey of *Babylon*. They haue commonly in all the Countrey Palme-trees growing of their owne accord, it is most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both meates, and wine, and honny, ordering them as the Fig-trees. Thus farre *Herodotus*.

To this Palme-tree so much admired in the East *India*, *Strabo* and *Niger* adde a fourth excellencie, which is, that it yeldeth bread; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt*; Of which these people make bread, wine, honny, and vineger. But *Antonius* the *Eremita* findeth a fifth commoditie, not inferior to any of those foure, which is, that from this selfe-fame Tree there is drawne a kind of fine flaxe, of which people make their garments, and with which in East *India* they prepare the cordage for their ships; and that this is true, *Athanasius* in the life of *Antonius* the *Eremita*, confesseth, saying: That he receiued a garment made thereof from the *Eremita* himselfe, which he brought with him out of this Region. So therefore those Trees, which the East *Indies* so highly esteeme and so much admire (as indeede the Earth yeldeth no plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this vpper *Babylon*, or Region of *Eden*, as common as any Trees of the field. *Sant etiam* (saith *STRABO*) *pascim per omnem regionem Palme sua sponte nascentes*; There are of Palmes ouer all the whole Region, growing of their owne accord. Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report: *Enitibus à parte laua Arabia odorum fertilitate nobilis, regio campestris interest inter Tigrim & Euphratem, iacentem ubere & pinguis solo, ut à pastore pellit pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat*; (that is) As you traueile on the left hand of *Arabia* (famous for plenty of sweet odors) there lieth a *Champaigne* Countrey placed betwene *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and so fruitfull and fat a soile, that they are said to drine their Cattell from the pasture, lest they should perishe by satietie. *Bis in anno segetes Babylonij sciant*; The *Babylonians* cut their Corne twice a yeere (saith *Niger*.) And as Countreys generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, then in the Northern parts: so we may iudge the excellencie of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South part of *Armenia*, which is the North border of *Eden*, or a part thereof; his wordes be these in the Latine: *Tota enim hac regio frugibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, itemq; semper virentibus*; This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, and trees, alwaies greene: which witnesseth a perpetuall Spring, not found elswhere but in the *Indies* only, by reason of the Sunnes neighbourhood, the life and stirre vp of nature in a perpetuall actiuitie. In briefe, so great is the fertilitie of the ground, that the people are contrayned twice to mow downe their Corne-fields, and a third time to eate them vp with sheep: which husbandrie the *Spaniards* wanting in the Valley of *Mexico*, for the first fortie yeeres, could not make our kind of Wheate beare seeds, but it grew vp as high as the trees, and was fruitlesse. Besides, those fields are altogether without weedes (saith *Plinie*) who addeth this singulartie to that soile, That the second yeere the very stubble (or rather falling downe of the feedes againe) yeldeth them a harvest of Corne without any further labour: his wordes are these: *Perbiatis tantis sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte restitulis fiat seges*.

Plin. Nat. hist. 1. 18. c. 17.

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d. XIII.

Of the River Pison, and the land of Haulab.



After the discouerie of *Eden*, and the testimonies of the fertilitie thereof, it resteth to proue that *Pison* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*. For that the knowledge and certaintie of these two Riuers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me, seeing necessitie it selfe (*Tigris* and *Euphrates* being knowen) findeth them out: for *Euphrates* or *Tigris*, or both be that river or riuers of *Eden*, which water *Paradise*, which river or riuers *Moses* witnesseth afterward, diuided into foure heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gehon*, &c. Could there be a stranger fancie in the world, then when we finde both these (namely) *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, to seeke the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two Riuers as farre distant, as any of fame knowe or discouered in the world: the Scriptures making it so plaine, that these Riuers were diuided into foure branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason and Experience bearing witnesse. There is no errour, which hath not some slipperie and bad foundation, or some appearance of probability, resembling truth, which when men (who studie to be singular) finde out, (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention, and jangling: not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens minde, to find some partakers or sectatours, the better by their helpe to nurse and cherish such weak babes, as their owne inuentions haue begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the river of *Pison*) seemeth to haue growne out of the not-distinguishing of that Region in *India*, called *Haulab*, from *Hamilab*, which adioyneth to *Babylonia*, afterward knowne by the name of *Susiana*. For *Haulab* vpon *Tigris* tooke name from *Haulab* the sonne of *Cush*; and *Hamilab* in *India*, from *Hamilab* the sonne of *Israhel*, the one remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*, Gen. 10. 7. the other where *Moses* setteth downe the generations of *Nosh*, and his sonnes after the flood. For the sonnes of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Haulab*, *Sabitah*, and *Raamah*, and the sonnes of *Israhel* were *Ophir*, and *Hamilab*, &c. of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Haulab* the sonnes of *Israhel*, that *Iland* of *Ophir*, (whence *Salomon* had gold) and *Hamilab* adioyning had their names. Now because *Ganges* is a great and a famous Riuier of the East *India*, and *Haulab* a Countrey of the same, and is situated vpon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Pison*, which Riuier is laid by *Moses* to water the land of *Haulab*. Or perhaps it was supposed that those foure Riuers, named by *Moses*, must of necessitie be foure of the greatest in the world; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous riuier after *Tigris* & *Euphrates*) they chose out this Riuier to make one of the foure. And yet certainly there is another Riuier, 10. 19. whom in these respects they should rather haue chosen then *Ganges*; for the Riuier *Indus* on this side *India*, for beautie, for neernesse, & for abilitie, giueth no way place to *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceiue, that *Ganges* can be one of the foure heads, seeing *Indus* commeth betwene it and *Tigris*? and betwene *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Persia*, consisting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther toward the East, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample Dominions of *India* intra *Gangem*, which lie betwene those two proud Riuers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdomes of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* bee not accounted for any of the foure, because it is removed from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Persia*, then how much lesse *Ganges*, which falleth into the Ocean, little lesse then 50 fortie degrees to the Eastward of *Indus*? Surely whosoever readeth the storie of *Alexander*, shall finde, that there is no riuier in *Asia*, that can exceede *Indus*. For *Hysdaspis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great Gallies transported himselfe, and the greatest part of his armie, and in saying down that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deepe, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his

his whole Fleete, which was ready to bee swallowed vp therein: *Hydaspes* (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, having besides this, the Rivers of *Coas*, of *Susius*, *Acefines*, *Adrius*, (otherwise *Hiratus*, *Hipidus*, and *Zaradrius*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are swallowed vp with all their children and companions, which being all incorporate and made one streame, it crosseth athwart *Asia*, and then at *Cambala* vistrerth the Ocean Sea.

Gen. 2. 15.

But because *Pison*, which compasseth *Hauilab*, as also *Gebon*, which watereth *Cush*, must some where be ioyned with the rest in one body, or at least be found to proceed out of the same Countrey of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads doe proceede, out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other, bee *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* riseth in the vtmost of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterranean* Sea; and the River *Ganges* riseth out of the mountaine *Imaus*, or (as others will haue it) *Concasus*, which diuides the Northerne *Sythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddikel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, neere *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other not farre off in the same *Armenia*, by the *Gordian* mountaines, so as *Ganges*, who onely trauielleth in her owne *India*, and *Nilus* through *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, neuer saw the land of *Eden*, or ioyned themselves in one Channell, either with themselves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence bee separated, or diuided into foure heads or branches, according to *Moses*.

Gen. 2. 15.

Therefore the River *Pison*, which enricheth *Hauilab*, is the same which by ioyning it selfe with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Piso-tigris*, or *Piso-tigris*, of *Pison* and *Tigris*, which River watereth that *Hauilab*, which *Hauilab* the sonne of *Cush* gaue name vnto, and not *Hauilab* of *India*, so called of *Hauilab* the sonne of *Isctan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the East. And this *Hauilab* of the *Cushites* hath also Gold, *Bdellium*, and the *Onyx* stone. This *Bdellium* is a tree, of the bigneffe of an Oliue, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yeeldeth a certaine gumme, sweete to smell to, but bitter in taste, called also *Bdellium*. The Hebrewes take the Load-stone for *Bdellium*. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in Hebrew signifieth *30* Pearle: so doth *Engubinus*, and *Hierome* calls it *Oleaster*: be it what it will, a tree bearing gumme, or Pearle: *Hauilab*, or *Susiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Countrey of *Susiana* or *Hauilab* stretcheth it selfe toward the North, as farre as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence imbraceth all that Tract of land Southward, as farre as the *Persian Gulfe*, on the East side thereof: from which East side had the *Shebans* (which traded with the Citie of *Tyre*, according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of gold, which *Strabo* also witnesseth, as was shewed before.

Strab.
Hep. de Per.

The Greekes had a conceit, that *Pison* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbines* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-ezra* (sayth *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Sanda* tranlateth *Pison* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the same impossibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Hellefont* and all *Asia* the lesse, betwene it and *Tigris*. Now *Pison*, which runneth through *Hauilab* or *Susiana*, doth to this day retaine some signe of this name; for where it and *Tigris* embrace each other vnder the Citie of *Apamia*, there doe they agree of a ioyned and compounded name, and are called *Piso-tigris*. And it is strange vnto me, that from so great antiquitie there should bee found remaining any resembling found of the first name: for *Babylon* it selfe, which dwelleth so neere these rivers, is by some writers knowne by the name of *Bandus*, as, by *Postellus*, by *Cassiodorus*, of *Baldach*: by *Barius*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Bougedor*, by *Andrew Theuer*; and yet all those that haue lately scene it, call it *Bagdet*. To this river of *Pison*, *Ptolome* indeed with many others giue the name of *Bassius*, or *Regius*, and *Gehan* they terme *50* *Nihar-fares* and *Murfas*, and *Naar-fares*. So is *Euphrates*, neere the Spring and fontaine, by *Strabo* and *Plinie* called *Pisicrates*: by *Iunius Puckerab*, out of the Hebrew, (that is) The profusion, or coming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the mountaine *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plinarch* calls it *Adades* and *Zaranda*: the

Post. Cosmog.
Theuer. Cosmog.

Arist. 4.

Th. 1. 6. 5. 2. 14.

that the Hebrewes Parath, (sayth *Ar. Montanus*): *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Iosephus*, *Phorath*, *Eucorin*, *Zozanius*: *Ammianus*, *Chalymicus*: *Gisilanus*, and *Colinutius* terme it *Cobar*: which *Ezekiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Affryans* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nabor Malcha*; but now commonly it is called *Perat*.

The same confusion of names hath *Tigris*, as *Diglito*, and *Diglati*, *Seitax*, and *Solax*: of the Hebrewes it was called *Hiddikel*: now of the inhabitants *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* vpon *Genesis* conceiueth rightly of these riuers: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (sayth he) streame into foure branches, two of which keepe their ancient names, and the other two are called *Pison* and *Gebon*. The reason, why these two riuers ioyned in one (below *Apamia*) lose their names, and are called *Piso-tigris*, and the memorie of *Euphrates* extinguihed, is, because the best part of *Euphrates* running through the channell of *Gebon*, sinketh into the Lakes of *Chaldea*, not farre from *Per*, the Citie of *Abraham*, and fall not intirely into the *Persian* Sea, as *Tigris* accompanied with *Pison* doth.

This error that *Pison* was *Ganges*, was first broched by *Iosephus*, (whose fieldes, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weeds) and other men (who take his authoritie to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, and *Hierome*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as *Pison* was transported into the East *India*, to find out *Hauilab*: so was *Gebon* drawne into *Africa*, to compass *Ethiopia*. But if *Hauilab*, whereof *Moses* speaketh in the description of *Paradise*, be found to be a Region, adjoining to *Babylon* on the one side, and *Cush* (which is falsly interpreted *Ethiopia*) fastened to it on the other side, wee shall not neede then to worke wonders (that is) to impose vpon men the transportation of riuers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other vses) were made to transport men. Now it was in the valley of *Shinar*, where *Cush* the sonne of *Ham* first late downe with his sonnes *Shebah*, *Hauilab*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Hauilab*, the sonne of *Cush*, did that Region take name, which *Pison* compasseth; and the land (called *Cush*) which *Gebon* watereth, tooke name of *Cush* himselfe. For as the sonnes of *Isctan*, *Ophir* and *Hauilab*, seated themselves as neere together as they could in *India*, so did the sonnes of *Cush* in *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Hauilab* or *Cbauilab* was first *Chusea* of *Cush*; then *Chusa*, *Susa*, and *Susian*.

From this *Hauilab* vnto the Deserts of *Sur*, did the *Israelites* and *Amalechites* possesse all the interiack Countries: for *Saul* smote the *Amalechites* from *Hauilab* to *Sur*: which *Sur*, the *Chaldean Paraphrast* conuerteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the red Sea; but this was not meant from *Sur* vpon the red Sea, to *Hauilab* in the East *India*, for *Saul* was no such traualer or Conquerour, and therefore *Hauilab* must be found neerer home, where the sonnes of *Ismael* inhabited, and which Countrey *Saul* wasted: for *Amalek* and the *Amalechites* posselt that necke of Countrey, between the *Persian* Sea, and the red Sea; *Hauilab* being the extreme of the one towards the East, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the West, leauing that great body of *Arabia felix* towards the South, and they spred themselves with the *Midianites* and *Edumaeans*, from the East part, or backe side of the Holie Land, to the bankes of *Euphrates*, comprising the best parts of *Arabia Petraea*, and *Deserta*.

1. Sam. 15. 7.

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§. XIII.

Of the River Gehon and the Land of Cush: and of the ill translating of the *Æthiopia* for *Cush*, 2. CHRON. 21. 16.

NOW, as *Hanilah* in the East *India* drew *Pison* so farre out of his way thither, so I say did *Cush* (being by the *Senentie* translated *Æthiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Ægypt*. For *Cush* being taken for *Æthiopia* by the *Greekes*, whom the *Latines* followed, *Gehon* consequently was esteemed for *Nilus*. But *Æthiopian* are, as much, as *blacke* or *burnt* faces, whose proper Countrie is called *Thebaides*, lying to the Southward of all *Ægypt*. And although there be many other Regions of *Æthiopian*s, and far South in *Africa*, yet those of *Thebaides* are those so often remembred in the *Ægyptian* stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Ægypt*: all which *Æthiopian*s are very neere, or else directly vnder the Equinoctiall line, which is very farre from that land inhabited by the *Chusites*; who are neither blacke of colour, nor in any sort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this Translation of the *Septuagint*, *Pererius* doth qualifie in this manner: There are (saith he) two *Æthiopia*'s, the East, and the West: and this diuision he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now because there is no colour to make *Chus* *Æthiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Chus* and the Land of the *Chusites* to (which is *Arabia Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happy, with the Region of *Madian*) to be the East *Æthiopia*.

Now if it be granted, that *Cush* and the Land of the *Chusites*, be that Tract from *Sur* to *Hanilah*, according to the Scriptures: *Habitauit* *ISMAEL* *ab* *Hanilah* *v* *q* *Sur*, *que* *respicit* *Ægyptum* *in* *occidentibus* *Affryis*; *ISMAEL* *dwelt* *from* *Hanilah* *unto* *Sur*, *that* *is* *towards* *Ægypt*, *as* *thou* *goest* *toward* *Affryia*; The same sufficeth to proue that *Gehon* cannot be *Nilus*, but a River which watereth *Cush*, and not *Æthiopia*. But this place of Scripture, *Habitauit* *ISMAEL*, &c. hath this sense: *Ismael* dwelt from *Hanilah*, which is the way of *Affryia*, or the Countrie bordering *Affryia*; and *Sur*, which lyeth toward *Ægypt*, which is as much to say, as, The Issues of *Ismael* (whereof there 30 were twelve Princes) whom God had promised to make a great people, inhabited all those Regions between the border of *Ægypt* and *Affryia*. And that they were (according to the word of God) so increased and multiplied, it well appeared, when *Zearab* the *Chusite*, which others call *Tharantia*, brought an Armie of ten thousand thousand against *Afa* King of *Inda*. Which Armie came not out of *Æthiopia* beyond *Ægypt*; for that had beene a strange progresse for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, hauing so mightie a King as the King of *Ægypt*, betwene *Palestina* and *Æthiopia*. But these were the *Chusites*, *Amalechites*, *Madianites*, *Ismaelites*, and *Arabians*. For it is written, that after *Afa* (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his victorie tooke some of the Cities of King 40 *Zearab* round about, as *Gerar*. Now that *Gerar* is a Citie of the *Æthiopian*s, it cannot be suspected: for these be the wordes of the Scripture disprouing it: And *ABRAHAM* departed thence toward the South Countrie, and dwelt betwene *Cadish* and *Sur*, and joyned in *Gerar*: Now *Sur* is that part, vpon which *Moses* and the *Ismaelites* first set their feete after they passed the Red Sea, where the *Amalechites* in *Rephidim* set on them, supposing that they had beene wearie, and vnable to resist. Again, in the storie of *Isaac* it is written: *Wherefore* *ISAC* went to *ABIMELECH*, and the *Philistims* unto *Gerar*: and I am sure *Abimelech* and the *Philistims* were no *Æthiopian*s. And lastly, *Moses* himselfe, where he describeth the bounds of *Canaan*, hath these wordes: *Then* the border of the *Canaanites* was from *Syden*, as then commeth to *Gerar*: for *Syden* was the 50 Frontier of *Canaan* towards the North, and *Gerar* by *Gazah* towards the South. But indeede, howfoeuer *Pererius* doth with an honest excuse salue his Translation of *Chus* for *Æthiopia*, yet it appeareth plainly, that the *Septuagint* and *Iosephus* did altogether misvnderstand this place. And first, for *Homer*'s East and West *Æthiopia*, they

they are both found elsewhere. For *Plinie* in his fifth Booke and eighth Chapter, citeth *Homer* for an Authour, of these two *Æthiopia*s. But the East *Æthiopia* is that which compasseth *Nilus* to the South of *Ægypt*, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the *Abyssynes*, vnder *Prefter Iohn*; And the West *Æthiopia* is that, which ioyneth it selfe with the River *Niger*, which we call *Senega* and *Gambra*: for these abouts are these *Æthiopian*s called *Pereris*, *Naraites*, with diuers other names, which *Plinie* numbred. But all these are in *Africa*, and beyond the *Deserts* *Plin.* 5. c. 8. thereof, sayth *Plinie* out of *Homer*, *Agrippa*, and *Isba*; which Regions indeede (I mean that of *Niger*, and that of *Prefter Iohn*, and the *Troglodytes*) lye due East and West. But as for *Cush* and the Region of the *Ismaelites*, &c. they are extended directly North from that *Æthiopia*, which is beyond *Ægypt*. Now, that *Iosephus* was exceeding grosse herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which hee bath of *Moses* when he serued *Pharao*, in the warres against the *Æthiopian*s: for in that (to make *Chus*, *Æthiopia*) hee transporteth *Madian* by miracle ouer the Red Sea, and beyond all *Ægypt*, and setteth it in *Æthiopia*, as shall be shewed more at large in the Chapter of the Worlds Plantation. Again, that *Gehon* was improperly translated *Nilus*, *Pererius* confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the *Greeke* Copie, than otherwise. And whereas the *Septuagint* haue conuerted this place of the Prophet *HEREMIE*; And what hast thou now to doe in the way of *Ægypt*, to drinke the water of *Ni-* *l.* 2. v. 18. *lus*? *Quid tibi vis in via* *Ægypti*, *ut bibas* *aquam* *Gehon*? to this faith *PERERIVS*, *pre-* *fecto* *Hebraice* *ibi* *non* *est* *vox* *Gehon*, *sed* *Sichor*, *que* *significat* *nigrum* & *turbidum*; Truly (saith *PERERIVS*) the word *Gehon* in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but *Sichor*, which significeth blacke and troubled water.

Furthermore, this is a manifest and vnanswerable argument, that *Chus* was ill taken for *Æthiopia*. *Moses* married the Daughter of *Iethro*, Prince and Priest of *Madian*, whom both the *Greeke* and *Latine* call a *Madianite*, and not *Æthiopian*, as (with *Iosephus*) *The Genens* conuers it, though it helps it a little with a marginal note. Now it is without dispute, that *Zipporah* was of the Countrie of *Madian*, which is that part of *Arabia Petraea*, bordering the Red Sea; for it is written in the second of *Exodus*, that *MOSES* fled from *PHARAO* into the Land of *Madian*, and sate downe by a Well, &c. and againe, in the third of *Exodus*; when *MOSES* kept the sheepe of *IEHRO* his father in law, Priest of *Madian*, &c. Indeed, these four Nations are euerie where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell confusedly together (to wit) the *Madianites*, the *Ismaelites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Chusites*, which were all in one generall word, *Arabians*, and in the Scriptures sometimes called by one of those names, and sometimes by another, as in *Gen.* 37. v. 25. 27. & 28. that *Ioseph* was sold to the *Ismaelites*; and in the same Chapter, v. 36. it is written, that the *Madianites* sold *Ioseph* to *Putiphar*, *Pharao*'s Steward. The *Genens* in a marginal note (to auoid this confounding of the Nations) say, that *Moses* wrote according to their opinion, who tooke the *Madianites* and *Ismaelites* to be all one. But *Moses* wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth, and these were all *Arabians*, and so in this very place it appeareth by their merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought *Ioseph*: for their Camels were laden with Spicery and Balme, and Myrre, which are the Trades of *Arabia felix*: from whence chiefly, and from the East *India*, all the World is serued with Myrre and Frankincense; and their Spices they received from the East side of the *Arabian Gulfe*, as aforesaid. And in the 39. Chapter it is said: That *Putiphar* bought *Ioseph* of the *Ismaelites*, which the *Chaldean Paraphrast* in the same place calleth *Arabians*. Now, to make this the more manifest, it is written in the sixth of *Judges*; That when *Israel* had sown, then came vp the *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, and they of the East, and came vpon them: they of the East, were *Arabians* of the Desert; so as where before in the buying of *Ioseph*, the *Madianites* and the *Ismaelites* were confused, here the *Madianites* and *Amalekites* are made one Nation. For in the prosecution of the Story of *Gedeon*, the *Madianites* only are named, as comprehending both Nations; and in the eight Chapter, v. 24. these Nations are all called *Ismaelites*, and

and neyther *Medianites* nor *Amalekites*. As when *Gedeon* desired, that every man would give him the golden eare-rings, which they had taken after the victory against *Zebab* and *Zalmunna*, Kings of *Arabia*, amounting to 1700. shickles of gold, it is written: For they had golden eare-rings, because they were *Ismaelites*. And these *Ismaelites* were a great and valiant Nation, and cuer in action of warre. *Manus eius contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum*; His hand (sayth God of *ISRAEL*) shall bee against all men, and every mans hand against him. Of these *Ismaelites* came the *Mahometan Arabians*, though some Writers thinke *Mahomet* to be of the *Schenite*. And these *Ismaelites*, which inhabit chiefly in *Cedar*, and the Desarts of *Sur* and *Pharan* (saith *Iosephus*) vse poyson vpon their Arrowes, as the *Indians* doe. Towards the South-east are the *Adianites*, and *Chusites*; and beyond them, towards the Desarts of *Arabia*, the *Amalekites*; and all are one Nation, and all *Arabians*.

Lastly, the ill translation of *Ethiopia* for *Chus*, is among other places, made most apparent, in the second of *Chronicles*, in these wordes: So the Lord stirred up against *IEHORAM*, the spirit of the *Philistines*, and the *Arabians*, which confine the *Ethiopi*, so *Hierome* reads it: the *Genuea* translation bath it, which were besides the *Ethiopi*. Now, how farre it is off betwene the *Philistines*, and the *Negros*, or the *Ethiopi*, so very man that looketh in a Map may iudge. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians* doe mixe and ioyne with the Land of the *Chusites*, and are distant from *Ethiopia* about two and thirtie, or three and thirtie degrees, and therefore not their next Neighbours; but all *Egypt*, and the Desarts of *Sur* and *Pharan*, are betwene them. So as this place of the second of *Chronicles*, should have bene translated in these wordes: So the Lord stirred up against *IEHORAM*, the spirit of the *Philistines*, and the *Arabians*, which confine and border vpon the *Chusites*, who indeed are their next Neighbours. * *Nulla superest dubitatio quin Ethiopia in Sacris literis sit Arabia propinqua*; There remaineth no doubt (sayth *STEVCHVS*) but *Ethiopia* in the Scriptures, is taken for that Country, which ioyneeth to *Arabia*.

Now may we thinke it is probable, or possible, that *Moses* could bee ignorant of *Nilus*? No, he knew it, no living man so well, and therefore would neuer have named *Gehon*, for *Nilus*, or *Nilus* for *Gehon*. Surely, if *Moses* had meant *Nilus*, when he named *Gehon*, he would have called the River (into which he was cast vpon Reeds, and preferred by God, working compassion in the Daughter of *Pharao*) a River of *Egypt*, wherein he was borne and bred, and wrought so many Miracles. Besides, the River of *Nilus* is often named in the Scriptures, but neuer by the name of *Gehon*. And if *Moses* had told the *Israelites*, that *Nilus* had bene a River of *Paradise*, they might iustly have thought, that hee had derided them: for they had liued there all dayes of their liues, and found no such *Paradise* at all, nor any memory, or speech thereof; except wee shall beleue the *Paradise* of *Hesperides*, where (sayth *Plinie*) there was nothing found in his time, but wild Oliues in stead of golden Apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Siehor*, once in *Egypt*, and once in the Prophet *Hieremie*; and yet in those places it is not said to be a River of *Ethiopia*, but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Israelites* had neuer any communion or affaires with the *Ethiopi*, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond *Egypt*, to the South; but the Enemies which they had on the South, and East-parts, were these Nations of the *Chusites*, *Philistines*, *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Medianites*: who being often gouerned by many little Kings, or Regals, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers and Heads of those Nations; but in one generall name were all *Arabians*. On the North-side of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Caldeyrians*, with the *Magegians*, *Tubalines*, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themselves, the Nations, which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the strongest Cities vpon the Sea-coast (as) *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Acon*, *Gaza*, and many others: yea, *Hierusalem* it selfe was with-held from *Israel* (from the dayes of *Moses*, even vnto the time of *Dauid*) by the *Iebusites*.

That which now remaineth of most difficultie is, that it doth not appeare, that any part of *Gehon* watereth that part of *Arabia* the stonie, which the *Chusites* inhabit-

ted in the times of the Kings of *Israel*: and in this Desart it was that *Matt. Beraldu* lost himselfe in seeking out *Paradise*: for hee was driuen (to my vnderstanding) to create two Riuer, and call them *Gehon*, and *Pison*: to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Hauilah*, for I finde none such in *verum natura*, as hee hath described: by which Riuer hee also includeth within *Paradise*, euen *Arabia* the Desart.

And as he well proued that *Pison* was not *Ganges*, nor *Gehon*, *Nilus*: so where to find them else, where it seemeth he knew not. Certainly this River of *Gehon*, which he maketh to fall into the *Mediterran* at *Gaza*, and whose Springs hee findeth farre East in *Arabia*, is but imaginary: for the Current by *Gaza* is but a small streame, rising betwene it and the Red Sea, whose head from *Gaza* is little more then twentie *English* myles, as shall appeare hereafter. But questionable, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the *Chusites*, as they were planted when the state of *Israel* stood, and when it flourished, being then their neere Neighbours, and neuer looked backe to the first seates and plantation of *Chus*. For after the Flood, *Chus* and his children neuer reited, till they found the Valley of *Shinar*, in which, and neere which himselfe with his sonnes first inhabited, *HAVILAH* tooke the River-side of *Tigris* chiefly on the East, which after his owne name he called *HAVILAH*, (now *Susiana*;) *Ramab*, and *Sheba* farther downe the

10 River, in the entrance of *Arabia felix*. *NIMROD* feasted himselfe in the best of the Valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *Chus* himselfe and his brother *MIZRAIM* first kept vpon *Gehon*, which fallth into the Lakes of *Chaldea*, and in proceesse of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more Welterly towards the Red or *Arabian* Sea: from whence *MIZRAIM* past oner into *Egypt*, in which Tract the *Chusites* remained for many yeeres after. Now because there could bee no such River found in *Arabia* the stonie, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they translated *Chus* *Ethiopia*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*. And if we doe examine this mistaking by example, wee shall the better perceiue it as it was. For let vs suppose, that *BRUTE*, or whosoever else that first peopled this 30 land, had arriued vpon the River of *Thames*, and calling the land after his name *BRITANNIA*, it might be said that *Thames* or *Tems* was a river, that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards in proceesse of time, the same *BRUTE* had also discovered and conquered *Scotland*, which he also entituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after-ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, because the river of *Tems* is not found therein. Or let vs suppose that *EVROPA*, the daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phoenicia*, gaue the name to *Europe*, according to *Ilerodotus*, and that the first discoverers thereof arriued in the mouth of some river in *Thrace*, which then watered as much of *Europe*, as hee first discovered, (shall wee in like sort resolute, that *France*, *Spaine*, and *Italy*, &c. are no parts of *Europe*, because that River is not found 40 in them, or any of them?) In like manner was it said by *Moses* in his description of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole land of *Chus*; but not the whole land which the *Chusites* should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit, seeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) haue bene Masters in time, (as the *Saracens* which came of them were) of a great part of the world. For (though the *Babylonian Empire*, which tooke beginning in *NIMROD* the sonne of *CHUS*, consisted at the first but of foure Cities. (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*, yet wee finde, that his Successours within a few yeeres after commounded all the whole world in effect: and the fame of *Babel* consumed the memorie of *Chus*. For of this *Tower of Confusion* did all that land take the name of *Babylonia*: and the greatnesse of that Empire founded by *NIMROD* a younger sonne, obscured the name and nation of his father *CHUS* in those parts, vntill they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the *Babylonian Empire*, where the *Chusites* retained their names, which also they fastned to the Soile and Territorie by themselves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke,

that CHVS or any of his could in haste creepe through those desert Regions, which the length of 130. yeares after the flood had (as it were) fortified with thickets, and permitted every bulsh and briar, reede and tree to ioyne themselves (as it were) into one maine body and Forrest. For if wee looke with iudgement and reason into the worlds plantation, we shall finde, that every family seated themselves as neere together as possible they could; and though necessitie enforced them, after they grew full of people, to spread themselves, and creepe out of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, yet did they it with this aduice, as that they might at all times resort, and succour one another by riuer, the fields being then (without all doubt) impassable. So NIMROD, who out of wit and strength vsurped dominion over the rest, sate downe in the very confluence of all those riuers, which watered *Paradise*: for thither it was to which the greatest troupes of NOAH'S children repaired; and from the same place whence Mankinde had his beginning, from thence had they againe their increase. The first Father of men ADAM, had therein his former habitation. The second Father of Mankinde NOAH, began from thence his dispersion.

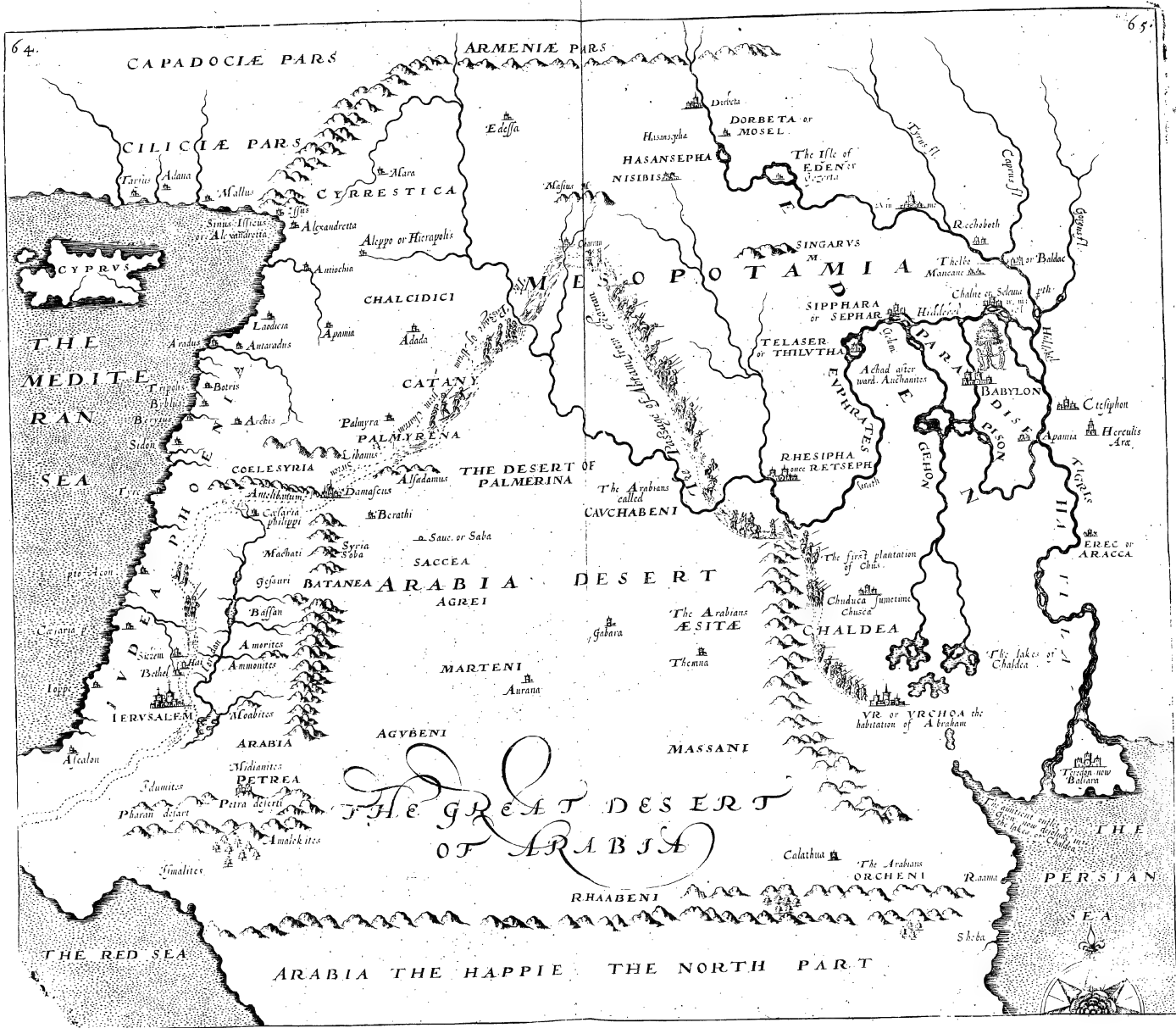
Now as NIMROD the yongest, yet strongest, made his choice of *Babel* (as aforesaid) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleansed and enriched; so did HAVILAH place himselfe vpon *Piso-tigris*: RAAMAH and his sonne SHERA farther downe vpon the same Riuer, on the Sea-coast of *Arabia*: CHVS himselfe vpon *Gehon*, the fairest branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to spread themselves farther off, yet they alwayes fastened themselves to the Riuer's sides: for *Ninive*, *Charran*, *Reseph*, *Canneh*, &c. in *Chaldea*, and the other first-peopled Cities were all founded vpon these Navigable Riuer, or their branches, by which the one might giue succour and assistance to the other, as is already often remembered.

§. XV.

A conclusion by way of repetition of something spoken of before.

BV now to conclude this dispute, it appeareth to mee by the testimonies of the Scriptures, that *Paradise* was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, seated in the lower part of the Region of *Eden*, afterward called *Aram fluuiorum*, or *Mesopotamia*, which taketh into it also a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region standing in the most excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35. degrees from the *Aequinoctiall*, and 55. from the North-pole: in which Climate the most excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Graine of all sorts are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proueth the excellency of this sayd soyle and temper, then the abundant growing of the Palme-trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein fouer the Earth, Nature, and the Sunne can most vaunt, that they haue excelled, yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their workes: this Tree alone giueth vnto man what fouer his life beggeth at Natures hand. And though it may bee said, that these Trees are found both in the East and West *Indies*, which Countries are also blessed with a perpetuall Spring and Summer, yet, lay downe by those pleasures and benefits the fearefull and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venomous beasts and wormes, with other inconueniences, and then there will be found no comparison betwene the one and the other.

What other excellencies this Garden of *Paradise* had, before God (for mans ingratitude and crueltie) cursed the Earth, we cannot iudge; but I may safely thinke, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all liuing men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular Garden exceed all parts of the Vniuersall World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow



THE GREAT DESERT OF ARABIA

ARABIA THE HAPPIE THE NORTH PART

grow the Trees of Life, of Knowledge; Plants only proper, and becoming the *Paradise*, and Garden of so great a Lord.

The summe of all this is, That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture haue beene dimme-sighted (some of them finding *Paradise* beyond our knowne World: some, about the middle Region of the Ayre: some, eleuated neere the Moone: others, as farre South as the Line, or as farre North, as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the Reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like Castles in the Ayre, and in mens fancies, vainly imagined. For it was Eastward in *Eden* (sayth *Moses*) Eastward, in respect of *Iudaea*, that God planted this Garden, which *Eden* wee find in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. 10. A River went out of *Eden* to water this Garden, and from thence diuided it selfe into foure branches; and we find that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* swimming through *Eden*, doe ioyn in one, and afterward taking wayes apart, doe water *Chus* and *Hauilah*, according to *Moses*: the true seates of *Chus* and his Sonnes then being in the Valley of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Pison* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, Reason, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was neuer ioyned, cannot bee diuided, *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot bee a branch of the Rivers of *Eden*; That *Gebon* was *Nilus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibilitie, and this River is a greater stranger to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, then *Ganges* is: for although there 20 are betweene *Tigris* and *Ganges* about foure thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the Mountaines of the Moone, almost as farre off as the *Cape of good hope*, and falleth into the *Mediterran* Sea: and *Euphrates* distilleth out of the Mountaines of *Armenia*, and falleth into the *Gulfe of Persia*: the one riseth in the South, and trauaileth North: the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, threescore and three Degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following, I haue added a *Chorographical* description of this terrestrial *Paradise*, that the Reader may thereby the better conceiue the preceding Discourse; and this is the reward I looke for, that my labours may but receiue an allowance suspended, vntill such time, as this description 30 of mine be reprobued by a better.



CHAP. IIII.

Of the two chiefe Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

§. I.

That the Tree of Life was a materiall Tree: and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made subiect to death.



OR eating the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge was Adam driven out of Paradise, in *exilium vite temporalis*, into the banishment of temporal life, sayth Beda. That these Trees of Life and Knowledge were materiall Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospell) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile, as nothing can fix them, and so slippery, as nothing can fasten them, haue in this also deliuered to the World an imaginarie doctrine.

The Tree of Life (say the Hebrewes) hath a plural construction, and is to be vnderstood, *Lignum vitarum*, The Tree of liues, because the fruit thereof had a proprietie, to preferue both the growing, sensitiue, and rational life of man; and not only (but for Adams transgression) had prolonged his owne dayes, but also giuen a durefull continuance to all posteritie; and that, so long, as a bodie compounded of Elements could last.

Barthol. 2. 1. 174.

And although it is hard to thinke, that flesh and bloud could bee immortall, but that it must once perish and rot, by the vnchanged Law of God imposed on his creatures, Man (notwithstanding) should haue enjoyed thereby a long, healthfull, and vngriued life: after which (according to the opinion of most Diuines) hee should haue bene translated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the Flood, the dayes of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred yeeres; and soone after the flood, of two hundred yeeres and vpwards, euen to five hundred: so if Adam had not disobeyed Gods first and easie Commandement, the liues of men on Earth might haue continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men haue conceiued. *Chrysostome*, *Rupertus*, *Tostatus*, and others were of beliefe, that (but for Adams fall and transgression) Adam and his Posteritie had bene immortall. But such is the infinite wisdom of God, as he foresaw that the Earth could not haue contained Mankind; or else, that Millions of soules must haue bene vngenerated, and haue had no being, if the first number, wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for euer: and therefore that of *Chrysostome* must bee vnderstood of immortalitie of bodies, which should haue bene translated and glorified.

But of what kind or *Species* this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which respect many haue conceiued, that the same was not materiall, but a meere Allegorie, taking their strength out of *Salomon*, where Wisdom is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the Tree of Life, and out of the *Apocalypsis*, *I will giue to him that ouercometh, to eat of the Tree of Life*, which is in the Paradise of God. But to this place Saint *Augustine* answers may suffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a

Al. eccl. 2. 7.

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terrestriall Paradise, so there was a celestiall. For although *Agar* and *Sara* were Figures of the Old, and New Testament, yet to thinke that they were not Women, and the Maid and Wife of *Abraham*, were meere foolishnesse. And so in this place the sense of the Scripture is manifest. For God brought out of the earth euery tree faire to sight, and sweet to taste; the tree also of Life in the midst of the garden: which sheweth, that among the trees, which the Earth by Gods commandement produced, the tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or Chaos, *Hesiodus*, *Homer*, *Ouid*, and others, steale the inuention of the created world; so from the Garden of Paradise, they tooke the Plat-forme of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Hesperides*: and from the tree of Life, their *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, signifieth making *young*, and *Ambrosia*, immortalitye; and therefore said to be the meate and drinke of the gods.

§. II.

Of *Becanus* his opinion, that the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*.

NOW for the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill, some men haue presumed farther, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giueth himselfe the honour to haue found out the kinde of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could euer ghesse at, whereat *Goropius* much maruaileth. But as he had an inuentiue braine, so there neuer liued any man, that beleued better thereof, and of himselfe. Surely, howeuer his opinion may be valued, yet he vsurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the inuention be at that price at which he setteth it. For *Moses Barcephas* fastened on this coniecture about sixe hundred yeeres before *Becanus* was borne: and *Barcephas* himselfe referreth the inuention to an antiquitie more remote, citing for his Author *Phloxenus Maburgensis*, and others, whose very wordes *Goropius* vseth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that beliefe. For *Moses Barcephas* in his Treatise of Paradise (the first Part and fol. 49.) saith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*; The Indian Fig-tree, of which the greatest plentie (saith *Becanus*) are found vpon the banks of *Aceffines*, one of the Riues which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his Fleet of Gallies in, or neere the Kingdome of *Porus*.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bignesse of a great peaze, or (as *Plinie* reporteth) somewhat bigger, and that it is a tree, *sempet serens*; Always planting it selfe; that it spreadeth it selfe so farre abroad, as that a troupe of horsemen may hide themselves vnder it. *Strabo* saith, that it hath branches bending downward, and leaues no lesse then a shield. *Arisobolus* affirmeth, that fiftie horsemen may shaddeu themselves vnder one of these trees. *Onesicritus* raiseth this number to foure hundred. This tree (saith *Theophrastus*) exceedeth all other in bignesse, which also *Plinie* and *Onesicritus* confirme: to the trunk of which, these Authors giue such a magnitude, as I shame to repeat. But it may be, they all speake by an ill-vnderstood report. For this Indian Fig-tree is not so rare a plant, as *Becanus* conceiueth, who because he found it no where else, would needs draw the garden of Paradise to the Tree, and set it by the Riuer *Aceffines*. But many parts of the world haue them, and I my selfe haue seene twentie thousand of them in one Valley, not farre from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner: After they are first shot vp some twentie or thirtie foote in length (some more, some lesse, according to the soyle) they spread a very large top, hauing no bough nor twigge in the trunk or stemme: for from the vtmost end of the head branches there issueth out a gunnie inuice, which hangeth downe-ward like a cord or sinew, and within a few Moneths reacheth the ground;

Plin. l. 12. c. 5.

Lib. 1. cap. 2.

ground; which it no sooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then being filled both from the top boughes, and from his owne proper roote, this cord maketh it selfe a Tree exceeding hastily. From the vtmost boughes of these yong Trees there fall againe the like cordes, which in one yeere and lesse (in that World of a perpetuall spring) become also trees of the bignesse of the nether part of a lance, and as straight, as arte or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kinde of groue, as no other Tree in the world can doe. Now one of these trees considered with all his yong ones, may (indeede) throwd foure hundred or foure thousand horsen, if they please; for they couer whole Vallies of ground where these trees grow neere the Sea-banke, as they doe by thousands in the inner part of *Trinidad*.¹⁰ The cordes which fall downe ouer the bankes into the Sea, shooting alway downward to hinder roote vnder water, are in those Seas of the *Indies*, where Oylters breed, intangled in their beds, so as by pulling vp one of these cordes out of the Sea, I haue seene five hundred Oylters hanging in a heape thereon; whereof the report came, that Oylters grew on trees in *India*. But that they beare any such huge leaues, or any such delicate fruit, I could neuer finde, and yet I haue trauailed a dozen miles together vnder them: but to returne to *Goropius Becanus*. This tree (saith he) was good for meate and pleasing to the sight, as the tree of Knowledge of good and euill is described to be.

Secondly, this tree hauing so huge a trunk (as the former Authors report, and so *Becanus* beleueth) it was in this tree that *Adam* and *Eue* hid themselves from the presence of God, for no other tree (saith he) could contayne them. But first it is certayne, that this Tree hath no extraordinarie magnitude, as touching the trunk or stemme, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger than the rest, and these are all but of a meane size. Secondly, the wordes of *Moses* translated in *medio ligni*, are by all the interpreters vnderstood in the plural number (that is) in the midst of the trees. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moses Barcephas*, word for word) is, That when *Adam* and *Eue* found themselves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaues; which proueth (indeede) that either the tree it selfe was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neere it: because *Adam* being posselt³⁰ with shame, did not runne vp and downe the garden to seeke out leaues to couer him, but found them in the place it selfe; and these leaues of all other were most commodious by reason of their largenesse, which *Plinie* auoweth in these wordes; *Latitudo foliorum peltæ effigiem Amazonie habet*; The breadth of the leaues hath the shape of an Amazonian shield: which also *Theophrastus* confirmeth; the forme of which *Targets Virgil* toucheth:

Gen. 3. 7.

PLIN. l. 15.

Virg. AEn. l. 1.
494.

Ducis Amazonidum lunatis ægmina peltis
PENTHESILÆA furens.

The Amazons with Crescent-formed shield
PENTHESILÆA leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* desireth to be beleened, or rather threatneth vs all that reade him, to giue credit to this his borrowed discouerie, vying this confident (or rather cholerick) speech. *Quis erit tam impudenter obstinatus, si hæc à nobis de sic hæc ex antiquis scriptoribus cum MOSIS narratione comparet, ut audeat dicere aliam arbores inueniri posse, quæ cum illa magis quadret?* Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these things which we haue reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers deliuered, with the narration of *Moses*, as to dare to auow, that any other tree can be found, which doth⁵⁰ more properly answere, or agree therewith? But for my selfe, because I neither find this tree, sorting in body, in largenesse of leaues, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*: that the Earth neuer brought forth any of these trees, neither before nor after; but I leaue euery man to his owne beliefe, for the matter is of
no

no great weight as touching his kinde: only thereby, and by the ealie Commandement by God giuen to *Adam*, to forbear to feede thereon, it pleased God to make tryall of his obedience: *Prohibita, non propter aliam, quàm ad commendandum puræ ac simplicis Obedientia bonum*; Being forbidden, not for any other respect, then thereby to commend the goodnesse of pure and simple Obedience.

August. de ciuit.
De lib. 13. c. 10.

§ III.

Of *Becanus* his not unwitting allegorizing of the Storie of his *Ficus Indica*.

BVt in this I must doe *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it selfe to be true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I haue gathered in these few wordes. As this Tree (saith he) so did *Man* grow straight and vpright towards God, vntill such time as he had transgressed and broken the Commandement of his Creator; and then like vnto the boughes of this tree, he began to bend downward, and slouped toward the earth, which all the rest of *Adams* posteritie after him haue done, rooting themselves therein and fastning themselves to this corrupt world. The exceeding vmbrious-²⁰ nesse of this tree, he compareth to the darke and shaddowed life of *man*, through which the Sunne of iustice being not able to pierce, we haue all remained in the shaddow of death, till it pleased *CHRIST* to climbe the tree of the Crosse for our enlightning & redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to finde among so many large leaues, may be compared (saith he) to the little vertue, and vnperciued knowledge among so large vanities, which obscure and shaddow it ouer. And as this fruit is exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate: so are the delights and pleasures of the world most pleasing, while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into chollier and bitterness: so are our vanities and pleasures conuerted into the bitterest sorrowes and repen-³⁰ tances. That the leaues are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaues) exceeding little, in this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their sollicitude, their outward shewes, & publike ostentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we seeke for the fruit, which ought to be their vertuous and pious actions, we finde it of the bignesse of the smallest peaze; glorie, to all the world apparent; goodnesse, to all the world inuisible. And furthermore, as the leaues, body, and boughes of this Tree, by so much exceede all other Plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly abilitie surpass the meanest: so is the little fruit of such men, and such trees, rather fitting and becoming the vnworthyest Shrub, and humblest Bryar, or the poorest and basest *Man*, then such a flourish-⁴⁰ ing statelynesse, and magnitude. Lastly, whereas *Adam*, after he had disobeyed God, and beheld his owne nakednesse and shame, sought for leaues to couer himselfe withall, this may serue to put vs in minde of his and our finnes, as often as we put on our garments, to couer and adorne our rotten and mortall bodies: to pamper and maintaine which, we vse so many vncharitable and cruell practices in this world,

§. IIII.

Of the name of the tree of Knowledge of good and euill: with some other notes touching the storie of *Adams* sinne.

NOW, as touching the sense of this tree of Knowledge of good and euill, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propriety of the Tree it selfe, *Moses Barcephas* an ancient Syrian Doctor (translated by *Masius*) giueth this iudgement: That the fruit of this tree had no such vertue or qualitie, as that by the tasting thereof, there
was

was any such knowledge created in *Adam*, as if he had beene ignorant before; but as *Inimus* also noteth: *Arbor scientia boni & mali (id est) experientia boni & mali aduentu;* The Tree of knowledge of good and euill (that is) the experience of good and euill by the euent. For thus much we may conceiue, that *Adam* being made (according to the Hebrew phrase) by the workmanship of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection then euer any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created plant, out of whole feede all men liuing haue growne vp; and hauing receiued immortalitye from the breath or spirit of God, he could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobaying of Gods commandement was the fearfulllest euill, and the obseruation of his Precepts the happiest good. But as men in perfect health doe (notwithstanding) conceiue, that sicknesse is grievous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering and experience in themselves they afterwards witness: so was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the prooffe thereof in himselfe another terror then he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glasse of his owne guiltie soule, he beheld therein the horror of Gods iudgements, so as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had tryall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased euill, which could not be exprest. He then saw himselfe naked both in body and minde; that is, deprived of Gods grace and former felicitie: and therefore was this tree called the tree of Knowledge, & not because the fruit thereof had any such operation, by any selfe qualitie or effect: for the same phrase is vsed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such fort as this tree was called the tree of Knowledge, by cause of the euent (as is aforesaid) so was the Well of contention therefore called *Esek*, and the Well of hatred *Sinath*, because the Heardsmen of *Isaac* and *Gerar* contended for them; and the heape of stones, called the heape of witness, betweene *Jacob* and *Laban*, not that the stones bare witness, but for a memorie of the covenent. So *Jacob* called the house of God *Bethel*: and *Hagar*, the Well in the Desert, *Vientis*, & *videntis*.

Num. 30. 13.
Gen. 26. 30. 21.
Cap. 31. 48.
Cap. 28. 19.
Cap. 16. 14.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and mastered by his affections, ambitious of a yet farther knowledge then he had perceived in himselfe, and looking but slightly (as all his issues doe) into the miseries and sorrows incident, and greatly affecting the supposed glorie which he might obtaine by tasting the fruit forbidden, he was transported and blowne forward by the gentle winde of pleasing perswasions vnwares; his progression being strengthened by the subtle arguments of *Satan*, who laboured to poyson mankind in the very roote, which he moystened with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himselfe perished for euer.

Berl. sem. 2. 1. 2.

But what meanes did the Deuill finde out, or what instruments did his owne subtletie present him, as fittest and aptest to worke this mischief by? euen the vnquiet vanitie of the woman; so as by *Adams* harkening to the voyce of his wife, contrarie to the expresse commandement of the liuing God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subiect of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being giuen to man for a comforter and Companion, but not for a Counsellor. But because thou hast obeyed the voyce of thy wife, &c. (saith God himselfe) Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eate of it all thy life. It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; euen by the most vgly and vnworthy of all beasts, into whom the Deuill entered and perswaded.

Gen. 3. 17.

Secondly, what was the motiue of her disobedience? euen a desire to know what was most vnfitting her knowledge, an affection which hath euer since remained in all the posteritie of her Sexe. Thirdly, what was it that moued the man to yeeld to her perswasions? euen the same cause which hath moued all men since to the like consent, namely, an vnwillingnesse to grieve her and make her sad, lest shee should pine and be ouer-come with sorrow. But if *Adam* in the state of perfection, and *Selomon* the sonne of *Dauid*, Gods chosen seruant, and himselfe a man endued with the

great

greatest wisdome, did both of them disobay their Creator, by the perswasion and for the loue they bare to a Woman, it is not so wonderfull as lamentable, that other men in succeeding ages haue beene allured to so many inconuenient and wicked practices, by the perswasions of their wiues, or other beloued Datlings, who couer ouer and shaddow many malicious purposes with a counterfeit passion of dissimulate sorrow and vnquietnesse.

CHAP. V.

Of diuers memorable things betweene the fall of ADAM, and the flood of NOAH.

S. I.

Of the cause and the reuenge of *Cains* sinne: and of his going out from God.



The same Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward possit *Adam*, *Cain* also inherited: for *Cain* (enuious of the acceptation of his Brothers prayer and sacrifice) slue him, making himselfe the first man-slayer, and his brother the first Martyr: the reuenge of which vnnaturall murder, although it pleased God to mitigate, when *Cain* cryed out that his punishment was greater then he could beare: For the same offence chiefly (wherewith the sonnes of *Adam*, as it were, vrged and prouoked God) he destroyed all mankind, but *Noah* and his family: for it is written.

The earth also was corrupt before God: of which in the same place *Moses* giueth a reason, for saith he, The earth was filled with crueltie: and anon after, God himselfe made the cause knowne vnto *Noah*, saying; An end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is filled with crueltie through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the earth, or

from the earth. Neither was this crueltie meant to haue beene in taking away the lines of men only, but in all sorts of Iniustice and Oppression. After this murder of

ABEL, *Cain* went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, toward the East side of *Eden*: in which wordes, The going out of *Cain* from the presence of the Lord, is not to be vnderstood after the literal sense; God being wholly

in all parts of the world: *Totus in celo est, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus*. sed Aug. de Ciuitat. Dei. 12. c. 19. *utramq; simul*; God (saith S. AVGVSTINE) is wholly in heauen, and wholly in earth, not by interchanged times, but all at once; and that this is true, *Dauid* witnesseth: If I be in heauen (saith *DAVID*) thou art there; if in hell, thou art there also: but what is meant thereby? *Exiit à facie Dei* (saith *CHRYSOSTOME*) *Cain* went out from the presence of the Lord (that is) he was left of God, disfaunored and bereaued of his protection.

Chrystost. in Gen. Homilia.

p. II.

Of CAIENS dwelling in the Land of NOD: and of his Citie Enoch.

Hieron. rad.
Hebr.

16. Gen. 1. 1. c. 3.

Gen. 4. 14.

Gen. 4. 16.

17.

Vos. 23.

24.

This word *Nod* or *Naid*, *S. Hierome* and many others vnderstand to signifie wandering, or incertayne habitation: vexation or agitation, saith *Iunius*; but the Seuentie conuert it otherwise, and take *Nod* for the proper name of a Countie, and so doth *Iosephus*. But it seemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, then any thing else, and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the murder committed, iustly fearing (by his owne words) the like reuenge. And whoeuer findeth me (saith *Cain*) shall slay me. Now that *Nod* or *Naid* was a Region wherein *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word (*dwell*) for dwelling signifieth an abiding: and we call those people Wanderers and Vagabonds that haue no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifest, *Moses* teacheth in what part of the earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the East side of *Eden*. Secondly, it is said by *Moses*, that after *Cain* departed from the presence or fauour of God, he built a Citie, and called it by the name of his first borne, *Enoch*; which he sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather fought to fortifie himselfe against reuenge. *Cyrillus* saith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of *Christ*, and of the *Jewes*; and that as *Cain*, after that he had slaine *Abel* vniuilly, had thenceforth no certayne abiding in the world: so the *Jewes*, after they had crucified the Sonne of God, became Runnegates: and it is true, that the *Jewes* had neuer since any certayne Estate, Common-weale, or Prince of their owne vpon the earth. Now this Land of *Nod*, *Iunius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deserta*, a Region of *Nomades*; but *Arabis* the Desart is not Eastward, or on the East part of *Eden*, neither are these *Nomades* any particular People or Nation. For all these, in what part of the world soeuer, which in old time liued by pastorage, and fed (as we call it in *Ireland*) vpon whet meate, without tilling of the ground, are called by the Greekes, *Nomades*, and by the Latines, *Pastores vagi*, as the Northerne *Tartarians*, the *Cetulians*, and *Numidians* in *Africa*, the ancient *Brittans*, and the Northerne *Irish*: yea, such were the inhabitants of *Italie* it selfe, till such time as *Italus* (who gaue them that name) taught them the husbandrie of tillage, vsed at this day. But the Region Eastward from *Eden* is that part of *Affrya*, called by *Ptolemie*, *Calena*, which also might be deriued of *Carena*, the Countie of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in those parts, it may be gathered by the first possession of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written, *GEN. 3. Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden to till the earth whence he was taken: and in the Verse following: Thus he cast out man, &c. and as the East side of the garden of Eden he set the Cherubims: which sheweth that the entrie into Paradise was from the East*, by which entrance *Adam* was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of *Paradise* which was Eastward, according to the Text. *Cain* also in the same Region fought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod* or *Naid* doe signifie *profugus*, that is, a fugitive, we can giue no longer time to this vncertayne habitation of *Cain*, then till he built the Citie of *Enoch*, the first of the world, which he inclosed either for his owne defence, or (as *Iosephus* writeth) to oppress others thereby. So as for mine owne opinion, I am resolu'd with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (vagabond) which *Cain* vsed of himselfe, it seemeth by the perclose of the same Verse, that (vagabond) is therein vnderstood for such an one as transileth in feare of reuengement: for whoeuer findeth me (saith *Cain*) shall slay me, or else (vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the fauour of God.

And because these *Henochians*, so called of the Citie *Enoch*, were the first societie and ciuill assembly of all other, it is likely that the same of these people (either for crueltie, strength, or other actions) liued in the memorie of *Noah* and his sonnes; so that

that after the Flood (as there were of all sorts of natures, some vertuously, some impiously disposed, and euery actiue minde setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those people, which delighted in crueltie and oppression tooke on them their names whole natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these *Henochians* were not the least. Perchance the place it selfe where *Enoch* stood before the Flood, and whereof the Monuments might remaine (as the pillars or the foundation of *Ioppe*) did gaue occasion to the Planters of that place to call themselves by the same names: for of those *Henochians* there were many Nations in the borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Segdiana*, and *Bactria*, and of the same name many Mountaines, as those which are otherwise called *Coraxici*. And seeing that it is hard to find out the truth of these things, which the most aged Time hath couered over or defaced, we may (according to the counsaile of *Plato*) exceedingly reioyce, and therewith satisfie our selues, if of so great and almost worne-out antiquitie, if of the eldest peoples names and Nations there remaine any print or foot-steps to Posteritie.

In ** Pline*, *P. Melis*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Placcus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, we finde those *Henoches* described, though diuersly written, as in *Plinie*, sometimes *Henochi*, in *Mela* *Enochi*, in *Placcus* *Henochi*, in *Lucan* *Enochi*, all which inhabit vpon the Sea *Euxinus*, but yet none of these are on the East side of *Eden*, or (according to *Moses* words) Eastward from *Eden*. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any Region, was so exceeding precise, as sometime hee vsed the word East or South without borrowing or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as Eastward or Southward, or towards the East or South. In the place of *Genesis* the eleuenth hee writeth the word (East) simply and directly. And as they went from the East, they found a Place in the Land of *Shinar*, but in this of *Cain* he addeth the word (towards) as, in the Land of *Nod* towards the East side of *Eden*, which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two eyther to the North or to the South of the East.

But as we may coniecture that these Nations tooke name of *Enoch*, the Citie of *Cain*, or of the Region wherein it stood, when the same was repectled after the Flood: so it is probable that these *Henochi* of *Colchis*, and other parts adioyning were not the first of that name, after the sonnes of *Noah* began to fill the World againe: because, had this *Enoch* the Citie of *Cain* stood in any of these parts, it had then bene seated North, and not East or Eastward from *Eden*. But as *Plinie* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, so afterwards he goeth on Eastward, till hee tracke them or trace them out to their originall. For he calleth these of *Colchis* (now *Mengrelia*) *Sanni Henochi*; *Ptolemie* *Zani*; beyond which an hundred and fiftie myle Eastward hee findeth another Nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond these againe hee discovereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest tooke beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the Mountaines of *Paro-pamisus*, betwene them and the great Riuer of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the North side; and these *Henochi* are due East from the Region of *Eden*, and Eastward from the very *Garden* it selfe.

And although we cannot be assured, that these *Henochi* tooke name from the memory of the Citie of *Enoch* directly, yet because they inhabited due East from *Paradise*, and afterwards spread themselves Westward (as all *Noahs* sonnes did that came into *Shinar*) the coniecture is farre more probable, then that of *Amnius* the Fryer, who sets *Henoch* in *Phoenicia*, quite contrary to *Moses* word: *Phoenicia* from all parts of *Eden* being directly West.

And besides these feuerall Nations of the *Henochi*, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called *Henochia*, and the same also in the East, with diuers Mountaines about *Bactria* and *Segdiana* of the same name. Onely the *Gracians* (according to their fabulous inuentions of all things selfe) out of the word (*Heniochi*) which signifieth Carts or Coachmen, make these Nations to haue sprung from the Waggoners of *Cassir* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Amphites* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the enterprize of *Iason* into *Colchis*. And though I doe not deny, but that *Iason* with other Greekes ranged the

Quid dicit liquid
in hoc magno or-
be vniuerso, quia
vniuersum funda-
menta incunitor,
noua Gentium
nomina (extulit
omnibus pri-
vibus) vniuersum,
Seneca ad Albi-
um.

* Pline. l. 6. c. 9.
11. c. 16.
Mela. l. 1. c. ult.
Strabo. lib. 11.
Val. Placc. l. 6.
Lucan. l. 3. v. 37.

V. 3.

Pline. l. 6. c. 5.
Ptolema. lib. 4. c. 3.

Steph. de Pto.

Nat. Comes cal-
leth them
Alacae.
Nat. Comes. l. 6. c. 9.

H

Coasts

Strab. lib. 1.
* In the second
Booke of this
first Part, Cap.
13. S. 5.

Coasts of *Asia* the lesse in an open Boate or kind of small Galley, * of whom I shal speake in his owne time: yet no man doubteth but that the tale of the Golden Fleece was for the most part Poeticall; and withall that in such an open Boate, which could hardly carie their owne Rowers, being foure and fiftie, there was no place, and lesse vse of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

¶ III.

Of MOSES his emitting sundry things concerning CAINS Generation.

BV of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the Citie of *Henoch* in prophane Story, thus much may suffice; Now it followeth to answere some few obiections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Genesis*: against which for the first it is demanded, how it was possible for *Cain* (hauing no other assistance then his sonne *Henoch*) to performe such a worke as the building of a Citie, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a masse of all sorts of Materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of *Cain* (because he was the Parent of an impious race) *Moses* vsleth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his diuine reason, seeing that he containeth the whole Story of the first race, to which lasted by the least account, 1656. yeeres, in five short Chapters. Yet thus much may every man borrow of his owne weakest reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of mens liues so long a measure, as 800. and 900. yeeres, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leasure and meanes to build many such Cities as *Henoch*, be the capacitie answering to what other of the World focuer: for in what age of *Cains* life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whole times, and the times of his illiues *Moses* had the least care. And as it was sayd of *Cain*, that he built a Citie: so was it sayd of *Noah*, that his three sonnes peopled all the World; but in both, the procelle of time required to bee vnderstood: which aduice seeing *Moses* vsleth where the space lesse requireth it, as knowing that hee writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, wee may easily vnderstand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference betweene the birth of *Abel*, and oblation of *Cain*, he spake it in this sort, *Fuit autem post dies multos* or *fine dictum* (that is) in procelle of time, it came to passe that *Cain* brought an Oblation. And therefore it is in like sort to bee vnderstood of *Cain*, that many yeeres fore-gone, and when his people were increased, he built the Citie of *Enoch* or *Henoch*.

2. King 6.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built *Enoch*, so of *Salomon*, that hee employed in that worke, 150000. Labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selues to say, The King invaded; when hee caused an inuasion to bee made: and hee built, when hee commanded such a building. And therefore seeing wee find, that *Moses* had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of *Cains* illiues, it is not to be marualed at, why he also passeth ouer in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumstance: for of *Cain*, *Moses* writeth in this manner: *Cain also knew his wife, who conceived and bare HENOC, and hee built a Citie, and called the name of the Citie after the name of his sonne HENOC. And to HENOC was borne IRAD, and IRAD begat MEHVIAEL, and MEHVIAEL begat METHVSSEL, and METHVSSEL LAMECH.*

Gen. 4. 17.

18.

c. 6. v. 5.

Now of *Seth*, *Moses* writeth farre otherwise, and in this manner. *And Seth liued 105. yeeres, and begat ENOCH, and SETH liued after hee begat ENOCH 807. yeeres, and begat Sonnes and Daughters: so as all the dayes of SETH were 912. yeeres, and hee dyed: as for the yeeres and times of the wicked, they were not numbred, in libro viuentium, sayth C. 11. But in SETH was the Church of God established, from whom Christ descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and worke*

se walked in, and finished it with care, passing ouer the Reprobate Generation (as afore sayd). Of the Line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moses* remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning *Adam* for one, and of the Line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* also therein, as followeth:

I. ADAM.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------|
| 2. Cain. | 2. Seth. |
| 3. Henoch. | 3. Enof. |
| 4. Irad. | 4. Cainan. |
| 5. Mahiuel. | 5. Mahaleel. |
| 6. Mathusael. | 6. Iared. |
| 7. Lamech, who by Ada had | 7. Henoch. |
| 8. Iubal and Tubal, and by Silla | 8. Mathusalem. |
| Tubalcain, and Noëma. | 9. Lamech, and |
| | 10. Noab. |

These be the Generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention: but *Iosephus* giueth vnto *Lamech* threecore and seuentene Sonnes and Daughters, by his two wiues *Ada*, and *Silla*: and to these three sonnes of *Lamech*, *Moses* ascribeth the inuention of Pastorage, of Musick, and the working in Metall; for it seemeth that *Iubal* first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were vtained, and brought them into Herds and Droues: *Tubal* inuented Musick, and *Tubalcain* the working in Brasse and Iron: the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanicall, the third giuen to idleness and pleasure. In whom began these three manner degrees of Sheep-herds, Handy-crafts-men, and Musicians. And in the illiues of *Seth* began the Seruices of God, Diuinitie, Prophecie, and Astronomy: the children of the one beheld the Heauens, the other the Earth.

Gen. 4. 20. 21. 22.

¶ IIII.

Of the diuersities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their children.



Second scruple hath beene made, How it came to passe that the Patriarchs begat their children at so diuers Ages, as *Cainan* or *Cenan* at seuentie yeeres, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at threecore and five yeeres, whereas *Iared* begat not any of his vntill hee was 162. yeeres olde: *Mathusalem* begat at 187. *Lamech* at 182. and *Noah* at 500. yeeres. Now this difference hath bin the more enforced, because it cannot be coniectured, that eyther *Iared*, *Mathusalem*, or *Lamech* obtained from marriage out of the Religion of abstinence, seeing that *Enoch*, who was translated by God for his singular sanctities, begat children before hee was threecore and ten yeeres olde.

The apparent difference hereof ariseth in this, that *Moses* did not number the generations before the Flood precisely, according to the first begotten and eldest sonnes of the Patriarchs, but he drew downe the Line of *Noah* from *Seth*, and afterward from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true Ancestors, were they elder or younger as hee found them: for it is likely that *Henoch* was not the eldest of *Iared*, nor *Lamech* the first borne of *Mathusalem*, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing knowne to the contrary, but that *Noah* might haue had many sonnes before *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*; though these three were only named, and suruiuing, and which by God were referred to bee the Fathers of Mankind after the Flood; and therefore when we find *Mahaleel* to bee begotten by *Kenan* at threecore and ten yeeres who was the first sonne of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Mathusalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187. yeere of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldest. But *Moses* reiecteth all the other sonnes of *Mathusalem* but *Lamech* only, because hee was the Father of *Noah* as afore said.

H 2

fore said.

little lesse: Also *Masaniſſa* of *Numidia* liued very long, and *Dando* of *Ilyria*. Among the Kings of *Arcadia* many liued three hundred yeeres (sayth *Ephorus*.). *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the *Epians*, that some of them liue full two hundred yeere: and so doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the *Egyptians*; and that these reports are not fabulous; *Iosephus* bringeth many witnessses with himselfe, as *Marethon*, *Berosus*, *Mochus*, *Elius*, *Hieronymus*, *Egyptius*, *Hecataeus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Fume* an Italian of good reputation reporteth, that in the yeere 1570. there was an *Indian* presented to *Solyman*, Generall of the *Turkes* Armie, who had out-liued three hundred yeeres. I my selfe knew the old Countesse of *Desmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munster*, who liued in the yeere 1589. and many yeeres since, who was married in *Edward* the 10. Fourth this time, and held her Ioynture from all the Earles of *Desmond* since then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Munster* can witnessse. *Straczius Cigogna*, out of *Torquemada Massius*, and the like Authours, tellet of some that haue not only farre exceeded the terme prescribed by *Epigenes*; but beene repayed from the withered estate of decrepit age to fresh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference betweene the abilitie of men in those dayes wherein *Galen* the Philician liued, it may easily proue vnto vs what reeds weare in respect of those Cedars of the first age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let blood fixe pound weight, whereas wee (for the most part) stop at fixe Ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Constellations) which are the naturall causes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) strong Parents, a pure and thin Ayre, and temperate vse of dyet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring stone, cannot stand long vpright; on Ayre wee feed alwayes and in euery infant, and on meates but at times; and yet the heauy load of abundance, where-with we oppresse and ouercharge Nature, maketh her to linke vnwares in the mid-way; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure Ayre, and a temperate vse of those things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

§. VI.

Of the Patriarchs deliuering their knowledge by Tradition: and that ENOCH writt before the Flood.



Fourth Scruple hath beene made, How the certaine knowledge of the Creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no Storie thereof written, and if any such had beene, yet it is conceived, that all memorie of Antiquitie perished in the Vniuersall Flood.

But if we consider the curiositie and policie of elder ages, we shall find, that knowledge was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also couered ⁴⁰ and hid from the vulgar sort, as Jewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreuerent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoever was attained vnto concerning God, and his working in nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but deliuered ouer by heart and tradition from wise men to a posteritie equally zealous; *Ex animo in animum sine litera, medio intercedente verbo*: From minde to minde without Letters, by way of tradition or word of mouth. And it was thought by *Eldras* *Origen*, and *Hilarius*, (as *Mirandula* conceiueith) that *Moses* did not onely vpon the Mount receiue the Law from God, but withall, *secretiorem & veram legis enarrationem*; a more secret and true explanation of the Law; which (saith he, out of the same Authours,) hee deliuered by mouth to *Iosuah*, and *Iosuah* to the Elders: For to teach these mysteries, ⁵⁰ which hee called *secretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quam dare sanctum canibus*; & inter Porcos *hargere Margaritas*; then to giue holy things; to Dogges, and to cast Pearles before Swine. In succeeding times this vnderstanding and wisdom began to bee written in Ciphers, and Characters, and Letters bearing the forme of beaſts,

Dion. Areop.

Fol. 18.

birds, and other creatures; and to be taught onely to such as serued in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of the *Jewes* was an imitation: the invention of the other is ascribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercurius*, *Cassius*, and others; but falsely.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law, receiued by tradition and vnwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is receptiue in Latine, and a retaining in English. And this custome was also held by the *Druids* & *Bards* of our ancient *Britaines*, and of later times by the *Irish* *Chronicles* called *Rymers*. If then such as would seeme wisest in the vse of reason, will not acknowledge, that the storie of the Creation or beginning of all things was written by inspiration, the holy Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then vsed) be deliuered vnto him by a more certaine presumption, then any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquitie had preferred and left to their successors: which their wife men (as they terme them) did lay vp and defend from the iniurie of the time and other hazzards. For, leauing to remember that *Adam* instructed *Seth*, and *Seth* his children and successors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that *Methusaleme* liued together with *Adam* himselfe two hundred storie and three yeeres, and *Noah* with *Methusaleme* no lesse then five hundred yeeres: and before *Noah* dyed, *Abraham* was fiftie and eight yeeres old; from whence this knowledge by an easie and ordinary way ²⁰ might cometo *Israel*, and so to *Moses*.

But besides this tradition, it is questionlesse, that the vse of letters was found out in the very infancie of the world, proued by those prophecies written on pillars of stone and bricke by *Enoch*: of which *Iosephus* affirmeth, that one of them remayned euen in his time (meaning belike some ruine or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are ascribed to *Seth*. But of these prophecies of *Enoch* *Saint Iude* testifieth; and some part of his Bookes (which contayned the course of the Starres, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia Felix*, in the Dominion of the Queene of *Saba* (saith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth that he had seene and read some whole pages. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledge of the Creation, and storie of the first Age, seeing he might receiue it both by tradition and letters, had not the spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

Now for the Bookes of *Enoch*, howsoever some men make question of them, sure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Pracopius*, *Gazetius*, (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medius*, for an argument to proue them vnwritten traditions, allegeth that *Pope Gelasius* among other the *Apocryphall* Scriptures (which he reiecteth) named not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoever was remembered out of them, the same was deliuered by Tradition from the *Jewes*. But I rather thinke with *Peuerius*, that such a Booke there was, and that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, and many things added thereunto by Hereticks, who tooke occasion vpon the antiquitie thereof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Deuill about the body of *Moses*, to frame and adde thereunto many inuentions of their owne. One of the greatest arguments against these Bookes, is, that neither *Philo*, nor *Iosephus* (the most diligent searchers of Antiquitie) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of *Saint Augustine*, *Scriptisſe quidem nonnulla diuina Enoch solum scriptum ab Adam negare non possumus*: That *Enoch* the seventh from *Adam* did write diuine things we cannot denie. Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquitie, and of fables of Giants, supposed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such Booke was found amongst those Canonical Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in *Armaria Iudica* (saith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth that this Booke might be preferred by *Noah*. Surely, that *Enoch* wrote the prophecies remembered by *Iude*, no man can denie;

Cabala est Hebraica non uulgata, P. M. 82. *Mirandula* 110. fol.

Iof. 1. Iud. Ep. v. 14.

Origen Homil. 1. in Num.

Origen Homil. 1. in Num. & comment in Euang. Iohann. Gelas. diss. 15.

Tertul. de bapt. miltitum.

denie; how they were deliuered to posteritie I know not, whether by the *seues Cabala*, or by what other meanes, the same is but mans coniecture. And (certainly) by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heavens, and of the Natures and coniunctions of the Starres; and afterwards to some of his sonnes, to *Zoroaster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had seene and might preferre this booke. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly inuented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath beene said before. And therefore if letters and arts were knowne from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* liued with *Methusalem*, who liued with *Adam*, and *Abraham* liued with *Noah*, it is not strange (I say) to conceiue how *Moses* came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by letters, or by *Cabala* and Tradition, had the vndoubted word of God neede of any other prooffe then selfe-authoritie.

§. VII.

Of the men of renoume before the flood.



OW let vs consider the relation of *Moses*, who nameth seuen descents of *Cains* children, and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten: *Seth* being giuen by God in stead of *Abel*; and of *Seth* was *Enosh* begotten, in whose time men began to professe Religion, and to offer sacrifice in publike. For although *Adam* instructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it seemeth that after the birth of *Enosh* men began publicly to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they serued and praised God by Communion and in publike manner, or calling vpon the name of the Lord, and thereby were the sonnes of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enosh* the sonne of *Seth*, to the time of *Enoch* the sonne of *Iared*, there is nothing remembered by *Moses*, but their owne births, the births of their sonnes, the length of their liues, and deaths. But of *Enoch* it is written, *That he walked with God, and he was no more seene*: for God tooke him away. By that, *that he walked with God*, was meant, that he was a iust and vpright man, and that he feared, loued, and obeyed God. For the same phrase *Moses* vseth of *Noah*. *Noah was a iust and vpright man in his time, and Noah walked with God*. The Sequentie conuert it, *Enoch placuit Deo; Enoch pleased God*. And although *Aben-Ezra* and others vnderstand this place, (*iustit cum Deo*;) *select, mortuus est; God tooke him away (that is) he dyed*, which (indeede) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God tooke him away, when he dyed; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh betwene the piete of *Enoch* and the rest of the *Patriarchs*, and by omitting the word (death) which he vseth to all else, makes it manifest, that *Enoch* was not dissolued as the rest. For to all the rest of the *Patriarchs*, *Moses* vseth these wordes, *And he dyed*; but of *Enoch* he spake otherwise, saying only, *he was missing*, or *he was not seene*. *Et non inueniebatur* (saith the Epistle to the Hebrewes) *quia Deus eum transiit*; *And he was not found, for the Lord tooke him away*. In the same place it is expressely added, *that he saw not death*.

But whether this taking away of *Enoch* were not with the same kind of changing, which *S. Paul* promisseth, when he saith, that *when the end shall come, we shall not all die, but all shall be changed*, I leaue it to the learned Diuines.

After *Enoch*, *Moses* passeth ouer to *Methusalem* and *Lamech*, remembering (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: sauing that *Lamech* prophesied of his sonne *Noah*, saying, *This same shall comfort vs concerning our worke, and sorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed*. Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more amply, then of any of the rest of *Adams* children by *Seth*, being the last of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his familie) preferred, because he was an vpright man in his time, and feared God.

But

Bar of the warre, peace, gouernement, and policie of these strong and mightie men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memorie remaining: whose stories if they had beene preferred, and what else was then performed in that newnesse of the world, there could nothing of more delights haue beene left to posteritie. For the exceeding long liues of men (who to their strength of body and naturall wits had the experience added of 800. and 900. yeeres) how much of necessitie must the same adde of wisdom and vnderstandings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatsoever can be told of after-times; especially in respect of this old age of the world, when we no sooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to *Hippocrates* *τὰς βροτῶν, ἀς λῆγαν, τὸν χρόνον, πρὸς τὸν χρόνον, ὅτι ἡ ζωὴ ἐστὶν ἡλικία, καὶ ἡ ἡλικία ἐστὶν ὁ χρόνος* (which is) *Life is short, Age is long and Time is headlong*: And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of *Moses*: *These were mightie men, in whose time men began to build cities, and to be of renowne*. But these men of renowne (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of body and cruelty of minde) trusted so much to their owne abilities, as they forgot altogether the piete of *Seth*, and the wayes wherein *Enoch* walked: for all the imaginations of their hearts were euill, only euill, and continually euill. And this wickednesse was not only found in the illnes of *Cain*, but it was then vniuersall, when the children and sonnes of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and mist by their idolatrous *Viues*, the Daughters of *Cain*, or of those other men, louing themselves and the world only.

That these sonnes of God were Angels, which being taken with the beautie of women, accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed, namely, *Lactantius* and *Ensebius*, misled by *Iosephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers haue taken great advantage, and haue troubled themselves with large answers and very needlesse: the question being vn capable of dispute, especially since *S. Chrysostome* and *S. Augustine* haue answered it largely long agoe. For, that good and godly men were honored with the title of Gods children, it dothe neuer where appear in the Scripture; and on the contrary, to thinke that Angels, who (as *Christ* witnesseth) behold the face of God, (that is) alwayes attend his Commandements, should after a separation from the rest which fell with *Noah*, forsake the glorious presence of their Creator, and become *Inubi*, or *Succubi*, contrarie both to Nature and Grace, were more then madnesse to imagine.

§. VIII.

That the Giants by *Moses* so called, were indeede men of huge bodies: as also diuers in later times.



OF these Giants which *Moses* calleth mightie men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antuerpian* (who thought his owne wit more Giganticall then the bodies of *Nimrod* or *Heracles*) hath written a large discourse, intituled *Gigantomachia*, and strained his braines to proue, that there were neuer any such men: his reasons (who neuer desires to lose time) he may finde them in the Treatises beforenamed. It is true that *Cyrillus* reproues the *Græcian* Poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirme shamelessly, That the Giants haue in elder times not only cast vpon Mountaynes vpon Mountaynes, but removed Islands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that inuention of casting vpon Hills, and making warre with the Gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the storie of *Nimrod*, as before remembered; and euen out of this Scripture, That the Sonnes of God saw the Daughters of Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Hesiodus*, That Giants were the sonnes of the Heauen and the Earth; meaning by the Heavens the sonnes of God, and by the

the

the Earth the Daughters of men : which verses of *Orpheus* are by *Iohn Cassian* (who hath written a witty discourse of this subject) thus changed into Latine :

*Nomine caelestes illos dixere Gigantes
Nati quod terrâ fuerint & sanguine cali.*

From the Earth, and from thy blood, ô heaven, they came,
Whom thereupon the Gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators and selfe-beleeuing men dispute of, and make doubt 10 of, if they cannot conceiue that there were in the first Age such kind of men; and of which there haue bene in all times since? Seeing the Scriptures auow the one manifestly, and common experience the other?

And for that superlatiue straying of wordes, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was giuen to Oppressors and Tyrants, and not to strength of body and eminent stature: such men might with better reason call them Oppressors, because they were Giants, and therefore had abilitie to oppress, then say, That they were called Giants onely, because Oppressors. For first, *Moses* himselfe calleth them mightie men; which sheweth a strength surpassing others: and afterwards, men of renowne, (that is) of great vnder-taking and aduenterous action. And if the 20 same stature of body, and abilitie had not bene found among diuers Nations after the generall flood, then might this place of *Moses* haue more willingly hardened to a dispute, and yielded to interpretation.

But besides all these famous Giants found in prophane Histories (which I will reserve to accompanie the Giants of *Albion*, in the storie of *Britanie*) the Scriptures doe cleerly and without all allegorick construction auow, That, besides *Nimrod*, there were found of these Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moses*, of *Iosua*, and of *Dauid*; namely, the *Rephaims* in *Asteroth*; the *Zuzai* or *Zanzummims* in *Elam*, and the *Emims*, which dwelt anciently in the Land of *Moab*: whom *Moses* (for stature) compareth with the *Anakims*, which dwelt in *Hebron*; for they also were taken for Giants 30 as the *Anakims*: Likewise, where *Moses* speaketh of the Land of *Ammon*, he vseth these words: That also was taken for a land of Giants; for Giants dwell therein afore-times: and, whom the *Ammonites* call *Zanzummims*: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the *Anakims*. And these Giants called *Rephaims* in *Asteroth* and *Ravnims*, and the *Zuzai* or *Zanzummims*, *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* ouer-threw, assisted by other Kings his associates. Also the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Ammonites* men of Giantlike stature, whom he compareth to the *Cedar*, and whose strength to the *Oaks*; and the Prophet *Baruch*, These were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in warre. Particularly it is written of *Og*, King of *Basan*, that his bed of yron was nine cubits long, and foure cubits broad: for onely 40 *Og* King of *Basan* remayned of the remnants of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdome of *Basan*, foure hundred yeeres after the Expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreouer, those Discoverers and Searchers of the Land of promise (sent by *Moses* from *Cadesbarre* in *Paran*) made report at their returne of the great stature of those people in generall, and especially of the sonnes of *Anak*, in these wordes: All the people which we saw in it are men of great stature: for there we saw Giants, the sonnes of *ANAK*, which come of the Giants, so that we seemed in our sights like *Grasse-hoppers*, and so we were in their sight, (that is) the Searchers found in their owne iudgements a maruailous difference between the *Anakims* and themselves: in so much that the *Israelites* were so stricken with feare, as they rather sought and desired to returne againe into 50 *Egypt*, and were more willing to endure their former slavery, then to fall by the strokes of those fearefull Nations. Furthermore, the Scriptures put vs out of doubt, that *Goliath* the *Philistine* of *Gath*, was a Giant of sixe cubits and a span long: the *Armor* which he wore waighed foue thousand thickles of brasse: the thaff of his speare

Gen. 14. 5.
Num. 35. 34.
Deut. 2. 21. 20

Vers. 31.

Amos 6. 1.

Bar. 3. 26.
Deut. 2. 11.

Num. 13. 26. 34.

Cap. 14. 4.
1. Sam. 17. 4.

was like a Weauers beame, and his speare head waighed sixe hundred thickles of yron. Also in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliath*, surnamed *Gethu*, because he was of *Gath*: and of three other Giants; of which the first was slaine by *Iehonathan*, *Dauid*s Nephew, who had twelue fingers, and as many toes: a man of great stature, and his fingers were by sixes, euen foure and twentie.

Allo that was of surpassing strength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lyon as it had bene a Kid, and after the thirte of the *Philistines*, and (after that) a thousand more of them with a law-bone of an Asse: And lastly, he tooke the gates of *Azzah*, and the two *Polis*, and lifted them away with the barres, and put them 10 vpon his shoulders, and caried them to the top of the Mountayne before *Ebron*. If then it be approued by every iudgement, that both Nature and the Heauens waxe old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it selfe) infeeblid and almost worn out the vertue of all things, then I say, That as in all other kindes the Earth (before that Sinne had increased the curse and corruption) brought forth her yong ones more strong and beautifull, then it did in after-ages: so also those Giants, those mightie men, and men of renowne as farre exceeded the proportion, nature, and strength of those Giants, remembered by *Moses* of his owne time, and after him their successors, as the ordinarie proportion of all men in generall, loone after the flood and in times farre off, exceeded the bulkes and bodies of men which are now borne 20 in the withered quarter and Winter of the world: If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the first flourishing youth and newnesse of the world.

But the wickedness (especially in crueltye and oppression) of these men was such, as God therefore by the flood gaue end to all flesh, but to the iust *Noah* and his family. And God repented him that he had made man, which *S. Augustine* thus expoundeth: *Reg. enim sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sui penitet, cuius est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa sententia, quam certa praesentia. Sed si non utatur Scriptura talibus verbis, non se quodammodo familiaris insumit omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consilium: ut & perterreat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quarentes, & 30 alit intelligentes; God (saith he) doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done: (as men vse to doe) but if the Scripture did not vse those wordes or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it selfe familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrifie the proud, stirre up the negligent, exercise the searchers of truth, and nourish those that vnderstand.*

2. Sam. 21. 19.
1. Chron. 20. 51.

Ind. 14. 6.
24. 19.
16. 3.

Gen. 6. 6.
De ciuit. Dei.
lib. 6. 21.

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CHAP. VI.

*Of idolatrous corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length
vanishing in the world: and of the Reliques of Truth
touching these ancient times, obscurely ap-
pearing in Fables and old
Legends.*

p. I.

That in old corruptions we may finde some signes of more ancient truth.



ERE before wee proceede any further, the occasion offereth it selfe for vs to consider, how the *Greekes*; and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inuentions, 20 and by breaking into parts the *Storie of the Creation*, and by deliuering it ouer in a mystical sense, wrapping it vp mixed with other their owne trumperie, haue sought to obscure the truth thereof; and haue hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receiue those inter-mixt discourses of God and Nature, for the inuentions of Poets and Philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stolne out of the bookes of God. But as a skilfull and learned *Chymist* can aswell by separation of visible elements draw helpfull medicines out of poyson, as poyson out of 30 the most healthfull herbs and plants (all things hauing in themselves both life and death) so, contrarie to the purposes and hopes of the *Heathen*, may those which seeke after God and Truth finde out euery-where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the *Storie of the first Age*, with all the workes and maruailes thereof, amply and liuely exprest.

p. II.

That the corruptions themselves were very ancient: as in the family of NOAH, and in the old Egyptians.

BUT this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels, and afterwards in Men (the one hauing erred but once, the other euer) as concerning mankind it tooke such effect, that thereby (the liberrall grace of God being with-drawne) all the posteritie of our first Parents were afterwards borne and bred in a world, suffering a perpetuall Eclipse of spirituall light. Hence it was that it produced plants of such imperfection and harmefull qualitie, as the waters of the generall flood could not so walk out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankind. Yea, euen among the few sonnes of *Noah*, there 50 were found strong effects of the former poyson. For as the children of *Sem* did inherit the vertues of *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; so the sonnes of *Cham* did possesse the vices of the sonnes of *Cain*, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the *Chaldeans* began soone after the flood to ascribe diuine power and honor to the Creature,

ture, which was only due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sunne, and then the fire. So the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians* did not only learne to leaue the true God, but created twelue seuerall gods, and diuine powers, whom they worshipped; and vnto whom they built Altars and Temples. For *Herodotus* sayth, *Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Egyptios in vsu habuisse, atq; Græcos ab illis cepisse mutatos, eosq; prius* *Herod. in E. vii. terpe.*
as, & imagines, & templa Dijs sibi erexisse; The Egyptians (sayth he) *first deuised the names of the twelue Gods, which the Greekes receiued from them, who first erected vnto themselves Altars, Images, and Temples for the Gods.*

p. III.

That in proesse of time these lesser errors drew on greater: as appeareth in the grosse Superstitions of the Egyptians.



BUT as men once fallen away from vndoubted truth, doe then after wander for euermore in vices vnkowne, and daily trauaile towards their eternall perdition: so did these grosse and blind Idolaters euery Age after other descend lower and lower, and shrinke and slide downwards from the knowledge of one true and very GOD; and did not 20 thereby erre in worshipping mortall men only, but they gaue diuine reuerence, and had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowles, Winds, Earth, Water, Ayre, Fire, to the Morning, to the Euening, to Plants, Trees and Rootes, to Passions and Affections of the Minde, to Palenesse, Sicknesse, Sorrowes, yea to the most vnworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemie, *Rhodium Anaxandrides* *Nat. com. l. i. c. 2.* derideth in this manner.

*Bouem colis, ego Deū mātto bouem.
Tu maximum Anguilam Deū putas: ego
Obsoniorum credidi suauissimum.
Carnes suillas tu caues, at gaudeo
His maximè: canem colis, quem verbero
Edentem vbi deprehendo fortè obsonium.*

I sacrifice to God the Beefe, which you adore.
I broyle the *Egyptian* Eccles, which you (as God) implore:
You feare to eate the flesh of Swine, I find it sweet.
You worship Dogges, to beate them I thinke meet,
When they my store deuoure.

And in this manner I VVENAL.

*Porcum aut cape nefas violare aut frangere morsu:
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina!*

The *Egyptians* thinke it sinne to root vp, or to bite
Their Leekes or Onyons, which they serue with holy rite:
O happy Nations, which of their owne sowing
Haue store of gods in euery Garden growing!

δ. IIII.

That from the reliques of ancient Records among the Egyptians and others the first Idols and Fables were invented: and that the first IUPITER was
CAIN, VULCAN, TYBALCAIN, &c.

BV r in so great a confusion of vanities, were among the Heathens themselves there is no agreement or certaintie, it was hard to finde out from what example the beginnings of these inuentions were borrowed, or after what ancient patterne they erected their building, were it not certain, that the *Aegyptians* had knowledge of the first Age, and of whatsoeuer was donetherein, partly from some inscriptions vpon stone or metall remaining after the Flood, and partly from *Mizraim* the sonne of *Cham*, who had learnt the fume of *Cham*, and *Cham* of his Father *Noah*. For all that the *Aegyptians* write of their ancient Kings, and date of times cannot be faied. And though other Nations after them had by imitation their *Iupiters* also, their *Saturnes*, *Vulcans*, and *Mercuries* with the rest, which *S. Augustine* time of *Varro*; *Ensebius* out of many prophane Historians; *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, and many more haue obserued, to wit, the *Phoenicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretians*, *Greekes*, and other Nations; yet was *Cain* the sonne of *Adam* (as some very learned men conceiue) called and reputed for the first and ancient *Iupiter*; and *Adam* for the first *Saturne*: for *Iupiter* was sayd to haue inuented the founding of Cities; and the first Citie of the World was built by *Cain*, which he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Henochites* before remembered. And so much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protagoras*, which also *Higinius* in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For besides that, many Cities were founded by diuers men; *Tamen primas latissimam a primo & antiquissimo Iovæ ædificatam*; yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient *Iupiter*, seated in the East parts, or in *India*, according to that of *Moses*: And *Cain* dwelt towards the East side of *Eden*, &c. where also the *Henochites* were found after the Flood. And therefore was *Iupiter* by the *Athenians* called *Poleus*, a Founder of Cities, and *Hercules*, an Incloser or strengthener of Cities; 30 (say *Ploramus* and *Pausanias*) and that to *Iupiter Mercurius* there were in very many places Altars & Temples erected. And that there were Cities built before the Flood, *Plato* also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that soone after *Mankind* began to increase, they built many Cities; which as his meaning hee deliuereth in plaine termes, in his third Booke of *Lawes*: for he saith, that Cities were built an exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great Flood.

This first *Jupiter* of the *Ethiopes* was then the lame *Cain*, the Sonne of *Adam*, who marrying his owne Sister (as *also Jupiter* is sayd to haue done) inhabited the East, where *Stephanus de verbis* placeth the Citie *Hemochia*. And besides this Citie of *Hemochi*, *Philo Iudeus* conceiueeth that *Cain* built fixe others, as *Maich*, *Jared*, *Tebe*, *Iefca*, *Selit* and *Gebat*: but where *Philo* had this I know not. Now as *Cain* was the first *Jupiter*, and from whom also the *Ethiopes* had the inuention of Sacrifice: so were *Iubal*, *Tubal* and *Tubalcain* (Inuentors of Pastorage, Smiths-craft, and Musick) the lame, which were call'd by the ancient prophane Writers, *Mercurius*, *Vulcan* and *Apollo*; and as there is a likelihood of name between *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*: so doth *Augustine* expound the name of *Noema* or *Namath*, the Sister of *Tubalcain*, to signifie *Penuila*, or beautiful *Polynia*, or pleasure; as the wife of *Vulcan* is sayd to be *Venus*, the Ladie of pleasure and beutie. And as *Adam* was the ancient and first *Saturne*, *Cain* the eldest *Jupiter*, *Eua*, *Rhea*, and *Noema* or *Namath* the first *Venus*: so did the Fable of the diuiding of the World betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of *Saturne* arise, from the true Story of the diuiding of the Earth betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of *Noah*: so also was the Fiction of those Golden Apples kept by a Dragon taken from the Serpent, which tempted *Eua*: so was *Paradise* it selfe transported out of *Asia* into *Africa*, and made the Garden of the *Hesperides*: the prophecies, that

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Christ should breake the Serpents head, and conquer the power of Hell, occasioned by the Fables of *Heracles* killing the Serpent of *Lisiferus*, and descending into Hell, and captivating *Cerberus*: In out of the taking up of *Henoch* by God, was borrowed the conversion of their *Heroes* (the Inventors of Religion, and such Arts as the life of man had profit by) into Starres and Heavenly Signes, and (withall) that leaving of the World, and ascension of *Atreus*; of which *Onid*:

Ultima cœlestium terras Astræa reliquit ;
Astræa last of heavenly Wights the Earth did leave.

Ovid, Met. 1.1.

10 For although thereby the *Ethniekes* would vnderstand Iusticie selfe to have failed, as it is a vertue abstract, and may be considered without a person; yet as it is vsual among the ancient Poets to describe Vertues and Vices by the persons of Men and Women, as Desire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beaucie or Lust by *Venus*, so doe they also the persons of Men by like Vertues and Vices, and therefore by Iustice and *Astraea*, *Enoch*: the Iusticie and pietie of *Enoch* being in the same manner exprest, as that of *Noah* was by *Moses*, for *Noah* was sayd to be a iust man; *And Noah walked with God.* And of *Enoch* it is written, *that he walked with God, and hee was no more seene: for God took him away.*

Nat. Comm. I, 26, 2

V. I.

Gen. 7.
Gen. 5. 22. 24.

20 From this Storice also of the first Age, and from that part where *Mofes* remem-
breth the Giants begotten by the Sonnes of good men vpon the Daughters of
the wicked (whom *Mofes* calleth mightie men, and men of renouwe) did they steale
those wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and againe
their warre vnderaken againt the gods, from the building of the Towre of *Babel*
by the Giant *Nimrod*, as *S. Auguſtine* termeth him. Which warre of their Giants
Cypriellus Seuerus thus describeth:

*Tentavère (nefas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captivūq; Iovis transferre Gigantes
Imperium, & victo leges imponere caelo.*

The Giants did aduance their wicked hand:
Against the Starres, to thrutt them headlong downe,
And robbing Ioue of his Imperiall Crowne,
On conquered Heauens to lay their proud command

Whereby was manifest that *Nimrod* purposed to raise the building of *Babel*, to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deepe, nor by any conjunction of the Starrs, thought bury them vnder the myoule of a second Flood, but that by
40 this building (if they had beene herein victorious) they would haue giuen the Law to Heauen it selfe. Also the making of Leagues, Peace and Covenants among Hea-
ren Nations and Kings, confirmed by Sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eight and
twelfth of his *Aeneides* hath a touch, was as it seemeth borrowed from *Moses*, Exodus
24. Who when he read the Booke of the Covenant, sprinkled the people with blood.

We find also many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternall Ancestor of *Henoch* and *Noah*; for *Amemphus*, the fame King of *Egypt*, which reigned at such time as *Moses* carried thence the children of *Israel*, (as of late some learned men mistaking his time supposed) called his Sonne and Successour *Setho*, of *Seth*, and of the fame *Seth* (as some men of good iudgement have granted) were the Princes of *Thrace* called *Sethes*, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memorie of *Seth* most manifestly preferred, that the *Egyptians* worshipped *Seth*, as their most ancient parent, and of the first tradition: in honour of whome they called a principall Province *Sethiicia*. We also finde in *Bithynia* the Citie of *Sethia*, and others of the same name elsewhere. And sure from the *Egyptians* did the *Grecians* borrow

*Ioseph. l. x. contra
Appian.*

Plut. in Iside.

Strab. l. 17.

12

this kind of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledge any antiquitie preceding their owne; and that they might not seeme to learne elsewhere, they gaue the same names to their owne Idols which the Egyptians did to theirs.

¶ V.

Of the three chiefest IVPITERS; and the strange Storie of the third.

BV T of all those Armies of IVPITERS remembred by the Ancients, Cicero maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other Writers haue also done, who fought out, and laboured in their originals. The first was Iupiter, the sonne of *Ether* and *Dies*, so called, because the one had reference to his celestiall conditions (for *ether* is as much as shining or pure fire) the other discovered his naturall vertues, which dayes and times make more perfect, and are the witness of mens actions.

The second was said to be the sonne of *Caelum* or Heauen, for the same former respect; and this Iupiter was an *Acadian*, and King of *Athens*.

The third of whom all the *Gracian* Fables were deuised, was of *Creet* (now *Candia*) the sonne of *Saturne* and *Ops*. The name deriued from the Latine is taken of *Iuuanis* Pater, from the Greeke Word *Zeus*, it signifieth life, but somewhat strained. *Boccius* in his Genealogie of the gods conceiueth, that his name was borrowed from Iupiter the Planet; but whether that *Starre* had such a name, before the same was giuen to men, I know not. Iupiter is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, adcurous, liberall, mercifull, louing, and faithfull, (that is) giuing these inclinations. And therefore those ancient Kings beautified with these conditions, might be called there after Iupiter; but howsoever they were, or were not with those vertues enriched, yet, by imitation, all Kings in the eldest times assumed those Titles and Surnames: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honor and reputation in the World, (howsoever deferred) as the worthiest, that euer were, acquired by their well deservings. *Ioues omnes Reges vocarunt antiqui, The Ancients called all Kings IVPITERS, as Tzetzes in his varia historia confirmeth: Reges olim Ioves vocarunt omnes: in old times all Nations called their Kings IVPITERS.* But where this last and most remembred IVPITER was borne it is vncertaine. Some there are that make him of *Creet*: others, that hee was but sent thither by his Mother *Ops* or *Opis*, to be fostered and hidden from the furie of *Titan* his Vncle: because it was conditioned betweene *Saturne* and *Titan*, that *Saturne* being a yonger brother, and reigning (for his owne life) by *Titan*'s permission, hee should put to death all his male children, lest the *Titans* might be interrupted by any of them in their succession; which agreement because *Saturne* performed in his first borne, it is faired that *Saturne* deuoured his owne children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latine:

*Hand sit pinguior,
Crudis sepulchrum quod sit ipse filij.*

*Saturne to be the fatter is not knowne,
By being the graue and buriall of his owne.*

This composition betweene *Titan* and *Saturne*, *Sybilla* also witnesseth in these;
*Conceptis verbis; TITAN iurare coegit
SATVRNVM, de se natum ne nutriat vllum,
Quo possint regnare Jouis post fata Nepotes.*

Things thus agreed: *Titan* made *Saturne* sweare
No Sonne to nourish; which by reigning might
Vsurpe the right of *Titan*'s lawfull Heire.

But

But *Opis* the mother of *Iupiter*, being deliuered at once both of *Iupiter* and *Iuno*, conueied *Iupiter* (first called *Lysianus*) into *Crete*, as hee did afterwards his two brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where hee was brought vp in *Gnosus*, the chiefe Citie of that Iland, by *Cressa* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a people and Nation thereof.

Ensb. in Temp.

Other challenge him to be of *Thebes*, and a *Thebane*: others call him an *Acadian*: others make him of *Messena*. The like contention is found among the *Greekes* touching his education and first fostering. Some affirme, that he was fed by Hony-bees: in recompence whereof he changed their blacke coats and skins into yellow; a reward well fitting such a God: others, that he was nourished by Beares: others, by Goats: and of all these the idle *Greekes* haue many prettie Tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge, that *Saturne* had broken his faith, he set on him, and tooke him and his wife Prisoners, whom *Iupiter* againe rescued and deliuered.

But lastly, the Father and the Sonne equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturne* being the lesse powerfull fled into *Italie*, and left his Kingdomes in *Greece* to his sonne. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour; and for his many vertues the name of *Iupiter* was giuen him; yet, after he was once settled and became potent, he gaue himselfe ouer wholly to palliardize and adultery, without all respect of honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by such, as doe ascribe the actions of many to one *Iupiter*, that not therewith satisfied, hee was afterwards knowne to offend in the sinne of *Sodomie* with *Ganimedes* and others; and did not only begin with incest, marrying his owne sister *Iuno*, but he rauished, betrayed, stole away, and tooke by strong hand all the beautifull women borne in his time, within the limits of his owne Kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame, *Niobe*, *Laodamia*, and *Alcmena* the wife of *Amphitryon*, by whom he had *Pelagius*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*; of whom the Mountaine *Taygetus* tooke name, with another sonne called *Saon*, of whom *Sauna*: by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Leda Casior* and *Pollux*, *Helen* and *Clytemnestra*: by *Danae* *Perseus*: by *Iordana* *Deucalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*, by *Protegenia* hee had *Athlus* the Father of *Endymion*; and by *Io* (the Daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the Founder of *Memphis* in *Egypt*: which *Epaphus* married *Libya*, of whom that Countrey tooke name, for so the *Greekes* afterward called *Africa*. Hee rauished *Agina* the Daughter of *Esopus*, and carryed her into the Iland *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Agina*, on whom he begat *Aeacus*: by *Torrebia* hee had *Archebius* and *Carbius*: by *Ora Colaxes*: he had also *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanum*, afterward *Illus* and *Troy*. Hee begat the Brothers *Tulci*, on *Thalia*, and on *Garamantis* *Hiarbas*. Hee had besides these (if they belye not their chiefe God) *Phileus* and *Pilumnus*, innentors of Bakers Craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that hee could not be Father to all these, who were borne in Ages so farre differing. And of these his feuerall rauishments, betrayings, stealing away of mens Wiues, Daughters and Sonnes, buying of Virgins, and the like, came in all those ancient Fables of his transformations into showres of Gold, Eagles, Bulls, Birds, and Beasts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Gracian* Forgeries. And yet did not the *Greekes* and *Romans* feare to entitle this Monster, *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his second Booke de *natura Deorum* affirme, that he deserved nothing lesse, and in his Oration pro *domo sua*, reproceeth *Clodius* for his Incest, by the name of *Iupiter*. His buriall was in *Crete* (saith *Luctan*) *Cretemenses non solum natum apud se & sepulchrum Iovem testantur, sed etiam sepulchrum eius offendunt; The Creteans or Candians doe not only know that IVPITER was borne and buried among them, but they shew his graue and sepulchre*: which *Epiphanius* also confirmeth, for in his time there remained the Monuments of his Tombe in the Mountaine *Tajlus*. This *Callimachus* in his Hymnes also witnesseth, but as offended thereat, sayth thus;

The *Creteans* euer Lyars were, they care not what they say:
For they a Tombe haue built for thee, O King; that liu't alway.

I 3

Diodorus

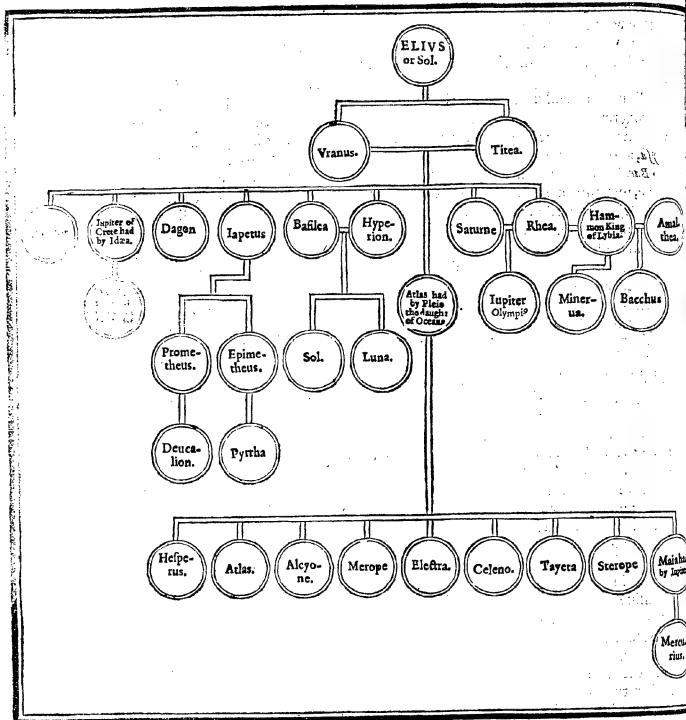
Diod. l. 2. c. 5.

Diadorus Siculus tels by way of report from the *Libyan* Fables, confirmed (as hee saith) by some *Greek* Writers, that the originall of these gods was from the Westerne parts of *Africk*. For there among the *Atlantida* reigned one *Pranus* (which signifieth Heauen) called so for his great skil in *Astrologie*, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many Wives 45. Sons; but by his principall Wife *Titea*, hee had 17. Sons and two Daughters, all which were called after their Mothers name the *Titanes*. Of *Titea*, likewise it is said, that she for her goodnesse was canonized as a Goddesse, being dead, and called the Earth, as her Husband was called Heauen. But of all the children of *Titea*, her Daughter *Bustea* (which name founding as Queene in English; she is by the Latine Translator of *Diadorus* called *Regina*) excelling the rest as far in vertue as in yeeres, was by generall consent of her Brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as Queene after her Fathers death, being as yet a Virgin. Shee tooke to Husband her Brother *Hyperion*, to whom shee bare a Sonne and a Daughter, called *Sunne* and *Moone*. The beautie and towardnesse of these children moued her Brethren to enue, and bred in them a feare of being excluded from the Succession: wherefore they tooke the Boy and drowned him in the Riuer *Eridanus*, now called *Poe*. The losse of this child caused his Sister to breake her owne necke; and the losse of both her Children made the Mother to play many mad pranks, dancing with Cymbals, after a wild fashion, in sight of all the people, before whom shee is said to haue vanished away. Ere shee dyed, her Sonne (as the Fable hath it) signified vnto her in a Dreame, that he and his Sister by the providence of God should become immortall, that also the *Sunne* and *Moone* should be called by their names, and that their death should be reuenged vpon the Murderers. According to which it is said, that the people did so call those two Planets, and withall held her selfe as a Goddesse, and termed her the great Mother, which name they had formerly giuen to her, for her motherly care in cherishing her Brethren whilst they were young. *Hyperion* and his Race being extinguished, the other Sonnes of *Pranus* diuided the Kingdome. Of these *Atlas* and *Saturne* were chiefe. *Atlas* reigned ouer the Countreys lying about the Mountaines, which afterward bare his name; a iust and wise Prince, deeply skilfull in *Astrologie*, and for inuention of the *Sphere*, sayd to haue supported Heauen. Hee had many Sonnes; but the principall of them called *Hesperus*, being of his Fathers qualities and studies, was sayd to haue bene carried away by the Winde, from the top of an high Hill in the midst of his Contemplations, and his name in honour of him, imposed by the people vpon the Morning Starre. The seuen Daughters of *Atlas* were also sayd to haue bene excellent Ladies, who accompanying such as came to be deified, or registered among the Worthies, brought forth Children, answerable in qualitie to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seuen Starres called *Pleades* tooke name. *Saturne* the Brother of *Atlas* reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africke*, and *Italie*. *Jupiter*, another of the Sonnes of *Pranus*, reigned in *Crete*; who had tenne Sonnes which hee called *Curetes*; he called that Land after his Wives name *Idea*; in which Ile he dyed, and was buried. But this *Jupiter* must not haue bene that great one, but Vncle to the Great *Jupiter*, if these Fables of the *Libyans* were true. *Saturne* (as these *Libyans* tell the Tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keepe his people in subiection. His Sister *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in some part of *Africke*. *Hammon* louing others as well as his Wife, or better, got a Daughter, called *Minerua*, neere to the Riuer *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. Hee also begat on *Amalthea* a Sonne called *Bacchus*, whom he caused secretly for feare of his life to be brought vp at *Nysa*, an Land in the Riuer *Triton*, vnder the tuition of his Daughter *Minerua*, and certaine *Nymphes*. To *Amalthea* he gaue in reward a goodly Countreie, that lay on the Sea-coast, bending in forme of a horne, whence grew the Tale of *Amalthea*'s plentifull Horne, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard these newes, she fled from her Husband to her Brother *Saturne*, who not onely entertained her as a Sister, but tooke her to wife, and at her instigation made warre vpon

Hammon,

Hammon, vanquished him by assistance of the *Titanes*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Jupiter*'s children before mentioned, held the land at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Crete* the Kings Daughter, whom hee tooke to wife, and had with her (women as may seeme being very gracious in those times) the Kingdome. *Bacchus* was growne a proper young man, had found out the making of wine, the arte of planting trees, and many things else commodious for mankind, before the flight of his Mother in law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had hapned, and that *Saturne* was coming against him with the *Titanes*; he leuyed an Armie, to which the *Amazons* liuing not farre from *Nysa*, added great forces, in loue of *Minerua*, who was entred into their profession. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerua* the women, they set forward against *Saturne*, met him, ouerthrew him, and taking many of the *Titanes* prisoners, returned to *Nysa*; where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prepared for a second Expedition. In the second Expedition he behaued himselfe so well, that hee wan the loue of all the people by whom hee passed; insomuch that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturne*'s rigorous gouernement, he was greatly strengthened, and the Enemie as much infeebled by daily reuolts: Comming to the Citie of *Hammon*, hee wan a battaile of *Saturne*, before the very walls. After which *Saturne* with his wife *Rhea* fled by night, setting the Towne on fire to despight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entreated. *Saturne* had a yong sonne by *Rhea*, called *Jupiter*. This child *Bacchus* tooke with him in a great Expedition that he made into the East countreies; and comming into *Egypt*, he left this *Jupiter*, being then a Boy, Gouernour of the Countreie; but appointed vnto him as an Ouer-seer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Jupiter* grew to be called *Olympius*. Whilst *Bacchus* trauiayled through all Nations, as far as into *India*, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titanes* had found out his Father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to warre vpon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*, with whom *Jupiter* from *Egypt*, and his sister *Minerua*, together with the rest that afterwards were held as gods, ioyning all their forces, went into *Crete*, ouerthrew the *Titanes*, chased them, tooke, and slue them, and freed the world of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deified; and the great *Jupiter* the sonne of *Saturne* succeeding them, reigned Lord alone ouer all the world, hauing none of the *Titanes* left aliue, nor any other to disturbe him. Betweene this tale of the *Libyan* Gods, and the *Egyptian* fables of *Osiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked Images of some one true historie. For the expeditions of *Osiris*, and of *Bacchus*; the warres of the Giants in the one storie, of the *Titanes* in the other; the Kingdome of *Egypt* giuen by *Hercules Lybius* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Jupiter*, the Rattles of *Ipsi*, and the Cymbals of *Bastia*, with many pettie circumstances, neerely enough resemble each other, howsoeuer not alike fitted to the right persons. *Sanchoiata* (as *Ensebius* cites him) would haue all these to be *Phenicians*, and is earnest in saying, That it is a true storie, and no Allegorie. Yet he makes it seeme the more allegoricall, by giuing to *Pranus* or Heauen for Daughters, *Fate* and *Beautie*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diadorus*, though *Diadorus* haue enough. To the Genealogie he addes *Elius* or the *Sunne*, as Father of *Pranus*, and among the children of *Pranus*, *Iapetus*, *Belinus*, and *Dagon* (whom *Diadorus* doth not mention by their names) giuing withall to *Pranus* the proper name of *Terranis* or *Indigenis*, and of *Ilus* to *Saturne*, but omitting *Jupiter* of *Crete*. The Pedigree of them is this:

Ensebius.



§. VI.

Of CHAM, and other wicked ones, whereof some gat, some affected the name of Gods.

IF Jupiter Belus, the sonne of Saturnus Babylonicus, otherwise Nimrod, it seemeth that Citero had not heard, (at least by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembered: for long after these times were the Greekes but Salvages, if they seeke no farther off for their Gods.

But the Egyptians, even after the flood, began (somewhat before this Chaldean Iupiter) to intitle Cham, the parent of their owne Mizraim, Iupiter Chammon, or Hammon. For the Etymologie of this word (Hammon) which the Greekes deduce ab arenis; from the sands, is ridiculous (saith Peucer;) neither yet is his owne much better,

Peucer de
Oracul.

better, who brings it from *Hammath*, which signifieth heate: because the said Temple of *Iupiter Hammon* was seated in *Libya*, where the ayre is exceeding hot and scorching. And as for the antiquitie of the latter *Iupiter* (among the Greekes and Romans the most renowned) it is certain that he was borne not long before the war of *Troy*, as by many of his honnes is made manifest; namely, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which lived in that age of *Primus*, vnder whom, and with whom *Troy* was destroyed.

Now seeing that mortall men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortall among the Heathen; it was not to be wondered at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tyberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, and others, fought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monstres as the rest: For by what reason could the same *Deitie* be denied vnto *Laurentia* and *Flora*, which was giuen to *Venus*? seeing they were as notorious and famous Harlots as Ihee was.

§. VII.

That the wiser of the ancient Heathen had surer better opinions of God.

BUT that ever *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, beleueed in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some of them (ouer-busily) haue mixed their owne inuentions with the Scriptures: for, in punishment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Hesiodus* in hell, where he stayned that they were perpetually stung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read ouer all the bookes of *Moses*, as by places stolne thence, almost word for word, may appeare; of which *Iustine Martyr* remembereth many in that Treatise conuerted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, though he dissembled in some things, for feare of the Inquisition of the *Arcopagites*, yet *S. Augustine* hath alreadie answered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirifice ipsi delectatus est, quae de vno Deo tradita fuerant; And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God*, saith *Iustine Martyr*. Now howsoeuer *Lactantius* pleased to reprehend *Plato*, because (saith he) *Plato* sought knowledge from the Egyptians, and the Chaldeans, neglecting the *Iewes*, and the bookes of *Moses*, *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, finde reason to beleuee the contrarie, thinking that from thence he tooke the grounds of all by him written of God, or sauouring of Diuinitie: and the same opinion had *S. Ambrose* of *Pythagoras*.

But whether it were out of the same vanitie, which possesse all those learned Philosophers and Poets, that *Plato* also published (not vnder the right Authors names) those things which he had read in the Scriptures; or feareing the feueritie of the *Arcopagites*, and the example of his Master *Socrates*, by them put to death by poison, I cannot iudge. *Iustine Martyr* (as it seemeth) ascribeth it wholly to *Plato*s feare, whose wordes among many other of the same effect, are these: *PLATO MOSIS mentionem facere, ob id, quod unum solum Deum docuerat, sibi apud Athenienses tutum non putauit, veritus Arcopagum; PLATO* fearing the *Arcopagites* thought it not safe for him among the Athenians to make mention of *Moses*, that he taught that there is but one God. But for that Diuinitie which he hath written in *TIMAEUS*, *id ipsum de Deo dixit quod & MOSES; He discoursed and taught the same of God* (saith *IUSTINE MARTYR*) which *Moses* did. For where it pleased God by his Angell to answer *Moses*, *Ego sum exiens* (which is) *I am; and, exiens misisti me ad vos; I am hath sent me vnto you*, herein did *Plato* (saith *Iustine Martyr*) no otherwise differ then that *Moses* vsed the word (*qui*) and *Plato* the word *quod*: *Moses enim qui exiit (inquit) PLATO quod exiit; For Moses saith, He who is; PLATO, That which is*. Now of Gods incomprehensible nature, and of the difficultie either to conceiue, or expresse the same,

he

Eu. lib. Prop. E.
Aug. lib. xi.
Cyril. lib. i.
Origen. cont.
Celsus.
Ambr. ad. ro.
Ep. 6. lib. i.

Arcopagus, or
domus seu mons
Sacerdotu, Mar.
his hills house
wherein capi-
tall matters
were tryed: so
called at first:
because Mars
therein first
pleaded his
cause for the
murder of
Hirrahos.
Pausan. in Attic.
Nat. com. l. 4. c. 7.
Iust. Mart. ad.
Gent. l. 8.
14. v. sup.
Euseb. 3. l. 14.

In Times.

De Legib. l. 10.

Laertius.

he giue this testimonie: *Genitorem Vniuersitatis tam difficile est inuenire, quam inueni-
tum impossibile dignè profari; It is as hard to finde out the Creator of the Vniuersall, as it is
impossible, if he were found, to speake of him worthily.* And what can be more agreeable
to the Maiestic of Gods nature, then this propertie by Plato acknowledged? *Deus
bonus, & quidem, Deus causa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non causa; God is absolute-
ly good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good: but of any thing that is euill he is no
cause at all: and againe, Charitas Dei fuit causa factionis mundi, & originis omnium re-
rum; The loue of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the originall of all things.*
APULEIUS the Platonist: *Summus Deus infinitus est, non solum loci exclusione, sed etiam
natura dignitate: Et nihil est Deo similis & gratus, quam vir animo perfectio bonus; The
most high God is also an infinite God, not only by exclusion of place, but by the dignitie of na-
ture: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God then a man of a perfect
heart.* THALES affirmed, that God comprehended all things, and that God was of
all things the most ancient: *Quia nunquam esse capit; Because he neuer had any begin-
ning.* ZENO, that God beheld euen the thoughts of men. *Athenodorus*, that there-
fore all men ought to be careful in the actions of their life, because God was euer-
where present, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moses* storie
of the Creation, then this opinion and description of the Worlds beginning in *Ea-
ripides*, Scholler of *Anaxagoras*?

*Calum terræ, cuius forma fuit:
Sed cum fuissent abiuncta complexu mutuo,
Emergit omnis in lucem res progenita,
Arbores, aues, fere, quæq; affert mare,
Gensq; mortalium.*

Heaven and Earth one forme did beare:
But when disioyned once they were
From mutual embraces,
All things to light appeared then,
Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men
The still-remayning races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*: so we finde the same excellent vnder-
standing in *Orpheus*, who euer-where expressed the infinite and sole power of one
God, though he vse the name of *Iupiter*, thereby to auoid the enuie and danger of
the time; but that he could attribute those things to the sonnes of men, and mortall
creatures, which he doth to this *Iupiter*, there is no man who hath euer heard of
God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (saith *MIRANDULA*) *quos ORPHEVS canit, non decipitium de-
monum, à quibus malum & non bonum provenit; sed naturalium virtutum diuinarumq;
sunt nomina: The names of those Gods whom ORPHEVS doth sing, are not of deceiuing
Deuils, from whom euill comes, and not goodnesse; but they are the names of naturall and
diuine vertues.* Yea, that he yet reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himselfe; this
his instruction to *Musæus*, and the Hymne following teach vs: *Respicies verò ad diu-
inum hunc sermonem ei diligenter animum aduerte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptu-
culum: rectam autem ascende viam, & solum apice mundi Regem. Vnus est ex se genitus,
ex eo omnia nata sunt: Ipse vero in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortaliū,
sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Autogenes.

Then marking this my sacred speech, but truely lend
Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend,
And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one
Begotten of himselfe, from whom is borne alone

All

All else; in which hee's still, nor could it ere befall
A mortall eye to see him once, yet he sees all.

And againe the same Author,

*IUPITER omnipotens, & primus, & vltimus idem;
IUPITER est caput & medium: IOVIS omnia munus.
IUPITER est fundamen humi & stellantis Olympi.
IUPITER & mas est, & femina nescia moris.
Spiritus est cunctis, vultu vis IUPITER ignis.
Et Pelagi radix, SOL, LVNA, est IUPITER ipse
Rex, & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem.
Nam prius occultus, magno post numine, sacrum
Cor referans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.*

The first of all is God, and the same last is he.
God is the head and midst, yea from him all things be.
God is the Base of earth, and of the starred skie.
He is the male and female too, shall neuer die.
The spirit of all is God, the Svnne, the Moone, and what is higher.
The King, th'originall of all, of all the end.
For close in holy brest he all did comprehend,
Whence all to blessed light, his wondrous power did send.

Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times
were not so stupid and ignorant, as the *Agyptians*, *Grecians*, and other Nations by
them infected were. I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leaue the
Reader to those large and learned Collections of *Iustine Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Lactan-
tius*, *Eusebius*, *Engelinius*, *Pencer*, *Plessis*, *Danaus*, and others. For *Cleanthes* the Stoick,
being demanded of what nature God was, described him by these attributes and
30 properties: *Bonus, iustus, sanctus, seipsum possidens, utilis, speciosus, optimus, severus,
liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas, &c.* Good, iust, holy, possessing himselfe,
profitable, beautifull, best, severe, free, alwayes doing good, safe without feare, glorious, and
selfe-charitie. *EPICURVS* affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced
euer-where nature, was only and euer-where powerfull: agreeing with *DEMOCRITVS*:
Rex omnium ipse solus; He is the only King of Kings: and with Pindarus the Poet, *Deus
vnus, Pater, creator summus, atq; optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diuersos seculum
merita præbet; One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best artificer, who gi-
ueth to euer-where diuers proceedings according to their deserts. This God* (saith *ANTISTHE-
NES*) *cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere knowne; & if in
40 patria illa perenni, cuius imaginem nullam habet: Saue onely in that euerylasting Countrey,
whose image thou hast none at all.* Hereof also *XENOPHANES* *COLOPHONIUS*:
*Vnus Deus inter Deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis; There
is one God among gods and men most powerfull, neither corporally, nor mentally like unto
mortals: and XENOPHON, Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus
potensq;, quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli, qui luce sua
omnia perscrutat; God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mightie,
as is manifest to all: but of what forme he is, it is manifest to none, save only to him selfe,
who illuminateth all things with his owne light. Finally, Plato saith: Totius rerum nature
50 causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, æternus animantium spissator, asti-
dus mundi sui opifex, sine preparatione genitor, neg, loco, neg, tempore ille comprehens,
cog, paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis; God is the cause, ground, and originall of the whole
nature of things, the most high Father of the soule, the eternal preserver of living creatures,
the continual framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither
in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can expresse what he is.*

There-

Hieron. in Com.
in Dial. in priu-
cip.

Therefore was it said by S. Hierome, *Si enim cunctos Philosophorum vnicuique libros, necessesse est ut in eis reperias aliquam partem usorum Dei, ut apud PLATONEM, fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud ZENONEM, Stolorum Principem, inferos & immortales animas, &c. If thou consider all the bookes of the Philosophers, thou canst not but finde in them some part of the Vessels of God, as in PLATO, God the Creator of the world: In ZENO Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortal soules, &c.* And this is certayne, that if we looke into the wisdom of all Ages, we shall finde that there neuer was man of solid vnderstanding or excellent iudgement: neuer any man whose mind the arte of education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterwarde blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a pensive inspection aduised; but that he hath found by an vnresistible necessitie, one true God, and euertlasting being, all for euer causing, and all for euer sustayning; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reuerence acknowledged, or more learnedly exprest, then that *Aegyptian Hermes*, howsoeuer it fayled afterwarde in his posteritie: all being at length by deuillish policie of the *Aegyptian* Priests purposely obscured; who inuented new gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the Deuill perswaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keepe in awe and order their common people.

§. VIII.

That Heathenisme and Iudaisme, after many wounds, were at length about the same time vnder IULIAN miraculously confounded.

BVt all these are againe vanished: for the inuentions of mortall men are no lesse mortall then themselves. The Fire, which the *Chaldeans* worshipped for a God, is crept into euery mans chimney, which the lacke of fuelle starueth, water quenchereth, and want of ayre suffocaterh: *Iupiter* is no more vexed with *Iunoes* ielousies; *Death* hath perswaded him to chastitie, and her to patience; and that *Time* which hath deuoured it selfe, hath also eaten vp both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea, their stately Temples of stone and durefull Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found vpon the earth; nor any monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in *Phenicia*, that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in *Libya*, *Creta*, *Thessalia*, or elsewhere, that can aske counsaile or helpe from *Iupiter*. The great god *Pan* hath broken his Pipes, *Apollons* Priests are become speechlesse; and the Trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Deuills telling mens fortunes therein, is taken vp by counterfeit *Aegyptians*, and coozening *Astrologers*.

But it was long ere the Deuill gaue way to these his ouer-throwes and dishonors: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chiefe Mansions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repayed, and rededified againe, till by the hand of God himselfe it received the last and vtter subuersion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the *Euboean* Pirates: Secondly, by the *Phlegians* vtterly sackt: Thirdly, by *Pyrrhus* the sonne of *Achilles*: Fourthly, by the Armie of *Xerxes*: Fifthly, by the Captaynes of the *Phoenices*: Sixtly, by *Xero*, who carryed thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein againe set vp at the common charge. But whatsoeuer was gathered betweene the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian Armie made spoile of, defacing as much as the time permitted them; notwithstanding all this it was againe gloriously rebuilt, and so remayned till such time as *Julian* the *Apostate* sent thither to know the successe of his *Parthian* enterprise, at which time it was vtterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heauen; and the image of *Apollo* himselfe, and all the rest of the Idols therein molten downe and lost in the earth.

The

The like successe had the *Tewes* in the same *Italian* time, when by his permission they assembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of *Hierusalem*: for while they were builed to lay the foundations, their buildings were ouerthrowne by an Earthquake, and many thousands of the *Tewes* were ouerwhelmed with the ruines, and others flaine, and scattered by Tempest and Thunder: though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more fauourably for the *Tewes*, ascribing this to the nature of that Element. For, saith hee, *Alphius* and the Ruler of the Prouince of *Indea*, being by *Julian* builed in the reedifying of this Temple, flaming Bals of fire issuing neere the foundation, and oft consuming the Workemen, made the enterprize frustrate.

§. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Deuill to maintaine his Kingdome.



Ow the Deuill, because hee cannot play vpon the open Stage of this World (as in those dayes) and being still as industrious as euer, findes it more for his aduantage to creepe into the mindes of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, workes them to a more effectuall adoration of himselfe then euer. For whereas hee first taught them to sacrifice to Monsters, to dead stones cut into faces of Beasts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; hee now sets before them the high and shining Idoll of glorie, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. He tels them that Truth is the Goddest of dangers and oppressions: that chastitie is the enemy of Nature; and lastly, that as vertue (in generally) is without taste: so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth euery sense: for true wisdom (sayth hee) is exercised in nothing else, then in the obtaining of power to oppress, and of riches to maintaine plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-politician* finde in his pupils any remorse, any feare or feeling of Gods future Iudgement, hee perswades them that God hath so great need of mens soules, that he will accept them at any time, and vpon any conditions: interrupting by his vigilant endeours all offer of timefull returne towards God, by laying those great blockes of rugged pouertie, and despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his diuine presence. But as the minde of man hath two Ports, the one alwayes frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other desolate and ouer-growne with grasse, by which enter our charitable thoughts and diuine contemplations: so hath that of death a double and twofold opening: worldly miserie passing by the one, worldly prosperitie by the other: at the entrance of the one wee find our sufferings and patience to attend vs: (all which haue gone before vs to prepare our ioyes) at the other our cruelties, couetousnesse, licentiousnesse, iniustice, and oppressions (the Harbingers of most fearefull and terrible sorrow) staying for vs. And as the Deuill our most industrious enemy was euer most diligent: so he is now more laborious then euer: the long day of Mankind drawing fast towards an euening, and the Worlds Tragedie and time neere at an end.

K

CHAP.

CHAP. VII. Of NOAH'S Flood.

§. I.

Of Gods fore-warning: and some humane testimonies: and some doubting
touching the truth of NOAH'S Flood.

10 Eph. 1. 1. 4.

Gen. 6. 14.
V. 13.Lactin Pref. de
falsis relig.Ioseph. 1. 1. 4.
Euseb. de prep.
9. cap. 4.

But this vniuersall graue of waters, and generall Deluge hath not beene received by all: for diuine testimonies do not perswade all naturall men to those things, to which their owne reason cannot reach: *Dum obnubila in obscuro veritas latet: whilst the truth lieth wrapped vp in obscuritie.* Many there are who haue disputed against the vniuersality of this ouerflowing, and haue iudged that this Flood of Noah fell but on some particular places and Kingdomes: moued so to thinke, because in elder ages there haue beene many other Floods (as they suppose) of that nature. Herof *Nicolas Damascenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Iosephus*: *Est super Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos consurgentes sermo est diluuij tempore liberatos, & quendam simul in Arca decessum in huius vertice habuisse, lignorumque reliquias multo tempore conseruatas, qui fortasse fuit, de quo etiam Moyses Iudeorum Legistorum scribit: thus saith this Authour. There is (sayth hee) about Minyada (or the Countrey of Minya) an exceeding high Mountaine in Armenia, called Baris: on which it is reported, that many hauing fled thither, were saued in the time of the Deluge: and that one was carried in an Arke, and rested vpon the top of the Mountaine, whereon there remained a long time after certaine pieces thereof; and this might be the same, of which *Moses* the Law-giuer of the Iewes maketh mention. And of this opinion were the *Thalimudists* (sayth *Annius*) that many Giants saued themselves vpon Mount *Sion*.*

But *Berofus* (who after *Moses* was one of the most ancient, howsoeuer hee haue beene since deformed and corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with *Moses* as touching the generall Flood, taking from thence the beginning of his Historie in these

these words: *Ante aquarum cladem famosam, qua vniuersus perijt Orbis, &c. Before that famous destruction of Waters, by which the world vniuersal perished:* winneth well all, that *Noah* with his Wife *Titea*, and his three Sonnes with their Wiues (in all eight persons) were onely saued.

§. II.

Of the Flood in the time of OGYGES: and that this was
not NOAH'S Flood.

BVt from the vanitie of the Greekes, the Corruptors of all truth, (sayth *Lactantius*) who without all ground of certaine vantage their Antiquitie, came the error first of all: who therein flattering themselves also, sought to perswade the World, that there was no Flood preceded the Flood of Ogyges, King of the *Thebans* in *Boetia*, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore sayth *Rhodoginus*; *OGYGMID* appellant *Pœta*, tanquam pernetus dixerit, ab OGYGE vetustissimo: The Poets gae the name of OGYGIA to things exceeding ancient, as of OGYGES the most ancient.

But let Ogyges be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest, that hee liued but in *Iacobi* time (though *Eusebius* makes him later, and in *Moses* time) and was borne 67. yeeres after him. There is also an opinion, that Ogyges was *Cadmus* (and then was he farre later) as *Rhodoginus* in the ninth Booke of his Antiquities remembreth: *Sunt tamen qui in Aegypto regnasse autumant hunc: unde sit CADMVS qui in Graciam profectus Thebas condidit, a boue iugulato sic nuncupatus; quoniam Syrorum lingua bis dicitur Thebe. There are (sayth he) who thinke that this OGYGES did raigne in Egypt, whereby he should be CADMVS, who traailing into Greece built Thebes, so named of a Beefe slaine: because in the Syrian Language, a Beefe is called Thebe.*

But this Flood of Ogyges fell in the yeere of the World 3440. according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the *Septuagint*; and the Flood of *Noah* in the yeere 2242. after the same account; and so there came 1200. yeeres betweene these Floods, wanting but two, though herein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now although the verie yeere and time of this ouerflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not precisely set downe, but that there is a great difference among Writers, yet who soeuer makes it most ancient, finds about 500. yeeres difference betweene that and the generall Flood.

For *Paulus Orosius* affirms, that this tempest fell vpon the *Athenians*, but 1040. yeeres before *Rome* built. *Bucholzerus* sayth it was 1043. elder then *Rome*; which was founded (according to the same *Bucholzerus*) in the Worlds yeere 3219; though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will giue my reasons in the Story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds yeere 3280. Now the generall Flood preceded the building of *Rome* (sayth *Bucholzerus*) 1563. yeeres: and the Flood of Ogyges (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if he place Ogyges in his true age) the difference betweene these two Floods must bee 520. yeeres, to which we (allowing 60. more) find 580. And that this of Ogyges was not the same of *Noah* (except we call *Noah*, Ogyges *præsum*, as some doe) it appears by this, that the Flood of Ogyges then King of *Attica* or *Ogygia*, did not extend it selfe any further then the banks of *Archipelago*, or the *Aegean* Sea. For whereas *Mela*, *Plinie*; and *Solinus* witness, that the Citie of *Ioppe* in *Iudæa* was founded before the Flood; and that (notwithstanding the waight of Waters) there remained on certaine Altars of stone the Title of the King, and of his Brother *PHINEVS*, with many of the grounds of their Religion: sure, it is no where found among prophane Historians nor in the Scriptures, that euer the Flood of Ogyges spred it selfe ouer any part of *Syria*, much lesse ouer all the Earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Atheni*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*, it is very probable. For it seemeth

Euseb. de prep.
Euseb. 1. 1. 4. 3.
Ca. 22.

Lib. 1. c. 4.

Xenophon. An.
manus.

Melalib. 3.

Pind. lib. 5.

Sola. 2. p. 47.

Ioppe apud non

antiquissimam

orbe toto, et ante

anteinundationem

nervatam conditam. Solinus

lib. 1.

K 2

meth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed vp (Cities located on the North part of *Poloponnesus*) of which *Ouid*:

*Ouid. Metam.
lib. 5. 303.*

*Si quas aras Helicon, & Bura, Achaidos urbes,
Inuenies sub aquis.*

Bura and *Helice* on *Achaian* ground
Are fought in vaine, but vnder Sea are found.

Nat. Com. 1. c. 6

Of this Flood of *Ogyges* was inuented the Fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latus* to the Daughter of *Cean*, the Son of *Itaw*, being beloued and forced by *Iupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Iuno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they say) no part of the Earth to bee deliuered on; and withall caused the monstrous Serpent *Python* to follow and affright her, wherefoeuer shee traualled, till at length arriving at the *Ile* of *Orygia* shee was there twinned; in which shee was deliuered, first of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twins; whereof *Barlaam* makes this exposition: That at such time as the Deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his Raigne) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the Earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled such thicke mists and fogges, that in *Attica*, and along the Coasts of the *Aegan* Sea, neyther the beames of the Sunne by day, nor of the Moone by night could pierce the Ayre, or be perceiued by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the Earth being dried, and these vapours dissipated) the Ayre began to bee cleere, and the people of *Orygia* espied the light of the Moone somewhat before day, and in the same morning the Sunne also appeared: fabulously (because *Diana* represented the Moone, and *Apollo* the Sunne) they were reported to bee borne in the *Ile* of *Orygia*, thereof afterwarde called *Delos*: which signifieth manifestation.

Plin. l. 2. c. 11.

And surely it is not improbable, that the Flood of *Ogyges*, being so great, as Histories haue reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the Ayre sensibly discerned in those parts, and some vnusuall face of the Skies. *Varro* in his Bookes, *De gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by Saint *Augustine*) reporteth out of *Castor*, that so great a Miracle happened in the Starre of *Venus*, as neuer was seene before, nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatnesse, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out as *Adrastus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapollites*, famous *Mathematicians* affirmed in the time of *Ogyges*.

*Aug. de Ciuit.
Dei, l. 1. c. 8.*

Now concerning the course of that or any other Planet, I doe not remember, that I haue any where read, of so good *Astrologers* flourishing among the *Greekes*, or else where in those dayes as were likely to make any calculation of the reuolutions of the Planets so exact, that it should need no reformation. Of the colour and magnitude, I see no reason why the difference found in the Starre of *Venus* should be held miraculous; considering that lesser mists and fogges, than those which covered *Greece* with so long darknesse, doe familiarly present our senses with as great alterations in the Sunne and Moone. That the figure should varie, questionlesse it was very strange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it stands well with good reason, that the side of *Venus* which the Sunne beholds, being enlightened by him, the opposite halfe should remaine shadowed, whereby that Planet would, vnto our eyes, delcrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, appeare to bee horned, as the Moone doth seeme; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our senses.

Galliens, a worthy *Astrologer* now liuing, who by the helpe of perspective Glasses hath found in the Starres many things vnknowne to the Ancients, affirmeth so much to haue beene discovered in *Venus* by his late obseruations: Whether some waterie disposition of the Ayre might present as much to them that liued with *Ogyges*, as *Galliens* hath seene through his Instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the discourse

coherie of a truth formerly vnknowne, doth rather conuince man of ignorance, then nature of errour. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Flood of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of Saint *Augustine*) accompanied with such vnusuall (and therefore the more dreadfull, though naturally signes testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Flood of *Noah* which was generall and altogether miraculous, may seeme to haue had no other token, or forehewing, then the long preaching of *Noah* himselfe, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the Flood came sodainly, and tooke them all away.

Luc. 17. 24, 27.

§. III.

Of *Deucalions* Flood: and that this was not *Noahs* Flood: nor the *Ymbri* in *Italia* a remnant of any vniuersall Flood.

A Second Flood of great fame, and of which the time is more certaine, was that of *Deucalion* in *Thessalia*, of which Saint *Augustine* out of *Varro*: *His temporibus* (by *Varro* scribit) regnante *Athenien* (bus *CRANAO*, *suicessor* *CECROPS* (ut autem *moysi*, *EVSEBIUS* & *HIERONYMUS*) *ad huc eodem* *CECROPE* *permanente*, *dilatatum* *fuit*, *quod appellatum* *est* *DEUCALIONIS*: (that is) *In these times* (as *Varro* reporteth) *CRANAO* the successor of *CECROPS* governing the *Athenians*, or (as our *EVSEBIUS* and *HIEROME* say) *CECROPS* yet liuing, that Flood (called *DEUCALIONS*) happened.

And in the beginning of the eleuenth Chapter of the same eighteenth Booke, hee vseth these words: *Eduxit ergo* *MOSES* *ex* *Egypto* *populum* *Dei* *nouissimo* *tempore* *CECROPS* *Athenien* *sum* *Regis*, *cum* *apud* *Assyrios* *regnaret* *ASCATADES*, *apud* *Sicyonios* *MARATHVS*, *apud* *Argiuos* *TRIOPAS*: *MOSES* *led* *the* *People* *of* *God* *out* *Egypt* *about* *the* *latter* *times* *of* *CECROPS* *King* *of* *the* *Athenians*, *ASCATADES* *raigning* *ouer* *the* *Assyrians*, *ouer* *the* *Sicyonians* *MARATHVS*, *and* *ouer* *the* *Argiuos* *TRIOPAS*: so as leauing the curiositie of a few yeeres, more or lesse, it appeareth, that this Flood of *Deucalion* was cyther at the egression of the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, or neere it: and then after *Noah* 753. yeeres; according to *Functius*, who makes *Cecrops* to liue in the yeere of the World 2409. or if we follow *MERCATOR*, then 739. yeeres after *Noah*, and in the yeere of the World 2395. But if *Deucalion* were borne in the age of the World 2356. according to *Codoman*; then giuing vnto *Deucalion* fortie yeeres of age when this Flood happened; it falleth within one yeere of *Mercators* account. But *Deucalion* by all approoued Historians is said to haue bene 82. yeeres olde at that time. Now *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this Flood of *Deucalion*, and the conflagration and burning in *Phaetons* time, by the Raigne of *Crotopus* King of the *Argiuos*; but *Crotopus* liued King of the *Argiuos* fixe yeeres after *Israel* departed *Egypt*, which makes twentie yeeres difference, according to *Functius*, who will haue this Flood and burning to haue fallen fourtene yeeres before *Moses* left *Egypt*: for he gaue of the Worlds yeeres to the Flood and burning the yeere 2440. and to *Moses* his egression the yeere 2454. And yet *Cedrenus* thinks that *Moses* was more ancient, and liued with *Inachus*; but that cannot bee true: for then had the Flood of *Deucalion*, and the burning of *Phaeton*, preceded the Flood of *Ogyges*, which is denied by all: for that of *Thessalie* (called *Deucalions*) followed that of *Attica* (called *Ogygia*) at least 250. yeeres or thereabouts. *Eusebius* in his *Chronologie* makes it 230. and so doth *P. Orofius*: *Eusebius* about the 50. yeere of *Moses* life, and 50 *Cyrillus* about the 67. and both after *Nahabs* Flood 770. yeeres: for these be *Clemens Alexandrinus* his words: *Fuit autem in* *Grecia* *tempore* *quidem* *PHORONEI*, *qui fuit* *post* *INACHVM*, *inundatio* *que* *fuit* *tempore* *OGYGIS*, *There* *happened* *in* *Greece* *in* *the* *time* *of* *PHORONEVS*, *who* *liued* *after* *INACHVS*, *the* *Flood* *of* *OGYGES*. Now if the Flood of *Ogyges* in *Attica* were 1020. or 1016. yeeres before the first Olympiad, according

Cedren. l. 3. §. 34.

*Clem. Alex.
l. 1. c. 119.*

Eusebii Chron.

cording to *Eusebius* and *Orosius*; (as before) then is it manifest, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it falls out that *Ogyges* Flood happened before the *Hebrews* left *Egypt* 250. yeeres, or 260. yeeres, according to the difference between the opinions of *Eusebius* and *Orosius*. And for my selfe (who rather follow those *Chronologers*, which giue 60. yeeres more to *Abraham* after the Flood, then the rest) I reckon the times which come between the Floods in this sort. The generall Flood was in the yeere of the World 1656. *Jacob* was borne in the yeere of the World 2169. so as from the beginning of the Flood to *Jacob's* birth. there were consumed 513. yeeres. *Ogyges* Flood happened 100. yeeres after *Jacob* was borne; and therefore after the generall Flood 613. yeeres. Now *Deucalion* was borne in the yeere of the World 2356. and had liued 82. yeeres, when his Kingdome of *Thessalie* was overwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his Flood was after *Noah's* Flood ended 782. yeeres. And hereto *Annius* his *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700. yeeres between the generall Flood and *Deucalions* birth; to which adde 82. yeeres of his Age (as before) and then the Flood of *Thessalie* followed the generall 782. yeeres. The words of that *Xenophon* are these: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum DEUCALIONIS, secundo anno Sphari, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus anno duos & octoginta Thessaliam vidit inundatam. From the drowning of the World to the birth of DEUCALION, in the second yeere of Spherus, are numbered 700. yeeres, and when DEUCALION was 82. yeeres old, he saw Thessalia drowned.*

c. 14.

about *Parnassus*: witnesseth *Aristotle* in the first of his *Meteors*. And *Varro* (whom Saint *Augustine* so often citeth for his excellent learning, especially in Antiquities) findeth this Flood of *Deucalion* to haue happened in the time of *Cranus*, who succeeded *Cecrops*; *Orosius* thinkes it somewhat later, *Amphitryon* reigning in *Athens*, the third from *Cecrops*. Only this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not only over *Thessalie* it selfe, and the Regions adioyning Westward; but it covered the greatest part of *Italie*: and eyther the same, or some other particular Flood then happening oppressed *Egypt*, sayth *Eusebius*. And therefore did the *Greekes* eyther thinke it, or saie it to be vniuersall; and *Deucalion*, then King, sauing himselfe and some others on the Mountaine of *Thessalie* (of all other the highest, sayth *Solinus*) was by reason thereof (as *Strabo* witnesseth) layd to be the preseruer of Mankind. That this Flood covered a great part of *Italie*, *Plinius* and *Solinus* make it probable: who affirme that the people then inhabiting *Italie* were therefore called *Quia ab imbris diluuij superfluentes*; and therefore also were they esteemed the most ancient Nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his first Booke, and *Trezenius* in his second: which *Vmbri* these Authours make the Parents of the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* to bee the Parents of the *Sannites*, *Piceni*, *Lucani*, *Brutij*, and all others inhabiting anciently the bankes of the *Mediterrane Sea*. But that these *Vmbri* were not the Inhabiters of *Italie* before the Flood of *Noah*, and so tooke name by sauing themselves vpon the *Appennine* Mountaines, the Scriptures teach vs: shewing who, and who only then were preferred,

Abeneus dipnograph. l. 15. out of Draco Cynegreus sayth that Camose was the wife and sister of Janus. Laet. l. 1. c. 13.

Æn. l. 3. §. 19.

*Primus ab aethereo venit SATVRNVS Olympo,
Arma TOVIS fugiens, & regnis exal adeptus.
Is genu indecile, ac dispersum montibus altis
Composuit, legesq; dedit; Latiumq; vocari
Maluit.*

S a

SATVRNE descending from the heavens high, Fearing the Armes of *IUPITER* his sonne, His Kingdome lost, and banisht thence doth flie. Rude people on the Mountaintops he wonne To liue together, and by lawes: which done He chose to call it *Latium*.

And afterward in the Verses following he speaketh of the *Aufones*, and after them of the *Sicani*: Nations, which againe fought to displant the ancient Inhabiters:

10

TUM MARIUM Aufonia, & gentes venere Sicani,

Virg. l. 8. Æn.

Then came th' *Aufonian* bands, and the *Sicanian* tribes.

Of these *Sicani* (which left *Spain* and late downe in *Italie*) *Thucydides* and *Plinius* giue testimonie: who were againe expelled by the *Ligy*, saith *Thucydides*. After all these plantations and replantations came the *Vmbri*, descended of the *Gauls* (saith *Annius*) not of those *Gauls* of *France*, but of those of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part of *Italie*, euen all *Hetruria* and *Campania*, as *Herodotus*, *Plinius*, and *Dionysius* haue assured vs; and therefore this flood of *Deucalion* was long after that of *Noah*. For all those Nations were planted in *Italie*, and disposed of *Italie* againe, before the *Vmbri* were euer heard of, or had being. So that Kingdome was first called *Camafene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Aufonia*, then *Sicania*; before the *Vmbri* (in whose time *Deucalions* flood happened) possit the same, about 306. yeeres before the war of *Troy*: *Lycan* then governing *Arcadia*; who being the Father of two and twentie Sonnes, the youngest called *Oenotrius* invaded *Italie*, who gaue it the name of *Oenotria*. This name it held vntill *Italus* of the same Nation changed it into *Italie*, after his owne name, about 250. yeeres before the fall of *Troy*. After these came the *Pelasgi*, of whom *Plinius* in his third Booke and fifth Chapter; and *Strabo* in his fifth; *Thucydides* in his sixth speaks at large: and after them the *Lydi* vnder *Tyrrhenus* their Captayne, that gaue name to the *Tyrrheni*; who calting thence the *Vmbri*, tooke from them three hundred Cattles, and built therein twelue Cities; to which (after they had possit and past ouer the *Appennine* Mountaynes) they added diuers others, whereof *Telina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Now that there was not anciently such a Nation, as these *Vmbri*, in those parts, I doe not affirme: hauing respect to the testimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinkes, that the name was deriued from the *Greeke* word *Ombros*; but that these *Vmbri* of *Italie* were descended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it shall be shewed hereafter.

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§ IIII.

Of some other records testifying the vniuersall flood: and of two ancient deluges in *Egypt*: and of some else where.



SAINTE AVGVSTINE out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greekes* and *Latines* made not any mention of the vniuersall flood, because they had nothing of antiquitie foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodomus* before remembered) were all things among the *Greekes* (which antiquitie had worne out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in *Englishe* commonly call (worme-eaten) or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the earth were successfully planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did euery familie which afterward became a great People, with whom the knowledge of diuine

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time letters was not receiued, finde no parent of more antiquitie, then such as they had themselves, nor allow of any before their owne; and as the *Gracians*, so did others vaunt themselves to be *Indigene*, and growing out of the earth, or inuent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldeans* had certayne knowledge of *Noahs* flood, as *Berosus* witnesseth; and *Nicolaus Damascenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) though he also affirme by heare-say, that some Giants faued themselves vpon the Mountaynes *Baris* in *Armenia*, but speaketh not thereof as from any authoritie approued: vjing the word *sermo est*; That such a speech there was. And *Eusebius* remembreth a place out of the ancient Historian *Abydenus*: who writeth that *Sisithrus*, to preserue himselfe from a flood foretold him by *Saturnus*, fled to the hills of *Armenia* by ship, ad *Armenian nauigio consuegit*; who the third day (after the waters were fallen) sent forth birds, that finding no land to rest on, returned againe; which he also did a second time, but at the third returne the birds feet were covered with mudde and slime. To this effect are *Eusebius* words out of *Abydenus*, which may seeme a true description (though in other termes) of *Noahs* flood.

Cyillus also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this generall flood. And *Plato* in *Timeo* produceth an *Egyptian* Priest, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy Bookes of *Egypt*, the storie of the flood vniuersall, which (saith he) happened long before the *Gracian* inundations. Fryer *Amnius* his *Xenophon* remembreth a third flood, which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, somewhat more ancient then that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the generall flood for the first, which happened (saith he) vnder the old *Ogyges*, Sub prisco *Ogyge*, which was *Noah*; he calleth the second *Niliaca*; *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then liuing, 44. yeeres before that of *Attica*, in the 34. yeere of *Belochus* King of the *Assyrians*, though I doe not beleue him as touching the time. But this flood couered a great part of the nether *Egypt*, especially all that Region subiect to *Prometheus*; and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Prometheus* his liver after ward slaine by *Hercules* of *Egypt*; which fiction *Diod. Siculus* deliuereth in these wordes: *Fluvium propter cursus velocitatem, profunditatem, aquarum Aquilam tunc appellatum, HERCVLEM cum consilij magnitudine, 39 tam viriute, voluntis vestigio comprehensisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum convertisse*: Vnde & *Graci* quidam Poeta rem gestam in fabulam vertentes, HERCVLEM tradunt Aquilam PROMETHEI jecur depulcentem occidisse; This flood (meaning of *Nilus*) for the swiftnesse of his course, as also for the depth, was in those dayes called the *Eagle*: but *HERCVLES* by his great iudgement and vertue did againe compresse and straighten this River, so farre extended and ouer-spread, turning it into the old channels: Whence certayne Greeke Poets (converting this labour and worke of *HERCVLES* into a fable) deuised that *HERCVLES* slue the *Eagle*, which fed on *PROMETHEVS* liver; meaning that he deliuered *Prometheus* of that sorrow and torment, which for the losse of his People and Countrey (by the waters destroyed and couered ouer) he 40 suffered.

X. noy. de equis.
Colum. per An-
nimus. fol. 27.


A fourth flood chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Amnius* conceiueth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this briefe sort writeth of all these inundations: *Inundationes plures fure: prima nouembris inundatio terrarum sub prisco OGYGE: secunda Niliaca, &c.* There were many inundations (saith this same *Xenophon*) the first which was vniuersall of nine Moneths, and this happened vnder the first *Ogyges*: the second was *Niliaca*, and of one Moneths continuance in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus* *Egyptians*: a third of two Moneths vnder *Ogyges* *Atticus*: the fourth of three Moneths in *Thessalia* vnder *Dencalion*: and a fifth of the like continuance (called *Pharonica*) vnder *Proetus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Helen* 50 rape. *Diodorus* in his first Booke and eleuenth Chapter, taking the *Samotheaces* for his Authors, remembreth a flood in *Asia* the lesse and elsewhere, of no lesse destruction then any of the other particular inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Dencalion*: the Sea of *Pontus* and *Hellepont* breaking in ouer the land.

But

But there haue beene many floods in diuers times, and ages, not inferior to any of these two last remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the yeere of our Redemption 590. when in *October* of the same yeere, *Gregorie* then being Bishop of *Rome*, there happened a maruailous ouerflowing in *Italie*, and especially in the *Penetian* Territorie, and in *Lyguria*, accompanied with a most fearefull storme of thunder and lightning: after which followed the great plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast vp and left vpon the Land, after the waters decreased and returned. And in the yeere 1446. there perished 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordrecht* in *Holland*: of which kinde I take that flood to be of *Aciaia* or *Attica*. Before that and in the yeere 1238. *Trithemus* speaketh of an earthquake which swallowed many thousands: and after that of a flood in *Frisland*, in which there perished 100000. persons. *Strozus Sigee*, in his *Magia omniuersaria*, telleth of an inundation in *Italie*, in the time of *Pope Damasus*, in which also many Cities of *Sicil* were swallowed: another in the *Papacie* of *Alexander* the sixth: also in the yeere 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperor. He also remembreth a perilous ouer-flowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracovia*, by which many people perished. Likewise *Vignier* a French Historian speaketh of a great flood in the South part of *Languedoc*, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 1557. with so dreadfull a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the world, and iudgement day; saying, That by the violent 20 descent of the waters from the Mountaynes, about *Nismes* there were remoued diuers old heapes and mountures of ground, and many other places torne vp and rent: by which accident there was found both coyne of silver and gold, diuers peeces of plate, and vessels of other metall, supposed to be hid den at such time as the *Gabris* invaded that Prouince, in the yeere 1156.

¶ V.

That the flood of *Noah* was supernaturall, though some say it might haue beene foreseene by the Starres.

 Ow howsoeuer all these floods and many other, which haue couered at severall times severall Regions, not only in these parts of the world, but in *America* also, (as I haue learned of some ancient Southlayers among them) may be ascribed to natural causes and accidents; yet that vniuersall flood (in the time of *Noah*) was powred ouer the whole face of the earth by a power aboue nature, and by the especiall commandement of God himselfe, who at that time gaue strength of influence to the Starres, and abundance to the Fountaynes of the deepe: whereby the irruption of waters was made more forcible, then any abilitie of nature could effect, or any second causes by whatsoeuer vnion could performe, without receiuing from the Fountayne of all power, strength, and faculties supernaturall. *Henricus Mechlinensis*, a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus*, in his Commentaries vpon the great coniunctions of *Albu Masar* obserueth, that before the flood of *Noah*, the like coniunction of *Iupiter* and *Saturne*, 40 happened in the last degree of *Cancer*, against that constellation since called the *Ship of Arges*; by which the flood of *Noah* might be foretold, because *Cancer* is both a watery signe, and the house of the *Moone*, which is the Ladie of the Sea, and of moysture, according to the rules of *Astronomie*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus* of *Alacio* vpon *Genesis* confirmeth, affirming that although *Noah* did well know this flood by diuine reuelation, yet (this coniunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not 50 only signes, but also working causes, by strength receiued from the first cause, which is God himselfe: and further that by * *Cataracte caeli* (Englithed the windores of

Manster.

Polyfist, & terre motus diuina multa hominum milia appetuerunt. Preter quos per maritimos fluctibus vix ne saluati sunt & perierunt pulchrum 100000.

Allo de Concordia Theolog. & Astrolog.

Gen. 7. 11.

The word καταβιβασκτος downward, & the word hauri downward.

properly signifieth any place of stoppage, against which the force of the water being naturally carried distinct and breaketh; of apertum aliud or frange. Hence, becauise windores doe not only open but also shut, beene expounded (Windores) for barres or flood-gates.

heauen)

heaven) *Moses* meant this great and waterie coniunction; the word (*Cataractæ*) signifying flowing downe or comming downe. Now (saith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleased God to ordaine by the course of the Heauens such a constellat[i]on, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby forsake those wicked wayes wherein they walked, and call vnto God for mercy.

Of this iudgement was *Gul. Parisiensis*, who vnderstood that the wordes *Cataractæ cali*, or windores of heauen, were to be taken for the former coniunction, or for these waterie signes, *Cancer*, *Pisces*, *Pleiades*, *Hyades*, and *Orion*, and of the Planets, *Mars*, *Venus*, and the *Moon*e: which are the forcible causes of the greatest inundations. His owne wordes are these: *Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebraeorum cataractæ cali ac vocasse, nisi partem illas cali, quæ generatim sunt pluuiarum & inundationum aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatica, ut Cancer, &c. as aforelaid. As yet (saith he) I perceiue not what the Prophet of the Hebrewes meant by those wordes (Cataractæ cali, or windores of Heauen) vntil he be thereby vnderstand those celestiall powers, by whose influences are engendred the rayne, and inundations of waters, such as are the waterie signes of Cancer, &c.*

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his vnsearchable wisdom this coniunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforelaid) adde vigour and facultie, and gaue to euery operation increase of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountaynes, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heape of their waters; taking retention from the cloudes, and condensing ayre into water by the ministerie of his Angels, or howsoever else best pleased his All-powerfullnesse.

§. VI.

That there was no neede of any new Creation of matter to make the vniersall flood: and what are *Cataractæ Cali*,

GEN. 7. VERS. II.

NOW if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God resteth the seventh day: (that is) he did not then after create any new species) which granted, it may seeme that then all the earth and aire had not waters sufficient to couer the habitable world fifteen cubits aboue the highest Mountaynes. Of this proposition, whether God hath so restrayned himselfe or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the world had want of water to ouer-couer the highest mountaynes, I take that conceit to be vnlearned and foolish; for it is written, that the fountaynes of the great deep were broken up (that is) the waters forsooke the very bowels of the earth; and all whatsoeuer was disperst therein pierced and brake through the face thereof. Then let vs consider, that the Earth had aboue one and twentie thousand miles: the Diameter of the Earth according to that circle seven thousand mile, and then from the Superficies to the Center some three thousand five hundred miles: Take then the highest Mountayne of the world, *Caucasus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*; the Mountaynes of *Armenia* or *Syria*, or that (of all other the highest) in *Tencheris*, and I doe not finde, that he that looketh highest fretcheth aboue thirtie miles vpright. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the earth three thousand five hundred miles deepe, should not well helpe to couer the face of thirtie miles in height, this thirtie miles vpright being found in the depths of the earth one hundred and fixtene times: for the Fountaynes of the great Deep were broken up, and the waters drawne out of the bowels of the earth. Secondly, if we consider what proportion the earth beareth to the extension of the ayre ouer and about it, wee shall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased

God to condense but so much of this ayre as euery-where compasseth and embraceth the earth, which condensation is a conuerſion of ayre into water, a change familiar in those elements, it will not seeme strange to men of iudgement, yea but of ordinarie vnderstanding, that the Earth (God so pleasing) was couered ouer with waters without any new Creation.

Lastly, for the opinions of *Galiliæus Parisiensis*, and *Aliacensis*, to which I may adde *Berosus* and others, That such a coniunction there was, foretelling that destruction by waters which followed; and that by the word *Cataractæ cali*, or Windores of heauen, was meant this coniunction; there needs no other answer then that obseruation of *Ladonicus Vices*, who affirmeth that by the grauest *Astrologian* it was obserued, that in the yeere 1524. there should happen the like coniunction, as at *Noahs* flood, then which (saith he) there was neuer a more sayre, drie, and seasonable yeere: the like destruction was prophesied of the yeere 1588. But *Picus* Earle of *Mirandula* proueth that there could not be any such coniunction at that time.

To conclude, I finde no other mysterie in the word *Cataractæ cali*, then that the cloudes were meant thereby: *Moses* vsing the word *Windores of Heauen* (if that be the sense of the word) to expresse the violence of the raynes, and powring downe of waters. For whosoever hath seene those fallings of water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spowts (where cloudes doe not breake into drops, but fall with a resistlesse violence in one body) may properly vse that manner of speech which *Moses* did; That the windores or flood-gates of heauen opened: (which is) That waters fell, contrarie to custome, and that order which we call naturall. God then loosened the power retentive in the vppermost ayre, and the waters fell in abundance: Behold (saith *Io 8*) he which holdeth the waters, and they drie up, or better in Latine, *Et omnia siccantur*; And all things are dried up; but when he sendeth them out, they destroy the earth: and in the 26. Chapter: He bindeth the waters in the cloudes; but these bonds God loosed at that time of the generall flood, and called vp the waters which slept in the great deepe: and these ioyning together couered the earth, till they had performed the worke of his will: which done, he then commanded them to returne into their darke and vast Causes, and the rest (by a winde) rarified againe into ayre, formerly condensed into drops.

§. VII.

Of some remaynder of the memorie of *NOAH* among the Heathen.

NOAH commanded by God, before the fall of those waters, entred the Arke which he had built, with his owne Wife, and his Sonnes, and his Sonnes wiues, taking with them of euery Creature, which tooke life by generation, seven of the cleane, and of the vnclene, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth quietnesse: after others, and according to the prophesie of his Father *Lamech*, cessation; to whom after-times gaue many names answering his antiquitie, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as, *The first Oggyes*, because in the time of the *Grecian Oggyes* there was also a great flood of *Achia*: *Saturne* they called him, because he was the Father of Nations: Others gaue him the name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steale away *Iupiters* fire; fire in that place being taken and vnderstood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others thinke that he was so called for his excellent wisdom and foresight. He had also the name of *Tamus*, (id est) *vinosus*, because *Tain* signifieth wine in the Hebrew. And so *Tertullian* finds him written in *libris ritualibus*; In the bookes of ceremonies, preceding both *Saturne*, *Vranus*, and *Ioue*: which three enioyed an elder time then all the other ancientest fayned gods. And this name *Tain* is taken from the Hebrew and *Syrian*, and not from the Latine: for it was in vse before there was any Latine Nation, or

or any Kingdome by that name knowne. Of the antiquitie of *Ianus*, *Fabius Pictor* giueth this testimonie: *IANI ætate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum hæserat collaregenandi cupiditas, &c. Vinum & far primus populus docuit IANVS ad sacrificia: primus enim aras & Penuria & sacra docuit: In the time of IANVS (saith he) there was no Monarchie: for the desire of rule had not then folded it selfe about the hearts of men. IANVS first taught the people to sacrifice Wine and Meale: hee first set up Altars, instituted Gardens and Solitarie Groves, wherein they used to pray, with other holy rites and ceremonies. A greater testimonie then this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agreeth so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilest *Noah* flourished, there was not any King or Monarch: *Nimrod* being the first that tooke on him soueraine authoritie. Secondly, *Noah* after the flood was the first that planted the Vine, and became a Husbandman; and therefore offered the first fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meale. Thirdly, he was the first that rayfed an Altar, and offered sacrifice to God, a thanks-giving for his mercifull goodness towards him. *Noah* was also signified in the name of *Bifrons* (which was given to *Ianus*) because he beheld the times both before and after the flood, *Quia præterita nouit, & futura præsepevit*, saith *ARNOBIVS*; Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come. He was also in the person of *Ianus* (haddowed by the name of *Chaos*, and *semen orbis*; The seede of the world; because as out of that confused heape was drawne all the kindes of Beasts and Plants: so from *Noah* came all mankind: whereof *Ouid* in the person of *Ianus*:*

Gen. 9. 20.

Gen. 8. 20.

Ar. cont. G. lib. 6.

Ouid. de Fastis. lib. 1.

*At Chaos antiqui (nam sum res præse) vocabant,
Alpice quam longi temporis æta cano.*

The ancient call'd me Chaos: my great yeares
By those old times, of which I sing, appears.

He was also intituled *Cælamand Sol*, Heaven and the Sunne, for his excellent knowledge in Astronomie: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod.* *Sculus*, and *Alex. Aphrodisæus* so call, because he was the restorer of the Greeks to their former libertie, but in respect of the flood. For the Greeks called *Liber* *zōn*, and his Nurfes *Hyades*, of rayne, because *Noah* entred the *Arke*, when the Sunne ioyned with the *Starrs Hyades*, a constellation in the brow or necke of *Taurus*, and euer after a monument of *Noahs* flood. He was also by others furnamed *Triton*, a Marine God, the Sonne of *Neptune*: because he liued in safetie on the waters. So was he knowne by the name of *DIONYSVS*, quasi *diarhōon*, mentem pungens; Bitter-braine, or wit-singer, though *Diodorus* conceiue otherwise, and deriue that name à *pater & loco*; Of his Father, and the place of his birth (to wit) of *Ioue*, and *Nisa* a Towne of *Arabia felix*, saith *Suidas* out of *Orpheus*. He had also the by-name of *zōn* *Taurus*, or *Taurophagus*, because he first yoked Oxen and tilled the ground, according to that of *MOSES*: And *NOAH* became an husbandman. Now howsoeuer the Grecians vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus* (otherwise *Dionysus*) it is certayne that the name was borrowed, and the inuention stolen from *Noah*. But this name of *Bacchus*, more anciently *Boacchus*, was taken (saith *Gul. Stackius*, and out of him *Daneus*) from *Noachus*, (*N*) being changed into (*B*); and it is the more probable, because it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the first planter of the Vine after the flood: and of *Noah* (the first and ancient *Bacchus*) were all those fables deuised, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth Booke, and fifth Chapter. This first *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was furnamed *Nysus*, of the Mountayne *Nysa* in *India*, where the Grecian *Bacchus* neuer came, whatsoever themselves saie of his enterprises; and these Mountaynes of *Nysa* ioyned with those of *Parnassus*, and those other Easterne Mountaynes, on which the *Arke* of *Noah* rested after the flood.

Nat. Com. lib. 5. cap. 23.

Cælius.

Gen. 9. 20.

Strab. in libris conuualibus, & Danans de prima mundi ætate.

Furthermore, to the end that the memorie of this second parent of mankind might

might the better bee preferred, there were founded by his issues many great Cities which bare his name; with many riuers and mountaines: which oftentimes forgot that it was done in his regard, because the many names giuen him brought the same confusion to places as to himselfe. Notwithstanding all which, we find the Citie of *Noah* vpon the banks of the red Sea and elsewhere: the Riuier of *Nagas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Nagarus*; *Ptolomie* *Danuis*; diuiding *Illyria* from *Pannonia*. Thus *Strabo* much for the name.

Plin. l. 6. Steph. de Urb. Hierod. l. 9. Strabo. l. 7.

§. VIII.

Of sundrie particulars touching the *Arke*: as the place where it was made, the matter, fashion and name.

Now in what part of the world *Noah* built the *Arke*, it doth not appear in the Scriptures, neither doe I finde any approved Authour that hath written thereof: onely *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiue, that *Noah* built his *Arke* neere the mountaines of *Caucasus*, because on those hills are found the goodliest Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the warre among a people, called *Nysæi*, inhabiting the other side of *Caucasus*, hee found all their burials and Sepulchers wrought ouer with Cedar. To this place (saith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to separate himselfe from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God and Nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the *Arke*, to which also hee addeth the conueniencie of riuers, to transport the Timber which he used, without troubling any other carriages.

Onely this wee are sure of, that the *Arke* was built in some part of the Easterne world; and to my vnderstanding, not farre from the place where it rested after the flood. For *Noah* did not vse any mast or saile (as in other ships) and therefore did the *Arke* no otherwise moue then the *Hytke* or body of a ship doth in a calme Sea. Also because it is not probable, that during these continual and downe-right raines there were any windes at all, therfore was the *Arke* little moued from the place where it was fashioned and set together. For it is written: God made a winde to passe vpon the earth, and the waters ceased, and therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the waters, there was not any storme or forcible winde at all, which could driue the *Arke* any great distance from the place where it was first by the waters lifted vp. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the *Arke* had *sundum planum*, a flat bottom, and not raised in forme of a ship with a sharpnesse forward, to cut the waues for the better speede.

This kind of Vessell the Hebrewes call *Thebet*, and the Greeces *Larnax*, for so they termed *Deucalion*'s ship: and some say, that the hill *Parnassus*, to which in eight dayes he arriued, was first called *Larnassus*, and by the change of (*L*) into (*P*) *Parnassus*; but *Pausanias* thinks that it tooke name of a Sonne of the *Nymphæ Cleodora*, called *Parnassus*, the inuentour of *Auguration*.

Gen. 8. 1.

Steph. de Urb. fol. 227.

De Oracul. fol. 24.

Pencrus findes the word (*Parnassus*) to haue no affinitye with the Greeke, but thinks it deriued from the Hebrew word *Noah*, which signifieth *Auguration* and Diminution: or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the lease before cited.

Iosephus calls the *Arke* *Machina*, by the generall name of a huge Frame; and *Epiphanius* out of the Hebrew *Aron*, but herein lieth the difference betwene *Aron* and *Thebet*, That *Aron* signifieth properly the *Arke* of the Sanctuary, but *Thebet* such a Vessell, as swimmeth, and beareth it selfe vpon the waters.

Epi. b. in Arce.

Lastly, this *Arke* of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a ship in this, that it had a couer and rooffe, with a crest in the middelt thereof, and the sides declining like the rooffe of an house; to the end, both to cast off the waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himselfe

Gene. 6. 4.

himselfe and his children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noysomnesse of the many beasts, which filled the other roomes and parts of the *Arke*.

Of what wood the *Arke* was built it is vncertaine. The Hebrew word *Gopher* once and in this place onely vsed is diuersly vnderstood; and though the matter bee of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the Geneua Translation calls it Pinetree, the *Rabbinie* Cedar, the Seutencie, square timber, the Latine smooth timber. Others will haue it Cypress trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypress wasorne at funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* signifie any speciall kind of timber, *Noah* obeyed the voyce of God therein; if not, hee was not then curious as touching the kinde or nature of the wood, hauing the promise of God, and his grace and mercie for his defence. For with *Noah* God promised to establish his covenant, *Plinie* affirmeth that in *Egypt* it was the vse to build ships of Cedar, which the wormes eate not; and hee auoweth that hee saw in *Nica*, in the Temple of *Apollo* Cedar beames, laid in the time of the foundation of the Citie, and that they were still found in his time, which was about 188. yeares after: prouing thereby, that this kinde of wood was not subiect to putrifying or moulding in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carie, and of a sweete sauour, lasting also better then any other wood, and because neere the place where the *Arke* rested, there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the mountaines of the East, besides those of *Libanus*, it is probable enough that the *Arke* might be of that wood: to which hath besides the other commodities the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build ships withall. *Peterius* conceiueth that the *Arke* had diuers sorts of timber, and that the bottoome had of one sort, the decke and partition of another; all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for timber in generall. True it is, that Cedar will serue for all parts of a ship, as well for the body, as for masts and yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction receiued from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the *Arke*; and to pitch it, and to diuide it into Cabines, thereby to seuer the cleane beasts from the vncleane, and to preserve their severall sorts of foode; and that it might bee capable of all kinde of liuing creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God, who by his Angels steered this ship without a rudder, and directed it without the helpe of a Compass or the North starre. The pitch which *Noah* vsed, is by some supposed to haue bene a kinde of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantitie about the Valley of *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*, now the dead Sea or *Alphaltes*: and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the West *India*, and herein it exceedeth other pitch, that it melts not with the Sunne, but by the fire onely, after the manner of hard waxe.

Peterius.

§. IX.

That the *Arke* was of sufficient capacitie.

De Civitat. Dei. lib. 9. c. 26.

THe *Arke* according to Gods commandement had of length three hundred cubites, fittie of breadth, and thirtie deepe or high: by which proportion it had sixe parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which *S. AUGUSTINE*: *Procul dubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo Civitatis Dei, (hoc est) Ecclesie, quæ sit salua per lignum, in quo precepit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Iesus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinisque eius significat corpus humanum, in cuius veritate ad homines præannunciatus est venturus, & venit, &c.* Without doubt (saith he) it is a figure of the Citie of God, trauielling in this world as a stranger (that is) of the Church, seated by the tree whereupon the Mediatour betwene God and Man, the man Iesus Christ did hang: for euen the very measure of the length, height, and breadth, answereth the shape of mans body, in the truth whereof the coming of Christ was foretold and performed.

By

By what kinde of Cubite the *Arke* was measured, it hath bene a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these: The first kinde of cubit (called the Common) containeth one foot and a halfe, measured from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the palme cubit) which taketh one handfull more then the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the *Persian Cubit*, which exceedeth the common cubit three inches. The fourth is the sacred cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly, there is a fift cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth sixe common cubits. But of all these sortes, which were commonly measured by the vulgar cubit, the alteration and diminution of mensures hath made the difference. For as there is now a lesse proportion of bodies: so is the common cubit, from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of lesse length then it was in elder times.

S. Augustine considering the many sortes of beasts and birds which the *Arke* held, with their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the *Arke* had proportion after the Geometrical cubit, which containeth almost fixe of the Common. For measuring the *Arke* by the vulgar cubit, it did not exceede the capacitie of that vessel built by *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, or the ship of *Ptolomie Philopater*. But *S. Augustine* (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his iudgement as touching the Geometrical cubit; and found vpon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a bodie to preserve all sortes of creatures by God appointed to bee referued. For it was not needfull to take any kindes of fishes into the *Arke*, because they were keeptliuing (saith *S. Augustine*) in their owne element. *Nam sicut necesse conseruare in Arca quæ posset in aquis viuere, non solum mersa sicut pisces, verum super-natantia, sicut multa dices. It was not needfull to conserue those creatures in the *Arke*, which could liue in the waters; and not onely fishes which can liue vnder water, but also those fowls which sit and swim on them: and againe, Terra, non aqua, maledicta, quia Adam non huius, sed illius fructum: vestium comedit. It was the earth, and not the waters, which God cursed: for of the forbidden fruit of the earth and not of the Sea, did Adam eat; so as *S. Augustine* gathereth hereupon, (as afore-30 said) that so huge a Frame needed not.*

And if wee looke with the eyes of iudgement hereunto, wee shall finde nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) haue more of mischief and of ignorance, then of any reuerend reason, finde many impossibilities in this worke of God. But it is manifest, and vndoubtedly true, that many of the Species, which now seeme differing and of severall kindes, were not then in *verum natura*. For those beasts which are of mixt natures; either they were not in that age, or else it was not needfull to preserve them: seeing they might be generated againe by others, as the Mules, the Hyæna and the like: the one begotten by Ases and Mares, the other by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by dis-40 couering of strange landes, wherein there are found diuers beasts and birds differing in colour or stature from those of these Northerne parts, it may be supposed by a superficiall consideration, that all those which weare red and pyed skines, or feathers, are differing from those that are lesse painted, and were plaine russet or blacke: they are much mistaken that so thinke. And for my owne opinion I finde no difference, but onely in magnitude, betwene the Cat of *Europe*, and the Ounce of *India*; and euen those dogges which are become wilde in *Hispagnia*, which the Spaniards vsed to deuoure the naked *Indians*, are now changed to Wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattle, and doe also oftentimes teare asunder their owne Children. The common Crowe and Rooke of *India* is full of red feathers in the50 drownd and low Islands of *Caribana*; and the Blacke Bird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with blacke and carnation: in the North parts of *Virginia*. The dog-fish of England is the Sharke of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of Species, then were the *Negros*, which wee call the blacke-mores, non animalia rationalia, not men, but some kinde of strange beastes: and so

Athen, dispo-
lib. 4.
Plutar, in vita
Demetri.August. Ciuit.
De lib. 9. c. 27.

Acro. hist. India.

the Giants of the South *America* should be of another kinde, then the people of this part of the World. Wee also see it daily that the natures of fruites are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Climate. Crabs may be made good fruit by often grafting, and the best Mellons will change in a yeere or two to common Cowcummers by being set in a barren Soyle: Therefore taking the kinds precisely of all creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the earth by his ordinance produced: The *Arke*, after the measure of the common Cubit was sufficiently capacious to containe of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we adde but halfe a foot of measure to the Common Cubit, which had a foot and a halfe of Giantly stature (and lesse allowance wee cannot giue to the difference betweene them and vs) then did the *Arke* containe 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in breadth, and 60. foot deepe.

Deut. 3. 11.

1. Sam. 17. 4.

But first of all to make it manifest, that the Geometrical Cubit is not vsed in the Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the bed of *Os King of Basan* had bene nine Geometrical Cubites long, it had taken 54. Cubites of the common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliath*, who had the length of 6. Cubites and a handfull, which makes nine foote and a handfull, (a proportion credible) if these Cubites had bene Geometrical, then had bene 54. foot in height and vppwardes, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliath* bene nine foot long, and farre waigtier and bigger then all *Dan*'s body, who caried it away.

Exod. 20. 26.

Againe, if the Geometrical Cubit had bene vsed for a measure in the Scripture as many Commenters haue obserued, then had the Altar (appointed to containe five Cubites of length, five of breadth, and three of height) haue reached the length of 27. foot vpright, and so mult their Priests haue ascended by steps or ladders to haue performed their sacrifices thereon, which was contrarie to Gods Commandement giuen in these wordes: *Thou shalt not goe up with steps vnto mine altar, that thy sheme bee not discovered thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three Common Cubites high which make foure foot, that their Priests standing thereby might execute their office: Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometrical, but the ordinarie Cubit of one foot and a halfe, according to the measure of Giantly stature; which measure (doublet) might giue much the more capacitie to the *Arke*, although it be also probable, that as the men were, so were the horses whereon they rode, and all other creatures of a correspondent size. And yet (as I take it) though by this meanes there were not any whit the more room in the *Arke*, it were not hard to conceiue, how all the distinct Species of *Animals*, whose liues cannot bee preserved in the waters, might according to their present quantities bee contained in a vessell of those dimensions which the *Arke* had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a halfe of our now vsuall measure: whence it followeth of necessitie, that those large bodies which were in the daies of *Noah* might haue room sufficient in the *Arke*, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of creatures to be saued, (that is) seuen of the cleane, two of the vnclane (with necessarie foode) might haue place in the *Arke*, *But* hath very learnedly declared: the brieue summe of whole discourse to that purpose is this. The length of the *Arke* was three hundred cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fiftie cubits, and the product by the height of thirtie cubits, sheweth the whole capacitie to haue bene 450000. Now whereas the posts, walles, and other partitions of lodgings may seeme to haue taken vp a great part of the hollow: the height of the roote which (the perpendicular being one cubit) contained 7500. cubicall cubes, was a sufficient recompence: If therefore in a ship of such greatnesse wee seeke room for 89. distinct Species of beasts, or (lest any should be omitted) for 100. severall kinds, we shall easily finde place both for them, and for the birds, which in bignesse are no way answerable to them, and for meate to sustaine them all. For there are three

fortes

sorts of beasts, whose bodies are of a quantitie best knowne; the Beeffe, the Sheepe, and the Wolfe: to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to *Aristotle*) that one Elephant is answerable to foure Beeues, one Lyon to two Wolves, and so of the rest. Of beasts, some feede on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirtie kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables: of which number, onely three are cleane, according to the law of *Moses*, whereof seuen of a kinde entred into the *Arke*, namely three couples for breede, and one odde one for sacrifice: the other eight and twentie kinds were taken by two of each kinde, so that in all there were in the *Arke* one and twentie great beasts cleane, and fixe and fiftie vnclane, estimable for largenesse as ninetie one Beeues; yet for a supplement (lest perhaps any Species be omitted) let them be valued, as 120. Beeues. Of the lesser sort feeding on vegetables were in the *Arke* fixe and twentie kinds, estimable with good allowance for supplie, as fourescore Sheepe. Of those which deuoure flesh were two and thirtie kinds, answerable to threecore and foure Wolves. All these 280. beasts might bee kept in one storie or roome of the *Arke* in their severall Cabines; their meate in a second: the Birds and their prouision in a third, with place to spare for *Noah* and his family, and all their necessaries.

§. X.

That the *Arke* rested vpon part of the hill *Taurus* (or *Caucasus*) betweene the East Indies, and *Seythia*.

†. I.

A praterition of some questions lesse materiall: with a note of the use of this question, to finde out the Metropolis of Nations.



That time *Noah* tooke to build the *Arke*, I leaue to others to dispute, but hereceived the Commandement from God 100. yeares before the waters fell: and had therefore choice of time and leisure sufficient. As for the number of decks and partitions, which *Origen* deuides into foure, *S. Augustine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controuersie: or whether those creatures which sometimes rest on the land, other times in the waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Aligatoris*) the Sea-cowes or Sea-horses, were kept in the *Arke*, or no, I thinke it a needlesse curiositie; and yet to this faith *Petrus*, and others before him, that a fish-pool might bee made awell within the *Arke*, as in *Hiero* his ship of *Syracuse*. Lastly, to consider or labour to disprove the foolerie of the Hebrewes, who suppose that the *Arke* was lightened by a Car-buncle, or had windores of Christall to receiue in light, and keepe out water, were but to reuiue the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seeke most to satisfie my selfe and others in, is in what part of the world the *Arke* rested after the flood: because the true vnderstanding of some of these places (as the seate of the terrestrial *Paradise*, and the resting of the *Arke*) doe onely and truly teach the worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the flood; and all storie, as well generall as particular, thereby may be the better vnderstood.

†. II.

A propofall of the common opinion, that the *Arke* rested vpon some of the hills of *Armenia*.

And first, for the true place where the *Arke* rested after the flood, and from what part of the world the children of *Noah* trauielled to their first settlement

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Gen. 2. 4.

Scer. 7. §. 1.

Nicom. 51. 27.

Neb. lib. 1. 5. c. 12.

Ioseph. de Antiq. Lib. 4. 4.

and plantation, I am resolu'd (without any presumption) that therein the most writers were vtterly mistaken. And I am not led so to thinke out of my humour or newnesse of opinion, or singularity; but doe herein ground my selfe on the originall and first truth, which is the word of God, and after that vpon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, *that the Arke (saied vpon one of the mountaines of Ararat, which the Chaldaean Paraphrast hath conuerted Kardai, meaning the hills Gordai or Gordiei in Armenia the greater: (as the wordes Gordai and Kardai, seeme to bee one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are; I finde neither Scripture nor reason which teacheth any such thing: (to wit) that it rested on that part of Ararat, which is in the greater Armenia.* 10
Nicolaus Damasceus calls this mountaine of Ararat, *Baris*, being the fame which the Chaldaean nameth *Kardu*, to which mountaine the Fryer *Annius* (citing this place out of *Iosephus*) makes him finde another adioyning, called *Ocila*, and to say that the *Arke* (of which *Moses* the Lawgiuer of the Hebrewes wrote) did first take ground on this *Ocila*. But I doe not finde any such mountaine in being, as this *Ocila*; neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Iosephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a Promontorie in *Arabia felix*, of that name, and *Plinie* findes a Mart-towne so called in the fame, which *Ptolomie* calls *Ocili*, *Pmelus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damasceus*, or rather of *Annius*, seemeth to bee one and a part of the *Armenian* mountaines. *Berosus* calleth thole mountaines of *Armenia Cordai*, and *Curtius Cordai*: *Ptolomie Gordai* 20 and *Gordiei*: of which the Countrey next adioyning is by this *Nicolaus Damasceus* called *Ninyada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* coniectures) for *Milyada* or rather *Minni*: which word is vled for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* seemes to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aras*: as if we should say *Minni of Syria*; for that *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, *Plinie* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cherades* about these mountaines, whom others call *Gordien* or *Gordeni*. The mountaines are seated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of mountaines called *Taurus*, or *Xiphates* in the plains of *Armenia* the great, neere the Lake *Thapsitis*: whence the River of *Tigris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 42. degrees of latitude. One of the mountaines *Gordiei* (that which surmounteth the rest) *Epiphanius* 30 calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* signifieth a place of descent: but this out of *Iosephus*, which name (saith *Tunius*) was of the euent, because of *Noahs* comming downe with his children. But this also I take to bee a supposed euent; seeing any hill, from whence on euery side we must descend, may thus bee called: as *Iunius* correcteth the place in *Iosephus* *Kubariis* (*Kubariis*). That the place is thus to be read, he coniectureth, because *Ioseph. l. 1. c. 4.* sayes, the place is called *Abasbarpius* (as it were the descent or comming downe) and *Epiphanius. l. 1. cont. Hares.* calls it *Abas*: which word in the *Armenian* and *Egyptian* tongue signifieth descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubra* is a *Synagogue*, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the Latine *Delubrum* may seeme to be deriued; and *Act. 6. 9.* they that belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Egyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra tenu*. Yet this opinion hath bene embraced from age to age: receiving a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any farther examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly be giuen, especially to that mountaine, by reason that the passage was more faire, vp and downe vnto it, then to any of the rest adioyning.

†. III.

The first argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would haue come sooner, had they come from so neere a place as Armenia.

BVt there are many arguments to perswade me, that the *Arke* of *Noah* did not rest it selfe in any part of *Armenia*, and that the mountaines *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordiean* mountaines.

For

For first, it is agreed by all which follow *Berosus*, that it was in the 130. yeare, or in the yeare 131. after the flood, when *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward called *Babylonia*, *Chus*, and *Chaldea*. If then the *Arke* had first found land in *Armenia*, it is very vnprobable, that the children of *Noah* which came into that valley could haue spent so many yeares in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* was only interiacent, which might by ealie iourneies haue bene past ouer in twentie dayes; and to haften and helpe which passage the nauigable river of *Tigris* offered it selfe, which is euery where transpassable by boates of great burden: so as where the Defart on the one side reuerted their expedition, the river on the contrarie side serued to aduance it; the river rising out of the same Ledge of mountaines, or at the foote of them, where the *Arke* of *Noah* was first supposed to settle it selfe; Then, if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surprise of a second flood (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrewes) it foundeth ill to the care of reason, that they would haue spent many yeeres in that low and 10 or flowne Valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called of the many Riues which imbroyder or compasse it: for the effects witnesseth their afflictions, and the workes, which they vnderooke, their vnbeliefs; being no sooner arrived in *Shinar*, but they began to prouide themselves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* began his Kingdome, the first knowne 20 Citie of the world founded after the flood, about 131. yeares, or (as others suppose) ten yeeres later: though (for my selfe) I rather thinke, that they vnderooke that worke in two respects; first, to make themselves famous, To get vs a name (saith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to vsurpe dominion ouer the rest.

Gen. 10. 10. Beros. 1.

†. IIII.

The second argument, That the *Eaſterne* people were most ancient in population, and in all humane glorie.

FOr a second Argument: The ciuilitie, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the world first abounded) hath more weight then any thing which hath bene, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noahs* taking land there. And that this is true, the vlc of Printing and Artillerie (among many other things which the East had) may easily perswade vs, that those Sunne-rising Nations were the most ancient. The certaintie of this report, that the East *Indians* (time out of minde) haue had Gunnes and Ordnance of batterie, confirmed by the *Portngals* and others, makes vs now to vnderstand, That the place of *Philoftratus* in *uita Apollonij Tiane* l. 2. c. 14. is no fable, though exprest in fabulous wordes: when he saith, that the wise men, which dwell betweene *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, vse not themselves to goe 40 forth into battaile: but that they drive away their enemies with thunder and lightning sent from *Iupiter*. By which meanes there it is said, that *Hercules Aegyptius* and *Bacchus*, ioyning their forces were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there cast away his golden shield. For the inuention of letters was ignorantly ascribed to *Cadmus*, because he brought them first into Greece: of which the people (then rude and sauage) had reason to giue him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no lesse ancient then *Seth* or *Tienoch* were: for they are said to haue written on pillars of stone (as before remembred) long before the flood. But from the *Eaſterne* world it was that *Iohn Cuthenberg a Germane*, brought the deuice of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being instructed, brought the practice thereof 50 to Rome: and alter that *Nicholaus Gerson a Frenchman*, bettered both the letters and inuention. And notwithstanding that this mytherie was then supposed to bee but newly borne, the *Chinians* had letters long before either the *Egyptians* or *Phenicians*; and also the Art of Printing, when as the *Greekes* had neither any ciuill knowledge, or any letters among them.

And

And that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* haue witnessed, who about an hundred yeares since discovered those Kingdomes, and doe now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinos* account all other Nations but *Saluages*, in respect of themselves.

And to adde strength to this argument, the conquest and storie of *Alex. Macedon* may iustly be called to witnesse, who found more Cities and sumptuositie in that little Kingdom of *Porus*, which lay side by side to the East *India*, then in all his other traualles and vndertakings. For in *Alexanders* time learning and greatnesse had not traualled so farre to the West as *Rome*: *Alexander* esteeming of *Italie* but as a barbarous Countrey, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that stood in his eye, and the fame of the East pierced his eares. And if wee looke as farre as the Sun-riuing, and heare *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the vitermost Angle and Island thereof, we shall finde that those Nations haue sent out, and not received, lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more ciuill, the farther West the more saluage. And of the *Ile of Iapan* (now *Zipangu*) *Venetius* maketh this report: *Incola religioni, literis, & sapientia sunt additi summi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi, nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exerceant: vnum cognoscunt Principem, vnum Deum adorant, The Islanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and Philosophie, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent then prayer, which they use in their 20 Churches, after the manner of Christians. They acknowledge one King, and worship one God. The antiquitie, magnificence, ciuillitie, riches, sumptuous buildings, and policie in gouernement, is reported to be such by those who haue beene employed into those parts, as it seemeth to exceede (in those formerly named, and diuers other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the world.*

†. V.

The third argument, From the wonderfull resistance which SEMIRAMIS found in the East Indies.

But for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the inuasion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and aduised Reader: who may consider in what age shee liued, and how soone after the worlds new birth shee gathered her Armie (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* reporteth) of more then three Millions to invade *India*, to which hee adioyned also 500000. Horse, and 100000. Waggones: whereof if we beleue but a third part, it shall suffice to proue that *India* was the first planted and peopled Countrey after the flood. Now as touching the time wherein shee liued: All Historians consent, that shee was the wife of *Ninus*; and the most approved Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Sonne of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Sonne of *Cush*, *Cush* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at such time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinar*, hee was then a great Nation, as by the building of the Citie and Tower of *Babel* may appeare; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two descents call betweene *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time those multitudes, whereof her Armie was composed. Let vs then see with whom hee encountered in that warre with this her powerfull Armie: euen with a multitude, rather exceeding, then equalling her owne, conducted by *Stavrobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whose multitudes this is the witnesse of *Diod. Siculus*. *Stavrobates, autis maioribus quam quae erant SEMIRAMIDIS copijs. STAVROBATES gathering together greater troupes then those of SEMIRAMIS. If then 50 these numbers of Indians had beene encreased but by a Colonie sent out from Shinar, (and that also after Babel was built, which no doubt tooke some time in the performance) this encrease in the East, and this Armie of Stavrobates must haue been made of stone, or somwhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which Semiramis gathered might*

might easily grow vp in that time, from so great a Troupe as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the Storie of *Israel*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication naturall, produce so many bodies of men, as were in the *Indian* Army victorious ouer *Semiramis*, if the Colonies sent thither had beene so late as *Babel* ouerturned, and the confusion of Languages. For if we allow 65. yeeres time after the Flood, before *Nimrod* was borne: of which, 20. yeeres to *Cush* ere he begat *Seba*, after whom hee had *Hanilab*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Saktecha*: Gen. 10. 7. and then 30. yeeres to *Raamah*, ere hee begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were borne before *Nimrod*: and five yeeres to his five elder brothers, which make 65. and then twice 30. yeeres for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their sonnes; and that a third Generation might grow vp, which makes in all 125. yeeres, there will then remaine fixe yeeres to haue beene spent in trauielling from the East, ere they arrived in *Shinar* in the yeere after the Flood 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might bee of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to haue arrived at *Shinar* in the yeere 101.: and the confusion to haue beene at *Peleg*'s birth, these men doe all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the helpe of time, and build *Nimrod*'s Towre in the Ayre; and not on those low and marshy grounds (which require found foundations) in the Plainses of *Shinar*. For except that huge Towre were built in a day, there could be no confusion in that yeere 101. or at *Peleg*'s birth. And therefore it is farre more probable, that *Nimrod* vsurped Regall authoritie in the 131. yeere after the Flood, (according to *Berosus*) and that the worke of *Babel* lasted fortie yeeres (according to *Grecus*) *Hominibus in ea perficienda totius 40. annis incausum laborantibus: Men labouring in vaine 40. yeeres to finish it.* By which account it falls out, that it was 170. yeeres after the Flood, ere a Colonie was sent into East *India*; which granted (the one being the maine bodie, and the other but a Troupe taken thence) it can hardly bee beleued, that *Stavrobates* could haue exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Emperre of all that part of the world, gathered the most of Nations into one bodie.

Ghe. in Gen. 10. de Turris confusione. fol. 173.

†. VI.

The fourth Argument from diuers considerations in the person of NOAH.

Fourthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the flood, and had liued therein the long time of 600. yeeres, was all that space 130. yeeres after the flood, without any certaine habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the conductor of those people, by *Noah* destined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Westerne worlds; (which traualles *Noah* put ouer to yong and able bodies) and that *Noah* himselfe then couered with many yeeres, planted himselfe in the same place which God had assigned him: which was where he first came downe out of the *Arke* from the waters: For it is written, that after *Noah* came downe out of the *Arke* hee planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman: whose businesse was to dresse and manure the earth; and not to range ouer so many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia felix*, where he should (if the tradition be found) haue left certaine Colonies: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*; then into *Spaine*, where they say hee settled other companies, &c. built Cities after the names of *Gela* and *Noela* his sons wiues: from thence into *Italie*, where they say hee found his sonne *Cham* the *Saturne* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and subiects of *Gomer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the storie) had patience for three yeeres; but then finding no amendment, they say he banisht him out of *Italie*. These be but the fancies of *Berosus Annianus*, a plaine imitation of the Gracian fables. For let euery reasonable man conceiue

conceiue, what it was to trauaile farre in such a Forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the earth by the floud, the same lay waste and ouer-grown for 130. or 140. yeeres, and wherein there could hardly be found either path or passage through which men were able to creepe for woods, bulhes and bryars that in those yeeres were growne vp.

And there are so many reasons, prouing that *Noah* neuer came into the valley of *Shinaar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italie* or *Spaine*: For *Noah*, who was Father of all those Nations, a man reuerenced both for his authoritie, knowledge, experience and pietie, would neuer haue permitted his children and issues to haue undertaken that vnbeneuolent presumptuous worke of *Babel*. Rather by his presence, and preualent perswasions he would haue bound their hands from so vaine labours, and by the authoritie which he receined euen from God himselfe, hee would haue held them in that awfull subiection, as whatsoever they had vainely conceiued or feared, yet they durst not haue disobeyed the personall commandement of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regall authoritie ouer his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former destruction of mankind was by themselves purchased through crueltye and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise vp building against his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a prouocation of God to lay on them the same, if not a more sharpe affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that euer he came so farre West as *Babylonia*; but rather, so that hee sent those numbers which came into *Shinaar* (being the greatest troupe, because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) vnder *Nimrod*, or those vpon whom he vsurped. *Nauclerus* and *Calesinus* take the testimonie of *Methodius* Bishop of *Tyre* for current, that there were three Leaders of the people after their encrease (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Ischan*: of which *Nimrod* commaunded the issues of *Cham*, *Ischan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Iaphet*. This opinion I cannot iudge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a worke as the worlds plantation, could not bee effected without order and conduction.

Of the Sonnes of *Sem*: *Ischan*, *Hanilah*, and *Ophir*, are especially noted to haue dwelt in the *East India*. The rest of *Sems* issues had also the Regions of *Persia* and the other adioyning to *Indus*, and held also a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Urr*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sonnes of *Ischan*, or of all the rest a certaine number (*Cham* and his issue onely excepted) that *Noah* kept with himselfe, it cannot be knowne. Of which plantation I shal speake at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reason which moues me to beleue, that *Noah* stayed in the East far away from all those that came into *Shinaar*, is, that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the storie of the Hebrewes, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the Father of all mankind, and the chosen seruant of God, was too principall a person, to bee either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) withdrawn himselfe, and retired apart with his best beloved, giuing himselfe to the seruice and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after hee had directed his children to their destined portions. For hee landed in a warme and fertile soile, where hee planted his Vineyard, and dressed the earth; after which, and his thankes giuing to God by sacrifice, he is not remembered in the Scriptures, because hee was so farre away from those Nations of which *Moses* wrote: which were the Hebrewes chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

†. VII.

†. VII.

Of the senselesse opinion of *ANNIUS* the Commentor vpon *BEROVS*: who finds diuers places where the Arke rested; as the *Caspian* and *Gordian* hills which are three hundred miles asunder, and also some place of *Scythia*.

IT remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and authorities of *Frier Annianus*, who in his Commentaries vpon *Berosus* and others, laboureth maruailously to proue, that the Arke of *Noah* rested vpon the *Armenian* mountains called *Casspy*, which mountains separate *Armenia* from the vpper *Media*, and doe equally belong to both. And because all his Authours speake of the mountains *Gordiaei*, hee hath no other shift to vnite these opinions, but by vniting those farre-distant mountains together. To effect which, he hath found no other inuention, then to charge those men with error, which haue carefully ouerscene, printed, and published *Pholomies* *Geographie*, in which they are altogether disseuered. For that last edition of *Mercator*, sets these hills fise degrees (which makes three hundred English miles) asunder. And certainly if we looke into those more ancient copies of *Villanovanus* and others, we shall finde nothing in them to helpe *Annius* withall: for in those the mountains *Casspy* stand seven degrees to the East of the *Gordiaei*, which make 420. miles. And for those Authours by whose authoritie *Annius* strengtheneth himselfe, *Diodorus* whom hee so much followeth, giueth this iudgement vpon them in the like dispute. *Aberrant vero omnes, non negligentia, sed regnorum situs ignorantia, They haue altered Diodorus*. (saith he) *not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of Kingdomes*. But for an induction, to proue that the Arke of *Noah* stood on the mountains of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquitie of the *Scythians*: and to proue the same hee citeth *Marcus Porcius Cato*, who auoweth that 250. yeeres before *Noah*, the earth was ouerflowne with waters, & in *Scythia* *Sagarenatum mortale genus*, and that in *Scythia* *Saga* the stocke of mortall men was renewed. The same Authour also teacheth that the *Vmbri* before remembred (who were so called, because saued from *Dencalions* floud) were the Sonnes of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex his venisse IANNVM cum DRYM & Gallis progenitoribus Vmbrosum*, From these *Scythians*, he saith, that *IANNVS* came with *DRYM* and with the *Galli* the progenitors of the *Vmbri*; And againe, *Equidem principatus originis semper Scythia tribuitur*, Certainly, the Prime antiquitie of off spring is alway giuen to the *Scythians*. And herein truly I agree with *Annius*, that those Regions called *Scythia*, and now *Tartaria*, and by some Writers *Sarmatia Asiatice*, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of *Asia* vnder tribute till *Ninus* time. Also *Plinie* calleth the *Vmbri* which long since inhabited *Italia*, *Gens antiquissima, a most ancient Nation*, who descended of these *Scythians*. Now that which *Annius* laboureth, is to proue that these ancient *Scythians* (meaning the *Nephews of Noah*) did first inhabite that Region of the mountains, on which the Arke rested; and confessing that this great ship was grounded in *Armenia*, he fineth a nation of *Scythians* called *Araxes*, taking name of the mountaine *Ararat*, neere the Riuer of *Araxes*. And because his Authour *Cato* helpeth him in part (to wit, That in *Scythia* mankind was restored after the great floud, 250. yeeres before *Ninus*) and in part vtterly destroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*, as in *Scythia* *Sagarenatum mortale genus*, in *Scythia* *Saga* mankind was restored. hee therefore in the Proeme of his Commentarie vpon *Berosus*, leaueth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his wordes, and writes *homines in Scythia saluatos*. For *Scythia* *Saga* or *Saca*, is vndoubtedly vnder the mountains of *Paropamisus*, on which, or neere which it is most probable that the Arke first tooke ground; and from those East parts (according to *Moses*) came all those companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*.

But now the best authoritie which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where he hath read,

read, that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name à *Scythia Regem* *eorum*, from *Scythathen King*. But (in a word) we may see his vanitie, or rather (indeede) his fallshood in citing this place. For *Diodorus* a most approved and diligent Author beginneth in that place with these words: *Fabulantur Scythia, The Scythians fable*: and his Interpreter in the table of that worke giveth this title to that very Chapter. *Scythiarum origo & successus, fabula, The originall and successe of the Scythians, a fable*. And (indeede) there needs no great disproofe hereof, since *Ptolomie* doeth directly delineate *Scythia Saca*, or *Saca*, and sets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the *Persians* (saith *Herodotus*) call all the *Scythians, Saca*, which *Plinie* confirmeth: for in respect that these *Saca* (saith *Plinie*) are the next *Scythians* to the *Persians*, therefore they give all the rest that name. Now that any Nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Persians*, there is no man beleeveth. But this supposed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lyeth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees distant from the *Saca*; and the Countrie about *Araxes*, *Ptolomie* calleth *Colchene* and *Soanene* and *Sacupene*, without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all those which are or were reputed *Scythians*, either within *Imatus* or without, to the number of 100. severall Nations are by *Ptolomie* precisely set downe.

Tab. Afr. 7. & 8

But to come to those later Authors, whereof some have written, others have seene a great part of those North-east Regions, and searched their antiquities with great diligence: First, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without these mountains is also beyond our purpose.) *Scythia intra Imaum montem ca est, qua proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Oriente Imao monte: à Septentrione terra incognita: à Meridia Sactia, Sogdiana, Margiana, usq. usq. Oxannus in Hyrcanum mare excurrent; & parte ipsius maris hinc usq. ad Rhissimum usq. terminatur: Scythia within the mountaine Imaus is that part of the world, which in their own speech is at this time called Gassaria; and the same is bounded on the West side by Sarmatia Asiatica, (or of Asia) on the East by the Imaus mountaine: on the North by unknowne lands: on the South by the Sactia (which are the Saca) the Sogdiani, and the Margiani, to the mouth of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, and by a part of the same Sea as farre as the mouth of Rha.*

Rhe now Polge.

Com. 1. d. 42. fol. 472.

Ad meridiem
flesco bosphorus
partem septentrionem
males parte Euxi-
ni usq. in ostium
Coraci fluvij: à
parte dextra
Colchis, Iberia,
Albania, in Ili-
ria Hyrcani
maris prouincia.
Spa. h. 1. 30.

Now if *Niger* lets all *Sarmatia Asiatica*, to the West of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia* (que magna & regio est, & que innumeras nationes complectitur, Which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable Nations, (saith *Niger*) much of it being betwene *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth sufficiently warrant vs, that *Armenia* can bee no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plaine, he differeth *Sarmatia* it selfe from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, which he leaveth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the West bound of *Scythia*.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian*, or *Scythian* Nations; neither doth his fellow *Frier Iohn Plancarpio* (cited by *Vincetius* in his description of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neither doth *Haytonus* an *Armenian* borne, of the blood of those Kings; (though afterward a Monke) ever acknowledge himselfe for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* races descended: though he writeth that storie at large, gathered by *Nicholaus Salerni*, and (by the commendement of *Pope Clement* the fifth) in the year 1307. published.

Neither doth *Mathias a Michon* (a Canon of *Craconia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* borne, and that traualled a great part of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, finde *Armenia* any way within the compass of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whose traualles are extant) hath observed so much of those Regions as he hath done: prouing and disproving many things, heretofore subiect to dispute. And among others hee burieth that ancient and received opinion, That out of the mountaine *Riphei*, and *Hyphorbei* in *Scythia*, spring the Rivers of *Tanaïs* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*, prouing by vnauisurable experience, that there are no such mountaine in *rerum natura*; and (indeede) the heads and fountaines of those famous Rivers, are now by the trade of *Mosconia* knowne to euery Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low, wooddie, and

and marish grounds. The River of *Tanaïs* or *Don*, ariseth to the South of the Citie *Tulla*; some twentie English miles, out of a Lake called *Imarone* (or in the great wood *Okenit*; *skiles* or *Isciphonales*, *Volga*, which *Ptolomie* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riseth out of a Lake called *Frenon*, in the great Wood *Fadonkzi*: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of *Rhyssenes* (now *Neyper*) and *Dnista* or *Dniesta*. And this learned *Polonian* doth in this fort bound the European *Sarmatia*. In *Sarmatia* of Europe are the Regions of *Russians*, *Lithuanians*, *Muscovians*, and those adioyning, bounded on the West by the River of *Vissa*, the name perchance misprinted *Vissa* for *Vistula*, a River which parts *Germanie* and *Sarmatia*; and for the East border hee nameth *Tanaïs* or *Don*. *Sarmatia Asiatica* hee cutteth from Europe by the same River of *Tanaïs*, and the *Caspian* Sea, to with-hold it from stretching farther East: this *Asian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolomie* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem: Scythia within the mountaine Imaus*. And the same *Mathias Michon* farther affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which *Frier Annivus* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Asiatica* it selfe about three hundred and a few odde yeeres before his owne time: these be his words: *Constat eam esse gentem nouam, & aduentitiam à partibus Orientis, (mutatis sedibus) paulo plus abhinc trecentis annis Asia Sarmatiam ingressam: It is manifest* (sayth hee, speaking of the *Scythian* Nation) *that this is a late planted Nation, come from the Coast of the East: from whence they entered into Asia, and gat new seats a little more then three hundred yeeres since*: For (indeed) before that time the *Gathes* or *Pouloei* inhabited *Sarmatia Asiatica*. And this *Mathias* lived in the yeere 1511. and this his Discourse of *Sarmatia* was printed at *Augusta* in the yeere 1506. as *Bucholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witnesseth. Now these *Scythians* (sayth hee) came from the East, for in the East it was that the *Arke* of *Noah* rested; and the *Scythia Saca* were those people which lived at the North foot of those Mountaines of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or beginne to mixe themselves with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other testimonie then the generall description of the Earth now extant, and the witness of *Ptolomie*, it is plaine, that betwene al parts of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, there are not only those three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caspian* Sea: on the East shore of which Sea, but not on the West, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeed) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariace*) betwene *Iaxartus* and *Iactus*; but what are these *Scythians* to any *Ariace*, or *Scythia Araxea* which *ANNIVS* placeth in *Armenia*, more then the *Scythians* of Europe?

Gen. 9. 22.
Sarmis Eudis.
Europius.

t. VIII.

The first argument, The Vine must grow naturally neere the place where the Arke rested.

TO this if we adde the consideration of this part of the Text, That *NOAH* planted a Vineyard, we shall finde that the fruit of the Vine or *Rayn* did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the *Arke* was supposed: for if the Vine was a stranger in *Italie* and *France*; and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a farre colder Countrie. For *Tyrrhenus* first brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturus* into *Latium*: yea at such time as *Brennus* and the *Gauls* invaded *Italie*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (sayth *Plutarch* in the life of *Cimillus*) the *Gauls* remained betwene the *Pyrenae* and the *Alpes*, neere unto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, vntill they drunke Wine, which was first brought them out of *Italie*; and after they tasted thereof they hasted to inhabit that Countrie, which brought forth such pleasant fruit: so as it appeared, that the Plant of the Vine was not naturall in *France*, but from *Italie* brought thither; as by *Saturus* from elsewhere into *Italie*.

M

Now

Now it is manifest that *Noah* traualled not farre to seeke out the Vine. For the Plantation thereof is remembred, before there was any counsaile how to dispose of the World among his children: and the first thing he did was to till the ground, and to plant a Vineyard, after his Sacrifice and Thanksgiving to God; and wherefoever the *Arke* rested, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appeare that hee traualled farre: for the Scriptures teach vs, that hee was a Husbandman, and not a Wanderer.

† IX.

Answere to an obiection out of the words of the Text: The Lord scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

AN so that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinar*, it doth not appeare, sauing that it may be inferred out of these wordes (from thence) because it is written: So the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the earth; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Towre: for those were from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these wordes of *Sybil*a (as they are conuerted) it seemeth that all came not together into *Shinar*, for they have this limitation: *Quidam* eorum turrem adificauerunt altissimam, quasi per eam cælum essent ascensuri. Certaine of them built a most high Towre, as if they meant thereby to haue scaled the Heauens.

† X.

Answere to the obiection from the name of *Ararat*, taken for *Armenia*: and the height of the Hills there.

Gen. 8. 14.

Epiph. L. contra Hæres.

BUT before I conclude this part, it is necessarie to see and consider, what part of Scripture, and what reason may be found out to make it true or probable, that the *Arke* of *Noah* was forsaken by the waters on the Mountaines of *Armenia*. For the Text hath only these wordes: The *Arke* rested on (or vpon) the Mountaines of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, saith the marginall note of the *Geneua*, the *Chaldean Paraphrasi* calls it *Kardu*; of which the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, saith *Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* doe not conuert at all, but keepe the same word) is taken to be a Mountaine of *Armenia*, because *Armenia* it selfe had anciently that name: so as first out of the name, and secondly out of the height (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the *Arke* first sate thereon.

But these suppositions haue no foundation: for neyther is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neyther is any part, or any of those Mountaines of equall stature to many other Mountaines of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the *Arke* found the highest Mountaine of all other to rest on: for the Plaines were also vncouered, before *Noah* came out of the *Arke*. Now if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, wee might give more credit to the conceit. For in the Bookes of the *Sybil*s it is written, that the Mountaines of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, vpon which it was supposed that the *Arke* stayed after the Flood. And the better to particularize the place and seate of these Mountaines, and to proue them in *Phrygia*, and not *Armenia*, they are placed where the Citie of *Calene* was afterward built. Likewise in the same description there maketh mention of *Marjys*, a Riuer which runneth through part of *Phrygia*, and afterward ioyneth it selfe with the Riuer *Meander*, which is farre from the *Gordian* Mountaines in *Armenia*. We may also find a great mistaking in *Iosephus*, (though out of *Berosus*, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that *Iosephus* sets *Ararat* betwene *Armenia* and *Parthia* toward *Adiabene*, and

affirmeth

affirmeth withall, that in the Pronince of *Carony* by others *Karros* and *Arnos*, so called by reason that the waters haue from thence no descent, nor issue out, the people vaunt that they had in those dayes reserved some pieces of *Noahs Arke*. But *Parthia* toucheth no where vpon *Armenia*, for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a Province of *Assyria*: so that all *Media* and a part of *Assyria* is betwene *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the discouerie of the Mountaines *Gordias* was first borrowed out of *Berosus* by *Iosephus*; yet the Text which *Iosephus* citeth out of *Berosus*, differs farre from the wordes of that *Berosus*, which wandreth vp and downe in these dayes, set out by *Annus*. For *Berosus* cited by *Iosephus*, hath these wordes: *Fertur & nuncq̃ butus pars in Armenia, quâ montem Gordiasorum superesse, & quosdam bitumen inde absum secum reportare, quo vice amissi loci huius homines uti solent*: (which is) it is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remaining in *Armenia* vpon the *Gordian* Mountaines, and that diuers doe scrape from it the Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they use it in stead of an amulet. But *Annus* his Edition of the Fragment of *Berosus* vseth these wordes: *Nam eleuata ab aquis in Gordias montis vertice quicunq̃, cuius ad huc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & homines ex illa Bitumen tollere quo maxime utuntur ad expiationem*: For the whole *Arke* being lifted up by the waters, rested on the top of the *Gordian* Mountaines, of which it is reported that some parts remaine, and that men doe carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by sacrifice therewith: so as in these two Texts (besides the difference of wordes) the name is diuerly written. The ancient *Berosus* writes *Gordias* with a (C) and the Fragment *Gordias* with a (G.) the one that the Bitumen is vsed for a preteritue against Poyson or Inchantment; the other in Sacrifice; And if it bee said that they agree in the generall, yet it is reported by neither from any certaine knowledge, nor from any approved Authour: for one of them vseth the word (*fertur*) the other (*dicitur*) the one, that so it is reported, the other, that so it is sayd; and both but by heare-say, and therefore of no anothoritie nor credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Historian, as wife men neyther report after it, nor giue credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, these Mountaines which *Ptolome* calls *Gordias*, are not those Mountaines which himselfe giueth to *Armenia*, but hee calleth the Mountaines of *Armenia* *Moschici*. These be his owne wordes: *Montes Armenie nominantur ij, qui Moschici appellantur, qui protendantur usq̃ ad superiorem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & ruens qui Parjardes dicitur: The Mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Moschici, which stretch along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: also the Hill which is called Parjardes; which Mountaines Plinie calleth Parjardi, and both which lye to the North of Gordias or Baris, in 43. and 44. and a halfe; and the Gordian Mountaines in 39. and a halfe: from the Northernmost of which did the Georgians take their names, who were first Gordians and then Georgians, who amidst all the strength of the greatest Infidels of *Per*sia and *Turkie*, doe still remaine Christians. Concerning the other suppositions, that the Mountaines of *Gordias*, otherwise *Baris* *Kardir* or *Lubar*, (which *Ptolome* calleth *Togordai*) are the highest of the World, the same is absolutely false.*

† XI.

Of *Caucasus*, and diuers farre higher Hills then the *Armenian*.

FOR the best *Cosmographers* with other, that haue seene the Mountanes of *Armenia*, find them farre inferiour, and vnder-set to diuers other Mountanes euen in that part of the World, and elsewhere: as the Mountaine *Athos* betwene *Macedon* and *Thrace*, which *Ptolome* calls *Olympus*, now called *Lacus*, (saith *Cassaldus*) is farre surmounting any Mountaine that euer hath bene seene in *Armenia*: for it casteth shade three hundred furlongs, which is euen and thirtie miles and vpwades: of *Plut. Marf.* which *Plutarch*: *Athos* adunbrat latera Lemnae bonis: *Athos* shadoweth the Cowe of *Lemnos*.

mos. Also the Mount of *Olympus* in *Thessalie*, is sayd to be of that height, as neither the Winds, Cloudes, or Raine ouertop it. Again, the Mountaine of *Antandrus* in *Myfia*, not farre from *Ida*, whence the Riuer *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is also of a farre more admiration then any in *Armenia*, and may bee seene from *Constantinople*. There are also in *Mauritania* neere the Sea, the famous Mountaines of *Atlas*, of which *HERODOTVS*: Extat in hoc mari Mons, cui nomen *Atlas*, ita sublimis esse dicitur, ut ad illius verticem oculis mortalium peruenire non possint: Vpon this Coast there is a Mountaine called *Atlas*, whose height is sayd to be such, as the eye of no mortal man can discern the top thereof. And if we may beleuee *Aristotle*, then are all these inferior to *Caucasus*, which hee maketh the most notorious both for breadth and height: *Caucasus* Mons omnium maximus, qui aestiuum ad ortum sunt, autumnus atq; latitudine, cuius iuga à Sole radiantur usq; ad conticinium ab ortu: & iterum ab occasu: *Caucasus* (saith *ARISTOTLE*) is the greatest Mountaine both for breadth and height of all those in the North-east, whose tops are lightened by the Sun-beames, usq; ad conticinium (which is saith *Macrobius* betweene the first crowing after mid night and the breake of day: Others affirme, that the top of this Mountaine holds the Sunne-beames when it is darkein the Valley; but I cannot beleuee eyther: for the highest Mountaine of the World knowne is that of *Tenerife* in the *Canaria*: which although it hath nothing to the Westward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enioy the Sunnes companie at any such late houres. Besides, these Mountaines which *Aristotle* calleth *Caucasus*, are those which separate *Colchis* from *Iberia*; though (indeed) *Caucasus* doth diuide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for he acknowledgeth that the Riuer of *Phasis* riseth in the same Mountaine, which himselfe calleth *Caucasus*, and that *Phasis* springeth from those Hills which sunder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Eufrates*: which Riuer (it is manifest) yeldeth it selfe to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabesunda*) howsoever *Mercator* bringeth from *Peryardes*.

†. XII.

Of diuers incongruities, if in this Storie we should take *Ararat* for *Armenia*.

SO as it doth first appeare, that there is no certaintie what Mountaine *Ararat* was: for the Bookes of the *Syblis* set it in *Phrygia*: and *Berosus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Berosus* authority, those men haue great want of proofes that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the *Arke* grounded thereon, the assertion and supposition haue equall credit: for there are many Hills which exceed all those of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the *Arke* should sit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proued that there is any such Hill in *Armenia*, or in *rerum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* (saith *Hierome*) signifieth high Towres: and so may all high Hills bee called indifferently; and therefore wee may better giue the name of *Baris* to the Hills of *Caucasus* (out of which *Indus* riseth) then to any Hills of *Armenia*. For those of *Caucasus* in the East, are vndoubtedly the highest of *Asia*.

Fourthly, the Authours themselves doe not agree in what Region the Mountaines *Gordaei* stand: for *Ptolomie* distinguisheth the Mountaines of *Armenia* from the *Gordaei*, and calleth those of *Armenia* *Moschici* and *Paryardes*, as aforesaid. Now *Paryardes* is seated neere the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the West-side riseth *Euphrates*, and out of the East-side *Araxis*: and the Mountaines *Moschici* are those Hills which disioyne *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Countrie of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

†. XIII.

†. XIII.

Of the contrary situation of *Armenia* to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no maruaile that the same ledge of Hills running from *Armenia* to *India*, should keepe the same name all along: and euen in *India* bee called *Ararat*.

LASTly, we must blow vp this Mountaine *Ararat* it selfe, or else wee must digge it downe, and carry it out of *Armenia*; or find it elswhere, and in a warmer Countrie, and (withall) set it East from *Shinar*: or else wee shall wound the Truth it selfe with the weapons of our owne vaine imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to euery eye, wee must vnderstand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moses*) is not any one Hill, so called, no more then any one Hill among these Mountaines which diuide *Italie* from *France* is called the *Alpes*: or any one among those which part *France* from *Spainie* is the *Pyrenian*; but as these being continuations of many Hills keepe one name in diuers Countries: so all that long ledge of Mountaines, which *Plinie* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolomie* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Costrus*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, vntill they encounter and crosse the Mountaines of the great *Imaus*, are of one generall name, and are called the Mountaines of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, because from thence or thereabout they seeme to arise. So all these Mountaines of *Hircania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Cassij* *Moschici*, *Amazonici*, *Heniochi*, *Scythici*, (thus diuersly called by *Plinie* and others) *Ptolomie* calls by one name *Caucasus*, lying betweene the Seas *Caspium* and *Euxinus*: as all those Mountaines which cut asunder *America*, euen from the new Kingdome of *Granado*, to the streight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as these Mountaines of *Ararat* runne East and West: so doe those maruailous Mountaines of *Imaus* breeth themselves North and South; and being of like extent well-neere, are called by the name of *Imaus*, euen as *Plinie* calleth these former hills *Taurus*, and *Moses* the hills of *Ararat*. The reason of generall names giuen by *Ptolomie* was, thereby the better to distinguish the great Regions and Kingdomes, which these great mountaines bound and disseuer, as *Armenia*, *Meopotamia*, *Affryia*, *Media*, *Susiana*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Asia*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paropanisus*: hauing all these Kingdomes either on the North or South side of them. For all the mountaines of *Asia* (both the lesse and the greater) haue three generall names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*: and they receiue other titles, as they feuer and diuide particular places and regions. For these mountaines which sunder *Cilicia* from the rest of *Asia* the lesse on the North side, are called *Taurus*; and those mountaines which part it from *Comagena* (a Province of *Syria*) are called *Amanus*: the mountaines called *Taurus* running East and West, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Through *Taurus* the Riuer of *Euphrates* forceth her passage, leauing the name of *Amanus* to the mountaines on her West bank; and on her East side the mountaines are sometimes knowne by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolomies* three tables of *Asia*) and sometimes *Niphates*: (as in the fourth) retaining that vncertaine appellation so long as they bound *Armenia* from *Meopotamia*: and after the Riuer of *Tygris* cutteth them asunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, vntill they separate *Affryia* and *Alecia*; but then they call themselves *Costrus*, though betweene the vpper and nether *Media*, they doe not appeare, but altogether discontinue. For at *Alazada* in *Media* they are not found, but runnethrough the Easterne *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themselves *Orontes*, and towards the East part *Coronus*; out of the Southerne part whereof the Riuer of *Bagradus* riseth, which diuideth the ancient *Persia* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of *Coronus*, they giue to the *Parthians* and *Hircanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themselves into the mountaines of *Sariphi*, out of which riseth the Riuer *Margus*, afterward yelding her selfe to *Oxus*: (now *Abia*) and drawing now neere their wayes

Plinie in his description of *Lybia*. lib. 6. c. 27.

Phil. tab. Asia.

end, they first make themselves the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Paropamisus*; and lastly of *Caucasi*, euen where the famous River of *Indus* with his principal companions *Hydaspis* and *Zaradrus* spring forth, and take beginning. And here doe these Mountaines build themselves exceeding high, to equall the strong Hills called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35. 36. and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longitude: of the which the West parts are now called *Delanquer*, and the rest *Nagracot*; and these Mountaines in this place onely, are properly called *Caucasi* (sayth *Ptolomie*) that is, betwene *Paropamisus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, betwene the two Seas of *Caspium* and *Pontus*.

†. XIII.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the Mountaine Caucasi and toward the East Indies: and of other excellencies of the soile.

NUM. 13. 14.

NOW in this part of the World it is, where the Mountaine and River *Ianus*, and the Mountaine *Nysseus* (so called of *Bacchus Nysseus* or *Nysa*) are found: and on these highest Mountaines of that part of the World did *Griopius Boreanus* conceive that the *Arke* of *Noah* grounded after the Flood: of all his coniectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his *Indo-Scythia* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantastick opinions of this subiect. And as the same *Boreanus* also noteth; that as in this part of the World are found the best Vines so it is as true, that in the same Line, and in 34. 35. and 36. degrees of Septentrionall Latitude are the most delicate Wines of the World, namely, in *India*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*; and likewise in this Region of *Margiana*, and vnder these Mountaines, *Strabo* affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Palesina*, where the Searchers of the Land by *Moses* direction found bunches of equall bignesse at *Ecol*.

The fruitfulness of this place (to wit) on the South bottome of these Hills, *Curtius* witnesseth. For in *Margiana* neere the Mountaine of *Miras* did *Alexander* seal himselfe and his Armie ten dayes together, finding therein the most delicate Wine of all other.

†. XV.

The conclusion, with a briefe repeating of diuers chiefe points.

L. 54. 27.

AND therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those Mountaines doe also trauesse *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it selfe sometime is knowne by the name of *Ararat*. But as *Plinie* giueth to this ledge of high Hills, euen from *Cilicia* to *Paropamisus* and *Caucasus*, the name of *Taurus*; and as the Hills of *France* and *Germanie* are called the *Alpes*; and all betwene *France* and *Spainie* the *Pyrenes*; and in *America* the continuation of Hills for 3000. miles together, the *Andes*: so was *Ararat* the generall name which *Moses* gaue them; the diuersitie of appellations notwithstanding, then by their diuiding and bordering diuers Regions and diuers Countries. For in the like case doe we call the Sea, which entreteth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterran* and inland Sea; and yet where it walketh the Coasts of *Carthage*, and out against it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: betwene *Italie* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Durazzo*, *Adriaticum*: betwene *Athens* and *Asia*, *Egeum*: betwene *Scissus* and *Abydus*, *Hellespont*: and afterward *Pontus*, *Propontis*, and *Bosphorus*. And as in these,

these, so is the Ocean to the North-east part of *Scotland* called *Deucalidonicum*: and on this side, the *Brittaine* Sea: to the East, the *Germane* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a final end of this question we must appeale to that Iudge which cannot erre, euen to the word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plaine sense: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction then the words beare literally, because they are vsed to the very same plaine purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely, where the sense is plaine (and being so vnderstood, it bringeth with it no subsequent inconuenience or contrarietie) we ought to be warie, how we fancie to our selves any new or strange exposition; and (withall) to resolve our selves, that euery word (as aforesaid) hath his waight in Gods Booke. And therefore we must respect and reuerence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such sort as *S. Augustine* hath taught vs touching the Gospell of *CHRIST IESVS* (which is) *Negus aliter accipiat quod narrantis Discipulis Christi in Euangelio legerit, quam si ipsammanum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspexerit: That no man otherwise take or vnderstand that which he readeth in the Gospell (the Disciples of Christ haue written it) then if he had seene the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his owne body, setting it downe.*

The wordes then of *Moses* which end this dispute, are these: *And as they went from the East, they found a Playne in the land of Shinaar, and there they abode: which pro- Gen. 11. 2. cept without controuersie, that Nimrod and all with him came from the East into Shinar; and therefore the Arke of Noah rested and tooke land to the Eastward thereof. For wee must remember, that in all places whereloener Moses maketh a difference of Countries, hee alwayes precisely nameth toward what quarters of the world the same were seated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *iohan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a Mount in the East: where he remembreth *Cains* departure from the presence of God, he addeth: *And Cain dwelt in the land of Nod towards the East- Gen. 4. 16. side of Eden*: And when he describeth the Tents and Habitations of *Abraham* after he departed from *Sechem*, he vsed these wordes: *Afterwards remoouing thence vnto a Mountayne Eastward from Bethel, he pitched his Tents: hauing Bethel on the West- Gen. 12. 8. side, and Hai on the East*: and afterward in the ninth Verse of the same Chapter it is written: *And Abraham went forth iourneying towards the South*: also when *Ezechiel* prophesied of *Gog* and *Magog*, he sheweth that these Nations of *Tegarmawere* of the North quarters: and of the Queene of *Saba* it is written, that *she came from the South to visit Salomon*: And the *Magi* (or wisemen) came out of the East to offer presents vnto Christ. And that all Regions, and these trauailes were precisely set downe vpon the points of the Compasse and quarters of the World, it is most manifest: for *Eden* was due East from *India*, *Saba* South from *Hierusalem*: the way from *Bethel* to *Egypt* directly South; and the *Caldeyrians* the *Tubalines* and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Palesina*, and so of the rest. But *Armenia* answereth not to this description of *Shinaar* by *Moses*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that Vally of *Babylonia*, is not a iourning from the East, nor so neere vnto the East as the North: for *Armenia* is to the West of the North it selfe; and we must not say of *Moses* (whose hands the holy Ghost directed) that he erred so to calo, and that he knew not East from West. For the body of *Armenia* standeth in fortie three degrees Septentrionall, and the North part thereof in fortie five; and those *Gordiean* Mountaynes, whereon it was supposed that the *Arke* rested, stand in fortie one. But *Babylonia*, and the Vally of *Shinaar* are situated in thirtie five, and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference betwene East and West) the *Gordiean* Mountaynes stand in 75. degrees, and the Vally of *Shinaar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lyeth from *Shinaar* Northwest, ninetie five degrees from the East; and if *Armenia* had bene but North, yet it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the Compasse. But *Gregorie* and *Hierome* warne vs, in scripturis ne minima*

minima differentia omitti debet: nam singuli sermones, syllabæ, apices, & puncta in diuina Scriptura plena sunt sensibus; in the Scriptures the least difference may not be omitted: for every speech, syllable, note, or accent, and point in diuine Scriptures are replenished with their meanings. And therefore seeing *Moses* teacheth vs that the children of *Noah* came from the East, we may not belecue Writers (of little authoritie) who also speake by heare-say and by report, *ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Berosus* and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all-adventure. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lyeth West from the place where the *Arke* of *Noah* rested after the flood; and therefore it first found ground in the East, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The East parts were first ciuill, 10 which had *Noah* himselfe for an Instructor: and directly East from *Shinaar* in the same degree of 35. are the greatest grapes and the best Wine. The great Armies also, which ouertopped in number those Millions of *Semiramis*, proue that those parts were first planted: And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reason sufficient: for my selfe I build on his wordes who in plaine termes hath told vs, that the Sonnes of *Noah* came out of the East into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the *Arke* rest on those Easterne Mountaynes, called by one general name *Taurus*, and by *Moses* the Mountaynes of *Ararat*, and not on those Mountaynes of the Northwest, as *Berosus* first fained, whom most part of the Writers haue followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentiful warme East where *Noah* rested, 20 where he planted the Vine, where he tilled the ground and liued thereon. *Placuit vero NOACHO agriculture studium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eam rem sua ipsius lingua ISE-ADAMATH (hoc est) telluris uir appellatur celebratissq; est; The studie of Husbandrie pleased NOAH (saith the excellent learned man ARIAS MONTANVS) in the knowledge and order of which it is said, that NOAH excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his owne language a man exercised in the earth.* Which also sheweth that he was no Wanderer: and that he troubled not himselfe with the contentions, beginning againe in the world, and among men, but stayed in his destined places, and in that part of the world, where he was first deliuered out of the prison of the *Arke*, 30 whereinto God had committed him, to preserve him and mankind.



CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the flood; and of the
Sonne of NOAH, SEM, HAM, and IAPHET,

by whom the earth was
repeopled.

§. I.

Whether SEM and HAM were elder then IAPHET.



Of these Sonnes of *Noah*, which was the eldest, there is a question made. *S. Augustine* esteemed *Schem* for the eldest, *Ham* for the second, and *Iaphet* for the youngest: and herein the opinions of Writers are diuers. But this we finde euerywhere in the Scriptures, and especially in *Moses*, that there was neuer any respect giuen to the eldest in yeeres, but in vertue, as by the examples of *Enoch*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *Dauid*, is made manifest. In a few wordes, this is the ground of the controuersie; The *Latine* translation, and so the *Geneua*, hath conuerted this Scripture of *Genesis* the

August. de Ciuil. Dei, l. 1. c. 3.

10. v. 21. in these wordes: *Vnto SEM also the Father of all the Sonnes of HEBER, and elder brother of IAPHET, were children borne.* But *Iunius* agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the same wordes in this manner: *To SEM also the Father of all the Sonnes of HEBER, and brother of IAPHET, the eldest sonne were children borne:* So the transposition of the word (*elder*) made this difference. For if the word (*elder*) had followed after *Iaphet*, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it bene as plaine for *Iaphet*, as it is by these translations for *Schem*. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods blessings are not tyed to first and last in blood, but to the eldest in pietie, yet the arguments are stronger for *Iaphet* then for *Schem*. And where the Scriptures are plainly vnderstood without any danger or inconvenience, it seemeth strange why any man of iudgement should make valuation of coniecturall arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah* in the five hundredth yeere of his life, begat the first of his three Sonnes, *Schem*, *Ham*, and *Iaphet*: and in the sixe hundredth yeere (to wit) the hundredth yeere following, came the generall flood; two yeeres after which *Schem* begat *Arphaxad*, which was in the yeere 602. of *Noahs* life, and in the yeere of *Schems* life one hundred: so as *Schem* was but 100. yeeres old, two yeeres after the flood: and *Noah* begat his first borne being 500. yeeres old; and therefore, were *Schem* the elder, he had then bene a hundred yeeres old at the flood, and in the sixe hundredth yeere of *Noahs* life, and not two yeeres after. Which seeing the Scripture before remembred hath denied him, and that it is also written: *Then NOAH awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger sonne had done vnto him (to wit) HAM;* of necessitie the first place doth belong to *Iaphet*. This younger sonne so conuerted by the vulgar and *Geneua*, *Iunius* turnes it *filius minimus*; His youngest sonne; but *S. Chrysostome* takes it otherwise, and findes *Cham* to be the middle or second brother, and *Iaphet* the youngest sonne of all: which *Cham* for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakednesse he derided) was disinherited, and lost the preeminencie of his birth, as *Esa* and *Reuben* did. *Peterinus* conceiveth that *Ham* was called the younger in respect of *Schem* the eldest, but auoweth

Gen. 11. 10.

Gen. 11. 2. 24.

In Gen.

auoweth withall, that the Hebrew hath not that precise difference of *younger* and *youngest*, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that *Shem* himselfe was alwaies named in the first place yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Iaphet*: in the second Verse *Moses* leaueth to begin with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Iaphet* first. So the first place was giuen to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weightier respect, that the Hebrew Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *David*, and *Christ* our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the Vulgar *Pagninus*, and the *Genua*, who agree in this conuersion, *Shem frater IAPHET maior*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Iunior*, and *Tremelius*, *Shem fratri IAPHET minoris*; or with *Pererius*, *Shem frater IAPHET ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Iaphet*, let the Reader iudge. But for ought that I haue seene to the contrarie, it appeareth to me that *Iaphet* was the eldest. For where *Pererius* qualifieth the strength of the former Argument, That *Shems* age at the time of the flood did not agree with his eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures tooke no account of smaller numbers) I doe not finde in the Scriptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that *Shem was an hundred yeeres old, and begat ARPHAXAD two yeeres after the flood*, and againe in the 12. Verse: *So SHELA lived after he begat EBAR, four hundred and three yeeres, &c.* So as the number of two yeeres, of three yeeres, of five yeeres, and afterward of two yeeres were alwayes precisely accounted.

GEN. II. 7. 10.

§. II.

Of diuers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the World, as that all Histories must yeeld to *MOSES*: that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that the knowne great Lords of the first ages were of the issue of *HAM*.

BUT let vs goe vnto the Worlds plantation after the flood, which being rightly vnderstood, we shall finde that many Nations haue supposed or fained themselues those Ancestors and Fathers, which neuer saw or approached the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plaine in the Scriptures how the sonnes and issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receiue allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so farre as the storie of Nations is therein handled, we must know that both the truth and antiquitie of the bookes of God finde no companions equall, either in age or authoritie. All record, memorie, and testimonie of antiquitie whatsoever, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath bene borrowed thence, and therefore later then it, as all careful observers of time haue noted: among which thus writteth *Eusebius* in the Proeme of his Chronologie: *MOSES is found more ancient then all those whom the Grecians make most ancient, as HOMER, HESIOD, and the Trojan warre, and farre before HERCVLES, MYSEVS, LINVS, CHIRON, ORPHEVS, CASTOR, POLLVS, ESCVLAPIVS, BACCHVS, MERCVRIVS, and APOLLO, and the rest of the gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of IVPITER, whom the Greekes haue fabled in the top and highest Turret of their Diuinitie.*

For of the three *Iupiters* remembered by *Cicero*, the ancientest was the sonne of *Aether*, whose three sonnes begotten on *Proserpina*, were borne at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the first King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moses* bring the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: *Eduxit MOSES populum Dei ex Aegypto nouissimo tempore*

Cicero de Nat. Deorum, 13.

porē *CECROPS Atheniensis Regis*; *MOSES brought the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the last dayes of CECROPS King of the Athenians*, saith *S. Augustine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the Founder of the Citie it selfe, but *Theseus* long after him. But because the truth hereof is diuersly proued, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut afunder the purpose in hand, by alleaging many authorities in a needlesse question, but leaue it to the proper place.

De Ciuit. Dei, lib. 8. c. 11.

10 The Sonnes of IAPHET were,	{ <i>Gomer,</i> <i>Magog,</i> <i>Madai,</i> <i>Iauan,</i> <i>Tubal,</i> <i>Mefhach,</i> <i>and</i> <i>Tiras.</i>	{ The Sonnes of GOMER were,	{ <i>Askenaz,</i> <i>Riphaty,</i> <i>Togorma.</i>
		{ The Sonnes of IAVAN were,	{ <i>Elisha,</i> <i>Tarshis,</i> <i>Kittim,</i> <i>and</i> <i>Dedanim.</i>

First, we are to consider that the world after the flood was not planted by imagination, neither had the children of *Noah* wings, to flie from *Shinuar* to the vttermoſt border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia* in halie, but that these children were directed by a wise Father, who knew those parts of the world before the flood, to which he disposed his children after it, and sent them not as Discoverers, or at all-adventure, but assigned and allotted to euery Sonne and their issues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authors, who haue no other end then to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Augustus* in the fiction of *Aeneas*) or else to glorifie their owne Nations; Let vs build herein vpon the Scriptures themselues, and after them vpon Reason and Nature. First, therefore we must call to minde and consider, what manner of face the earth euerywhere had in the 130. yeere after the great inundation, and by comparing those fruitfuleſt Vallies with our owne barren and cold ground, informe our felus thereby, what wonderfull Desarts, what impassable fastnesse of woods, reeds, bryars, and rotten graſſe, what Lakes and standing Pooles, and what Marishes, Fens and Bogs, all the face of the earth (excepting the Mountaynes) was peſtered withall. For if in this our Climate (where the dead and destroying winter deſſeth all vegetatiue and growing Nature, for one halfe of the yeere in effect) yet in twentie or thirtie yeeres these our grounds would all ouer-grow and be couered (according to the nature thereof) either with Woods or with other offeſſue Thickets and Bushments: much more did all sorts of Plants, Reedes, and Trees, prosper in the most fruitfull Vallies, and in the Climate of a long and warme Summer, and hauing withall the start of 130. yeeres, to raise themselves without controlement.

This being considered, it will appeare, that all these people which came into *Shinuar*, and ouer whom *Nimrod* either by order or strength tooke the Dominion, did after the confusion of Languages, and at such time as they grew to be a mightie People, disperse themselves into the Regions adioyning to the said Vally of *Shinuar*, which contayned the best part of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated: some of them towards the South, others towards the West and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both East and West from *Shinuar*, with the Dominion of *Palestina*, which the *Canaanites* first posselt; yet could he not enioy the lot of his inheritance on the suddaine, but by time and degrees. For we finde, that *Abraham* the true successor of *Shem* dwelt in *Chaldea* at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) he reſſed to *Charran* in *Mesopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare* he trauielled to *Sichem* in *Palestina*: and yet there had passed betweene *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themselves) seven descents, before *Abraham* moued out of *Chaldea*: where, and in *Babylonia*, all those people by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many yeeres, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Aſſyria*, and founded *Nimine*. Indeed

deed the great Masters of Nations (as farre as we can know) were, in that Age of the illuses of *Ham*; the blessing of God giuen by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Iaphet* taking lesse effect, vntill diuers yeeres were consumed; and vntill the time arriued, which by the wisdome of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan*, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdomes of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, for many descents together.

§. III.

Of the Isles of the Gentiles in IAPHETHS portion: of *BEROSVS* his too speedie sailing *GOMER* the sonne of IAPHET in Italie; and another of IAPHETHS sonnes *TYBAL* in Spaine: and of the antiquitie of Longinque Navigation.

TO begin therefore (where *Moses* beginneth) with the sonnes of *Iapheth*, among whom the Isles of the Gentiles were diuided: which diuision, as well to *Iapheth* sonnes as to the rest which came into *Shinar*, was (if the diuision were made at *Phuleg* birth) in the yeere of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the yeere after the flood one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere.

The habitations proper to the sonnes of *Iapheth* were the Isles of the Gentiles, which include all Europe with all the lands adioyning, and compassing it about: Europe being also taken for an Island, both in respect that the Sea *Hellspont* and *Engewm*, *Bosphorus* and *Euxinus* cut it off from the great Continent of *Asia*, as also because Europe it selfe is (in effect) surrounded with water, sauing that it is fastned to *Asia* by the North, for it hath those Seas before named to the East, the *Mediterran* to the South and Southweft, the Ocean to the West, and *Brittish*, *German*, and *Baltick* Sea, with that of *Glaciade* to the North North-east, and North-west. Besides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades* or Isles lying betweene *Greece* and the lesser *Asia*, and the Isles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Creet* or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Isles of *Brittanie* and *Zealand*, with their yong-ones adiacent.

This partition and portion of *Iapheth*, with the part which he held in *Asia*, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to that blessing of God by *Noah*, *Dilatet Deus IAPHETH*; *Let God spreade abroad* (or increase the posteritie of) *Iapheth*, and let him dwell in the Tents of *Shem*. For though *Iunius* here yseth the word (*allicit*) and not *dilatet*: and the *Geneva* persuaides; yet the *Septuagint* haue *dilatet* or *amplificet*; and such was the blessing giuen to our Fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his seede for euer. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a blessing by God to the posteritie of *Iapheth*: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories; but that thereby they should be made participant of Gods Church. But to come to *Iapheth* sonnes, of whom *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if we may beleeue *Berosus* and *Amnius*, whose authoritie the greatest number of all our late Writers haue followed) did in the tenth yeere of *Nimrod*s reigne depart from *Babylonia*, and planted Italie; which also *Punctius* confirmeth in these words: *anno decimo NIMROD*, &c. In the tenth yeere of *Nimrod*s reigne, *GOMERVS* GALVS planted a Colonie in that land afterward called Italie: and in the twelfth yeere of the same *Nimrod*s reigne *TYBAL* fasted himselfe in *Asuria* in Spaine (now called *Biscay*) which was in the 140. and in the 142. yeeres after the flood, according to *Berosus*. But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confusion of tongues the children of *Noah* did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinar*. Let vs therefore consider with reason, what time the building such a Citie and Towre required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any readie meanes to performe such a worke as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Punctius* himselfe out of his Author *Berosus* witnesseth) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium*; To the

the height and magnitude of the Mountaines. Sure that both this Citie and Towre were almost builded the Scriptures witnesseth: But the Lord came downe to see the Citie and Towre, which the Sonnes of men builded. Let vs then but allot a time sufficient for the making of Bricke to such a Worke, of the greatest height (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that euer was. For where the vniuersall Flood covered the highest Mountaines fiftene Cubits; *Let vs build vs a Citie and a Towre* (saith *NIMROD*) whose top may reach vnto the Heauen; meaning, that they would raise their Worke about fiftene Cubits higher then the highest Mountaine, otherwise they could not assure themselves from the feare of a second inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the Worke. They also began this building vpon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the World: as by the great ruine which these waters forceably ouer-bearing and ouer-flowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest, approved also by the Prophet *Hieremie*, speaking of *Babylon* in these wordes: *Thou that dwellest vpon many waters*. It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantiall foundation, for so high a raised building on a marish ground: and to which, *Glycas* vpon *Genesis* giueth fortie yeeres. For it seemeth, that the Towre was neere finished when God ouerthrew it: it being afterward written, *So the Lord scattered them from thence vpon all the earth, and they left to build the Citie*. Out of which place it may be gathered (because the Towre is not then named) that they very neere had performed the Worke of their supposed defence, which was the Towre: and that afterward they went on with the Citie adioyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted, that till such time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the Towre was throwne downe) these Nations did not disperse themselves: for from thence the Lord scattered them vpon all the Earth, (that was) when they perceived not one anothers speech. Now to thinke that this Worke in the newnesse of the World (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten yeeres; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same yeere could creepe through 3000. miles of Defart, with Women, Children, and Cattell: let those light Beleuers, that neyther tye themselves to the Scripture, nor to reason, approoue it, for I doe not. And if the *Arke* of *Noah* was 100. yeeres in building, or but neere such a time; (and then) when the World had flood 1556. yeeres, it were more then foolishnesse and madnesse it selfe, to thinke that such a Worke as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Flood to the arrivall at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. yeeres, and whereof they had spent some part in traauiling from the East. Again, if all *Asia* set to their helping hands in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they consumed in that Worke 400. yeeres (or bee it but halfe that time) and in such an Age as when the World flourished in all sorts of Artificers, and with abundant plentie of materials and carriages: This Worke of the Towre of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) be erected in those few yeeres remembered. And for conclusion, let all men of iudgement waigh with themselves how impossible it was for a Nation or Family of men, with their Wiues and Children, and Cattell, to traualle 3000. miles through Woods, Bogs, and Defarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we shall find it rather a Worke of 100. yeeres then of 100. daies. For in the West Indies of which the *Spaniards* haue the experience, in those places where they found neither path nor Guide, they haue not entred the Countrey ten miles in tenne yeeres. And if *Nimrod*s people spent many yeeres by the account before remembered in passing from the East-India or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. Degrees of Longitude, vntill they came into *Shinar* which lyeth in 79. Degrees (the difference betweene those places containing 36. Degrees, which make 720. Leagues, which is 2160. miles) and did all the way keepe the Mountaines and hard ground; then the difference betweene *Babylon* and *Biscay* is much more: for the bodie of *Biscay* lyeth in ten Degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinar*, (as aforesaid) in 79. so the length of way from *Shinar* to *Asiwa* or *Biscay* is 69. Degrees, which make 1380. Leagues, or

of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* took diuers yeeres to find *Shinar*, which was but 2160. miles : or (supposing that the *Arke* rested in *Armenia*) little above 400. miles : there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many yeeres to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to trauaile 3000. miles to Countries lesse knowne vnto them by farre; then the Land of *Shinar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradise* was knowne to *Noah* before the Flood: and so was the Region of *Eden* by *Moses* afterward remembered; but what hee vnderstood of most part of the World else it is vnknowne. And therefore did *Annius* ill aduise himselfe to plant *Gomer* in *Italia*, and *Tubal* in *Spaine*, in the tenth and twelfth of *Nimrods* Raigne: Shall the earth be brought forth in one day, or shall a Nation be borne at one? But it may be objected, That the Sonnes of *Iapheth* might come by Sea, and so faue this great trauaile through Desarts by Land. But we neuer read of any Navigation in those dayes, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbarke so great a people as we may iustly suppose those Conducters carried with them, will not easily beleue, that there were any Vessels in those dayes to transport Armies, and (withall) their Cattell, by whose Milke they liued and fed their Children: for Milke and Fruit were the banquetting dishes of our Forefathers. And in the eldest times, euen the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themselves by the Heards and numbers of their Cattell: who had flocks of Sheep, and great Droues and Herds of their owne, and their owne Sheep-herds and Herdsmen. Now if *Tubal* had past by Sea from any part of *Palestina*, *Syria*, or *Cilicia*, he might haue made good choice within the Streights, and not haue ouergone *Granado*, *Valencia*, and other Provinces in that Tract: past the Streights of *Gibraltar*, disdained all *Andalusia* and *Portugal*, with all those goodly Ports and Countries; and haue fought out the yron, woody, and barren Countrey of the World (called *Bisay*) by a long and dangerous Navigation. But before the iourney of the *Argonautæ* there were scarce any Vessels that durst crosse the Seas in that part of the World: and yet that which *Iason* had (if the Tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poore one (God knowes) and perchance such as they vse this day in *Ireland*: which although it carried but foure and fiftie Passengers, yet was it farre greater then any of the former times: *Erat enim antequam nauicularum usus: For in former times they used very small Vessels*. I denie not but that the *Tyrians* gaue themselves of olde to farre-off Navigations, whence *Tibullus* ascribed the inuention of Ships vnto them:

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros,

Tyros knew first how Ships might vse the wind.

And for those boates called long auaues or Gallies, *Plinie* saith that *Aegæus* ascribed them the deuice to *Paralus*: and *Philosophebanus* to *Iason*; *Ctesius* to *Samyras*; and *Saphanus* to *Semiramis*: *Archimachus* to *Aegæon*: to which inuention the *Erythraei* are said to haue added certaine numbers of Oares: and then *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* to haue increased them: the *Carthaginians* afterwards to haue brought them to foure Banks: the *Quing*, *Remi* first to haue bene vsed by *Nesichthom* the *Saleminian*, with which Vessels in those parts of the World, the *Romans* serued themselves in the *Punicke* War. But these be perhaps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the deuiling of these Gallies on *Sesoliriu*, though *Semiramis* vsed them in the passage of her Armie ouer *Indus* in *Abrams* time. So it is said, that *Danaus* was the first that brought a Ship into *Greece*: and yet the *Samotheans* challenge the inuention; and yet *Tertullian* (on the contrary) giues it to *Mincras*: others to *Neptune*, *Thucydides* to the *Corinthians*. And so ignorant were the people of those Ages, as the *Egyptians* vsed to coast the Shores of the Red Sea vpon rasses, deuiled by King *Erythrus*: and in the time of the *Romans*, the *Brittans* had a kind of Boat (with which they crosst the Seas) made of small twigs, and couered over with Leather:

Leather: of which kind I haue seene at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and elsewhere. *Nauis ex corio circumfusa in Oceano Britannica* (saith *Tertius*): of which *Lucan* the Poet:

*Primum cava salix, vnde fuso vimine, parum
Texitur in puppim, casq; induta iuuenco,
Vectores patiens tumidam supercubat anem.
Sic Penetus stagnante Pado, fulgida Britannus
Nauigat Oceano.*

The moynted Ofler of the hoarie Willow
Is wouen first into a little Boat:
Then cloth'd in Bullockes Hide, vpon the billow
Of a proud Riuer, lightly doth it float
Vnder the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of overf swelling Poe
Sailles the *Penetian*: and the *Brittaine* so
On th' out-spreed Ocean.

And although it cannot bee denied, when *Noah* by Gods inspiration was instructed in so many particulars concerning the *Arke*, that then many things concerning Navigation were first reuealed; yet it appears that there was much difference betwene the *Arke* of *Noah*, and such Ships as were for any long Navigation. Yea ancient Stories shew, that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume vpon any long Voyages to Sea: at least with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattell: as also common reason can tell vs, that euen now when this *Arte* is come to her perfection, such Voyages are very troublesome and dangerous. So as it doth appeare, that there was not in that Age of *Nimrod* any Ship, or vse of Ships fit for any long Navigation. For if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had passed themselves and their people by Sea; the exerceise of Navigation would not haue bene dead for so many hundred yeeres after. Leauing therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men else to their fancies, who haue cast Nations into Countries farre off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of *Moses* and the Prophets: to which Truth there is ioynd both Nature, Reason, Police, and necessitie: and to the rest, neither probability, nor possibillitie.

§. IIII.

Of *Gog* and *Magog*, *Tubal*, and *Mesech*, seated first about *Asiathelasse*, out of *Ezechiel*

CAP. 38. 39.



Ow although many learned and reuerend men haue formed (I know not whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which also hath bene and is receiued: yet I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great learned man of this latter Age, *Arius Montanus* was also in some things much mistaken: and for *Iosephus*, as he hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errors withall, so was he in this Plantation of the World very grosse and fabulous, whereby both *Ezechius*, *Micropolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*; and others; that haue taken his testimonies for current, haue bene by him farre misled. But the better to conceiue what Regions of the World *Gomer* the first sonne of *Iaphet* posselt, as also *Tubal*, it is needfull to beginne with *Magog*: becaue the Scriptures take most knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*, which two names haue troubled many Commentators, saith *Matth. Beroldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that euer I read) I find

most iudicious in the examination of this plantation. He takes authority from the Prophet *Ezechiel* chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapter directeth vs, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togornians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of which *Gog* was Prince or chiefe Conductor in their attempts against *Israel*. For besides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-east parts of the greater *Asia*, which *Iapheth* issues posselt, all *Asia* the lesse was peopled by them. And that those of the issue of *Iapheth* (whom *Ezechiel* speaks of) were seated hereabout, it may best appeare, if wee consider the circumstances of the place, and the dependencie vpon the former prophetic in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter, *Ezechiel* prophesieth of the vniing of the two Kingdomes of *Israel* and *Iuda*, after their deliuerie from 15 captivity.

By which prophetic of *Ezechiel*, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to giue life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpose it is written; And *DAVID* my seruant shall bee King ouer them, and they shall haue one sheepeheard, (that is) they shall bee vniited as they were in *Dauid*s time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter *Ezechiel* prophesieth against those Nations, which should seeke to impeach this Vnion, and disturb the people of *Israel*, whom God purposed to reueile to grace, and promised to restore. And so in the same Chapter are those Nations coupled together, which infested the *Israelites* after their returne, and fought to subiect them: all which were the subiects or Allies of *Gog*, 20 Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Calefyrians*, next bordering *Palestina*, or the holy Land, followed also by the rest of the Nations of *Asia* the lesse, which lay North from *Iudea*. The words of *Ezechiel* are these: Some of manifest thy face against *Gog*, and against the land of *MAOGOG*, the chiefe Princes of *MESSECH* (or *MOSCH*) and *TUBAL*: and in the sixth Verse; *GOMER* and all his bands, and the house of *TOGORNA* of the North quarters. Herein *Ezechiel* hauing first deliuered the purpose of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were, that should in vaine assaile *Israel*. He ioyneth them together vnder their Prince *Gog*, and sheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Iuda*, and how seated and ioyned together. *Gog* signifieth 30 in the Hebrew (sayth Saint *Hierome*) *teſtum* or couering of a house: and *Pintus* vpon *Ezechiel*s firmeth, that by *Gog* is meant *Antichrist*: for (sayth hee) *Antichristus erit Diabolus tegumentum sub specie humana: That Antichrist shall be the couering of the Deuill vnder humane forme*. Hee addeth that *Magog* is as much to say as *Gog*: the letter (*M*) being an Hebrew Preposition, and importeth as much as of or from: so he taketh *Magog* for those people which follow *Antichrist*. So farre *Pintus* is at least in this not amisse, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one person, but for a Nation, with which agreeth this obseruation of *Beroaldus*. *Magog* (sayth he) in Hebrew is written *Hann-Magog*, which sheweth *Magog* to be a Region or Nation: for the letter (*He*) which is vied but for an Emphasis (which the Hebrewes call *Heliaiedia*) is neuer added 40 to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called cyther *Magog*, or according to others, the people of *Gog*) also Prince of *Mesech*, (or *Mosoch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the first Verse of the 39. Chapter is made manifest: *Behold, I come against thee Gog the chiefe Prince of MESSECH and TUBAL*. This must needs bee meant by the Successours of *Selencus Nicator*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) seeke to make the *Jews* their Tributaries onely, but endeouored by all meanes, and by all kind of violence to extinguiſh the Religion it selfe (which the Hebrews profest) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worship and serue the mortall and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead Images. *S. Ambrose* and *Istodore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths*: belike because they invaded *Europe*, and sacked *Rome*, and many other places and Cities thereabout. *Hermolani* Barheri our of *Pomp. Mela* deriues the *Turkes* from the *Scythians*, esteemed *Magogians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a Man: other of a Region: others for a Nation inhabi-

c. 37. v. 19.

c. 38. v. 2.

In Ezech.

L. 2. de Fide.

inhabiting a Region, as *Iunius*, who saies that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the Greeke Stories call *Gyges*: who in former time hauing slaine *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gaue his owne name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and thereof also the *Gygean Lake*; which Lake *Strabo* also findeth in *Lydia*, (of which *Gyges* was King) fortie Furlongs from *Sardis*. *Plinie* calleth it *Gygenum* 15 *stadium*. *Herodotus* and *Nicander* set it about the Riuer of *Phlius*, and *Alexander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydia*: who after he had subdued the Countie about the Riuer *Rhadus* which runneth into the *Helleſpont*, called the Promontorie *Trapſe* after his owne name *Gyges*. These opinions doe also seeme to strengthen that of *Iunius*. For *Magog*, sayth hee, is that part of *Asia* the lesse, which *Halyattes* obtained, and after him his sonne *Craſus*; who (as *Iunius* further notes) hauing mastered all those Regions as farre South as 20 *Libanus* in that border built the Citie *Gigarta* or *Gozkarta* (which in the Syrian lignifieth the Citie of *Gog*) seated in *Caleſyria*, whose people were the ancient Enemies of the *Jews*.

Now that *Magog* is found in *Caleſyria*, *Plinie* affirmeth, saying; *Caleſyria habet Bamyceam, quae alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, S. is verò Magog. Caleſyria habet in it Bamyce, quibus by another name is called Hierapolis, but of the Syrians Magog*. Hee further telleth vs that the monstrous Idoll *Atergata*, called by the Greekes *Deretia*, was here worshipped, *Lucian* makes mention hereof, saying that the Citie had anciently another name, which yett hee expreſſeth not; forbearing perhaps the word *Magog*, as sounding nothing elegantly in the Greeke. But if wee may beleuee *Strabo*, then was *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia* the same *Bamyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the same Idoll was worshipped. *Ouelius* is doubtfull whether one of these Authours did not miſtake the place of this *Bamyce* or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough bee that the same name and Religion was common to them both. Certaine it is, that both of them lay due North from *Paleſtina*, and were both subiect vnto the Kings of the Race of *Selencus*. Now I doe not condemne the opinion of *Hermolani* *Barbarus* following *Iosephus*, but grant that perhaps *Magog* might also bee the Father of the 30 *Scythians*; notwithstanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made the Prince of *Magog*, the Nations of *Caleſyria* and the North parts adioyning bee meant by *Magog*: for by a latter Plantation from these parts they might bee propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to bee denied, that the *Scythians* in olde times coming out of the North-east waited the better part of *Asia* the lesse, and posselt *Caleſyria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the Syrians call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog* *Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plaine: for this Citie *Hierapolis* or *Magog* standeth due North from *Iudea*, according to the wordes of *Ezechiel*, that from the North quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the *Israelites* were the *Ptolomes* Kings of *Aegypt*: so those of the North were the Kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the Successours of *Selencus*, the Successour of *Alexander Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrim* thinkes that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rager*, mentioned in the 15 *Storie of Tobias*. *Plinie* takes it not onely to haue beene called *Bamyce*, as we haue said, but also *Edeſſa*: not that by *Euphrates*; but another of the same name; now the knowne name is *Alapo*: for so *Bellonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This Citie had the title of Sacred, as the Sacred Citie, (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yett was it a place of most detested Idolatry, and wherein was worshipped the Idoll of the Mermaide *Atergata*, or *Atergita*, according to *Plinie*, which the Greekes call *Deretia*.

If then wee conferre the wordes of *Ezechiel* in the third verse of the thirtie eight Chapter, wherein hee ioyneth together *Gog*, *Mesech*, and *Tubal*: and withall remember that *Hierapolis* was the Citie of *Magog*, which also is seated directly North from *Iudea*: with whom also *Ezechiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his bands of the North quarters; we may (as I conceiue) safely conclude, that these Followers and Vassals of *Gog* (which were Northern Nations in respect of *Iudea*) were not the *Gomeri-*

ans of France, nor the Tubalines of Spaine, but a people of the lesser Asia, and Calesyria: and therefore that the opinions of Berosus, Iosephus, and whosoever else hath followed them therein are to bee rectified. But if Iosephus referre himselfe to later times, and thinke that some Colonie of the Tubalines might from Iberia and Asia passe into Spaine (to wit, from that piece of Land betwene Colchus (or Mengrelia) and Albania: (most part posselt by the Georgians) then is his iudgement of better allowance. For without any repugnance of opinions, it may bee granted, that in proceesse of time these people might from their first habitation passe into the Countries neere the Euxine Sea, and from thence in after Ages into Spaine.

Iosephus makes mention of the Iberi, saying, that they were anciently called Thubelos, as of Tubal, from whence (saith Iustine) they passed into Spaine to search out the Mines of that Region: having belike vnderstood that it was a Southerly Countrey and Mountainous. For it seemeth that the Tubalines called Chalybes liued altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as Apollonius witnesseth in these following Verses, telling how the Argonautes did visit them;

*Hac gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis:
Mercurius hac mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta ministrant:*

The Chalybes plough not their barren Soyle
But vndermine high Hills for Iron Veines:
Changing the purchase of their endlesse toyle
For marchandize, which their poore liues sustaines.

But it is more probable, that Spaine was first peopled by the Africans, who had euer since an affection to returne thither, and to reapeople it anew. This appeared by the Carthaginians of old, who were easily drawne to passe ouer the Streights into that Countrey; and after by the Moors who held Granado, and the South parts eight hundred yeeres, till the time of Ferdinand and Isabel. And either of these opinions are 30 more probable, then that in the twelfth yeere of Ninnods raigne, Tubal, past into Spaine, and therein built St. Pual: a poore Towne, and a poore denice, God knowes. Certaine it is that we must finde Mosch or Mesch, and Tubal neighbours, and Gomer and Togorma not farre off, or else we shall wrong Ezechiel: for he called Gog the Leader or Prince of Mesch and Tubal, and maketh Gomer and Togorma their assistants. And that Mesch inhabited Asia, Euanthius (though he followed Berosus) confesseth, for these be his words: MESACVS, qui à MOSE MESECH, prius: Meschus ab Adula monte vsq; ad Ponticum regionem posuit: hac regio posset Cappadocia dicta est, in qua urbs Masica, Græcæ est terra MACOG principalis. MESACVS, whom MOSES calleth MESECH, placed the ancient Meschians from the mount Adulas, vnto the coast of Pontus. 40 This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Towne Masica, Græc. this is the principall Countrey of MACOG. And this doth Annins also auow, and yet forgets that Gog was Prince both of Mesch and Tubal: and therefore, that the one was a Nation of Spaniards, the other of Cappadocians, is very ridiculous; Spaine lying directly West, and not North from Iudea. Also Ezechiel in the 27. Chapter, where he prophesieth of the destruction of Tyre, nameth Mesch and Tubal ioynly. And for a small proofe, that these Nations were of a Northerne neighbour land (how farre soeuer stretched) Ezechiel in the 38. Chapter makes them all horsemen. Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride vpon horses, euen a great multitude and a mighty. Then if any man beleuee that these troups came out of Spaine ouer the Pyrenies, and first passed ouer a part of France, Italie, Hungarie, and Sarmatia, and imbarqued againe about the Hellespont, or else compassed all Pontus Euxinus, to come into the lesser Asia, which is halfe the length or compass of the then knowne world, he may be called a strong beleuer, but he shall neuer be iustified thereby. But on the contrarie it is

is knowne, that Seleucus was a Prouince neighbouring Palestina or Iudea; and that Hierapolis (or Magog) ioyned vnto it: whose Princes commanded all Syria, and Asia the lesse, (namely the Seleucide) and held it, till Sapia Asiatius ouerthrew Antiochus the Great: after which they yet posselt Syria till the time of Tigranes: and whether Mesch be in Cappadocia, or vnder Iberia, yet is it of the Tubalines, and one and the same Dominion.

Of Gomer the like may be said. First he seated himselfe with Togorma, not farre from Magog and Tubal, in the borders of Syria and Cilicia. Afterward he proceeded further into Asia the lesse; and in long tract of time his valiant issue filled all Germany, 10 rested long in France and Brittain, and possessed the vtmost borders of the earth, accomplishing (as Melancton well notes) the signification of their parents name, which is Vimosi bordering. But when these borderers wanted further place, wherinto they might exonerate their swelling multitudes, that were bounded in by the great Ocean, then did they returne vpon the Nations occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy restorer of our antiquities, M. William Camden hath noted) that they were called Cimbr, which in their old language 20 doth signifie Robbers; necessitie enforcing them to spoile their Neighbours, to whom in their original they were as neere ioyned, as afterwards in the leates which they possessed. For that the warlike Nations of Germanie were in elder ages accustomed to be beaten by the Gauls, the authoritie of Cæsar affirming it is prooue sufficient. But in times following they pursued richer conquests, and more easie though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were drawne at length into Asia the lesse, and occupied those parts, which had formerly beene held by their Progenitors. I say not that they claimed those Lands as theirs by descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their owne pedigree. Neither can any man therefore denie, that they were of old seated in Asia, because in late ages they returned thither; vnlesse he will thinke, that all those Nations which from 30 farre parts haue inuaded and conquered the land of Sinaar, may by that argument beproued not to haue issued from thence at the first.

Now concerning Samothres for his excellent wisdom furnished Dīs, whom Annins makes the brother of Gomer and Tubal (which brother Mosch neuer heard of, who spake his knowledge of Isaphet sonnes) they must finde him in some old Poet: for Functius, a great Berosian, confesseth: Quia hic SAMOTHESES fuerit incertum est; Who 40 this SAMOTHESES was it is uncertayne, neither is there any proofe that he was that lame Dīs, whom Cæsar saith the Gauls supposed to be their Ancestor; yea, and Vignier confesseth with Functius: Mais on ne sçait qui il estoit; No man knowes who he was.

In Chron.

Cæsar Comment.
Vigni. parti 1.
Ciron.

40

p. V.

Against the fabulous Berosus his fiction, That the Italian
IANVS was NOAH.



Before I goe on with Nosh his sonnes, I thinke it necessarie to disprove the fiction which Annins hath of Noah himselfe: an invention (indeede) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wretted) by those Authors of whom himselfe hath Commented: 50 as the Fragment of Berosus, Fabius, Rictor, Cato, Lælius and others. Ann. de Herod. Pichle aor. faculo. Cato de origin. Latin. Berosus de Chalde. For Annins seekes to perliwade vs, that Noah (furnamed Ianus) was the same which founded Genoa, with other Cities in Italie, wherein he liued 92. yeeres. This to disprove, by Mosch silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else to disprove it. For if he vouchsafed to remember the building of Babel, Eret, Achad, Chalde

Ann. de Herod.
Pichle aor. faculo.
Cato de origin.
Latin. Berosus de
Chalde.

Chalde and *Niniue* by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great make to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. yeeres. But it were a needlesse labour for me to disprove the authoritie of that *Berosus*, on whom *Annianus* groundeth, seeing to many learned Men haue so demonstratiuely proued that Fragment to be counterfeite. Besides that, *Tatianus* the *Affirian* in his Oration against the *Greekes* auoweth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote onely three Books, dedicated to *Antiochus* the successor of *Seleucus Nicanor*: but *Annianus* hath deuised fūe Bookes, wherewith he honoreth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled onely the estate of the *Chaldeans* and *Affirians*, *Annianus* hath filled this Fragment with the businesse of all the world: And if we may beleue *Eusebius* better then *Annianus*, then all the Kings of the *Latin* times (before *Enneas*) consumed but 150. yeeres: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Enneas* arrivall into *Italie* there past 1126. (after the least rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Ianus* (who was the first of their Kings) liued at once with *Ruth*, who married *Booz*, in the Worlds yeere (as some reckon) 2717. after the flood 1064. and *Noah* dyed 350. yeeres after the flood: and so there past betweene *Ianus* of *Italie* and *Noah* turnamed *Ianus* 704. yeeres. For *Saturnus* succeeded *Ianus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Faunus* after *Picus*, and *Latinius* followed *Faunus*: which *Latinius* liued at once with *Tautanes* the 27. King of *Affria*; with *Pelasgus* of *Peloponnesus*; with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampson* Iudge of *Israel*. Now all these fūe Kings of the *Latines* haue consumed but one 200. hundred and fūty yeeres; and the last of them in the time of *Sampson*: then reckoning vpwards for one hundred and fūty yeeres, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Ianus* liued.

True it is, that the *Greekes* had their *Ianus*; but this was not *Noah*: so had they the sonne of *Xuthus*, the sonne of *Deucalion*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeede the children of *Iaman*, the fourth sonne of *Iapheth*. For the vulgar translation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Iaman*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint*, *Helias*; which is the same. So had they *Medus* the sonne of *Medea*, whom they make the parent of the *Medes*, though they were defended of a farre more ancient Father (to wit) *Madai* the third sonne of *Iapheth*.

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the *Brittish* language hath remayned among vs about 2000. yeeres, and the *English* speech euer since the inuasion of the *Angles*, and the same continuance haue all Nations obserued among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore, it is strange if either *Noah* (by them called *Ianus*) had left in *Italie* his grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spain*, that no plaine resemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Seythian* (which no time could haue quite extinguished) should haue bene found in the languages of those Countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personall plantations of *Ianus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, &c. in *Italie*, *Spain*, or *France*, are merely fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themselves with the *Grecian* *Ianus*, which commanded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Trey* but 150. yeeres (saith *Eusebius*) which was in the time of *Latinius* the fūth King: which also *S. Augustine* and *Iustine* confirme: and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibilitie. And if this be not sufficient to disprove this vanitie, I may out of themselves adde thus much: That whereas some of them make *Vesta* (others *Carnusena*) the wife of this *Ianus*, who instituted the holy Fire of the *Vestal* Virginitie in *Rome* (the *Latines* and *Romans* taking from *Ianus* all their Idolatrous and Heathenish ceremonies) there is no man so impious, as to beleue that *Noah* himselfe (who is said by *Moses* to haue walked with *God*, so be a iust man, and whom *God* of all mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the time and only *God*, or so wicked and vngratefull, to set vp or deuise any Heathen saluage, or idolatrous adoration, or haue instituted any ceremony, contrarie to that which he knew best pleasing to *God* himselfe.

§. VI.

§. VI.

That *GOMER* also and his sonne *TOGORMA* of the posteritie of *IAPHETH* were first seated about *Asia* the lesse: and that from thence they spread Westward into *Europe*: and Northward into *Sarmatia*.

10 **T**O turne now to the sonnes of *Noah*, and the worlds plantation after the flood: therein I obserue, that as both reason and necellitie taught them; so, when they multiplied in great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the next Countries bordering to their first habitations, & from thence sent forth Colonies elsewhere, it was in such a manner as that they might repaire to each other, and keep intelligence by *Riuer*: because the Land was yet Desert and ouer-prest with Woods, Reedes, Bogs, and rotten *Marishes*. As when *Nimrod* seated in *Babylonia*, *Chus* took the South part of *Chaldea*, downe the *Riuer* of *Gehon*, by which he might passe to and fro from *Babylon* to his owne plantation: those also, which were of the race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Vr* or *Orcha* neere the Lakes of *Chaldea*, might by the same *Riuer* get vp to *Babylon*, and receiue succour from thence. All which Tract of Land vpon *Gehon* Southward, 20 *Moses* in the description of *Paradise* calleth the Land of *Chus*; because the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Cushite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and stayed not in the East) were for awhile oppressed, till *God* afterward by the seede of *Abraham* made them his owne Nation and victorious. *Hauilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and sonne of *Cush*, tooke both banks of *Tigris*, especially on the East side of the *Riuer*: by which *Riuer* his people might also passe to and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperiall seat of which Region of *Hauilah* or *Susan*, was anciently called *Chusian* or *Chusan*, afterward *Susa*. *Cush* himselfe tooke the banks of *Gehon*, and planted those Countries Westward, and Southwest-ward towards *Arabia* the Stony, 30 and the Desert, where *Ptolemy* placeth the Citie of *Chusida*, first *Chusta*.

Seba, and *Sheba* with the rest that planted *Arabia felix*, had *Tigris* to conuey them into the *Persian Gulfe*, which waltheth the banks of *Arabia felix* on the East side: so as those sonnes of *Cush* might take Land downe the *Riuer* as they pleased. Also the Citie of *Niniue* was by *Nimrod* founded on the said *Riuer* of *Tigris*; and from thence a Colony past to *Charran*, standing also vpon a nauigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Tapheths* sonnes settle themselves together, and tooke their seats in *Asia* the lesse: from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves Northward, and Westward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the Isles of the *Gentiles*. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both *Gomer*, *Migo*, and *Tubal*, late 40 downe first of all in that part of *Syria*, to the North of *Palestina* and *Phenicia*: and from thence *Gomer* or his children past on into *Asia* the lesse, as those of *Migo* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* spread themselves into *Iberia*; and the *Mago* 50 *zians* more Northerly into *Sarmatia*. The first *Gomerians*, and first planters in *Asia* the lesse, held the Countrie of the *Cymmerians* (witnesseth *Herodotus*) the same Region which was afterward by the *Gallo-greekes* called *Galatia*, to whom *S. Paul* wrote his Epistle so intituled. This Nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the inuincible *Seythians* afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first plantations) gaue names to diuers places; as to the Mountaynes about *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the Citie of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: also *Bosphorus Cymmerius* tooke appellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was also a Citie of that name, called *Cymmerian*: which *Plinie* (mistaking the place) had sometime the name of *Cerberion*; but *Cerberion* was a Towne in *Campania*, so called of the vnhealthfull waters, sauouring of brimstone, which *Augustus* caused to be cleansed by letting in the water of the Lake *Lucinus*.

The

The children of *Tubal* ranged as farre as *Iberia*, to whom the *Moschici* were neighbours, which others write *Meshech*. The Prophet *Ezechiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*. For these *Meschi* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Meschi*) inhabite *Syracena* a Province of *Armenia*, directly South from the Mountaynes *Moschici*, in the Valley betwene the Mountaynes *Moschici*, and the Mountaynes *Parysades*: out of whose North part springeth the River *Phasis*; from the East part *Arax*; and from the West *Euphrates*: and of this *Meshech* are descended also the *Mesemians* (saith *Adelanchon*) and it may be, that in processe of time some of them inhabited those Regions also. For *Meshech* (saith *Adelanchon*) signifieth *extending, enlarging or stretching forth*. *Togormas* also at first did inhabit amongst his parents and kindred. The *Togormians* were also called *Giblet*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Teirarchie* of *Phoenicia*, the same which *Plinie* calleth *Gaben*: from whence *Salomon* had his most excellent Malons, which hewed stones for the Temple of *Hierusalem*. Thence the *Togormians* stretched into the lesse *Armenia*, whose Kings were hence called *Tigranes*, and their Cities *Tigranokarta*: of which Cities *Tigranes* subdued by *Lucullus* the Roman, built one. *Hiero* *Polymita* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbarie*: forgetting the prophetic of *Ezechiel* against the *Tyrians*. They of the house of *Togormas*, brought to thy *Egypt* horses, and horse-men, and mules, which could not well be driven over the whole length of the Mediterranean Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But *Iosephus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygians*; which I doe not deny, but they might be in the ensuing ages: and so might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred yeeres after the twelfth of *Nimrods* reigne. The *Leues* conceive that the *Turkes* came of those *Togormians*, because their Emperor is called *Togar*. The *Chaldeans* make them the Fathers of the *Germanes*. But *Laeticius* affirms, that the *Turkes* descended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Moscouia*. But for these subterfuges it were infinite to examine them. Only of the first and second plantation, and of the first Nations after the flood is the matter which I labour to discover; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we must note, that those grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of lesse understanding, and had not therefore the leading of Colonies sent out, their proper habitations can be hardly knowne: onely reason hath taught vs, that they dwelt among the rest, and were covered with the same of others, who tooke on them the Conduction and Dominion over the rest.

From *Madai* the third sonne of *Iapheth*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the sonne of *Medea*.

§. VII.

Of *Iavan* the fourth sonne of *Iapheth*: and of *Mesch*, of *Aram*, and *Meshech* of *Iapheth*.

In *Iavan* the fourth sonne of *Iapheth* came the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greekes*: and so the *Latine* and *Greeke* Interpreters for *Iavan* write *Greece*, as in *Esay*: *El mittam ex ijs qui saluati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Graciam; And I will send those that escape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italie and in Greece*. The *Geneua* here vseth the word *(Tarsich)* for *Tarsus*, a Citie in *Cilicia*, though *Tarsus* in many places be taken for the Sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Geneua* vse the names *Tubal* and *Iavan*, and not *Italie* and *Greece*: keeping the same Hebrew wordes. Of these *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themselves dreame that they were *Aborigines*, or men without Ancesters, (as it were) out of the soile it selfe: who about without Ancesters, and growing (as it were) out of the soile it selfe: who about in people sent Colonies into *Asia* the lesse, of whom came the *Iones* of those parts.

parts. Others deriue the *Athenians* from *Ion* the sonne of *Xuthus*, the sonne of *Deucalion*; but the antiquitie of *Ionan* marres the fashon of that supposition, who so many yeeres preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion*, or *Deucalion*. *Pausanias* tells vs that *Xuthus* stole out of *Theffale* with all his Fathers treasure, and his Brothers portions, and arriving at *Athen*, he was graciously receiued by *Erichon*, who gaue him his Daughter in marriage; of whom he receiued two sonnes, *Ion*, and *Acheus*, the supposed Ancesters of the *Athenians*. For *Attica* was called *Ionia* (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Themistocles*) who, when he had ioyned *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a pillar in that *Isthmos* or *Strait*, which fastneth *Peloponnesus* to the other part of *Greece*: writing on that part which looketh towards the East, these wordes: *Hec non sunt Peloponnesus, aut Ionia; These Countries are not of Peloponnesus, but of Ionia*: and on the other side which looked towards the South and into *Peloponnesus*, this: *These parts are Peloponnesus, and not Ionia*.

Strabo out of *Hecataeus* affirmeth, that the *Iones* came out of *Asia* into *Greece*, which is contrarie to the former opinion: That the *Iones* of *Greece* transporting certayne companies into *Asia* the lesse, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof then he learned of the *Greekes* themselves, yet I finde this coniecture of *Hecataeus* reasonable enough. For though it were to him unknowne, yet sure I am that *Asia* the lesse had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Ionan* did not flie from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but tooke *Asia* the lesse in his passage; and from thence past over the neere way, leauing his owne name to some Maritime Province on that side, as he did to that part of *Greece* so called. But yet *Strabo* himselfe beleueed, that *Ionia* tooke the name from *Ion* the sonne of *Xuthus*: for so much he had learned from themselves; which was also the opinion of *Pausanias*. True it is, that the *Greekes* in after-times cast themselves into that part of *Asia* the lesse, opposite vnto them, which they held for diuers yeeres. And howeouer the *Greekes* vaunt themselves to be the Fathers of Nations, and the most ancient; yet all approved Historians (not their owne) deride and disprove their pride, and vanitie therein. For this dispute of Antiquitie (among prophane Writers) rested betwene the *Seythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Iulius* out of *Trogus*, in the warre betwene *Pexoris* of *Egypt*, and *Tanaus* of *Seythia*, witnesseth: which preceded far the reigne of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was euer heard of. And it is also manifest, that in *Cecrops* time the *Greekes* were all saluages without law or religion, liuing like brute beasts in all respects: and *Cecrops* (saith *S. Augustine*) liued together with *Moses*.

The sixth sonne of *Iapheth* was *Meshech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Mosch*: (a part of those Nations commanded by *Gog* the chiefe Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*.) But this we must remember, that betwene *Meshech* the sonne of *Aram*, and *Meshech* (or *Mosch*) the sonne of *Iapheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by diuers Interpreters diuersly written. *Montanus* with the *Vulgar* writeth *Meshech*, the sonne of *Aram*, *Mes*; the *Geneua*, *Mash*; *Iunius*, *Mesch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120. *Psalm*, that either *Meshech* the sonne of *Iapheth*, was the parent of those people, or gaue name to that Province wherein *Dauid* hid himselfe: or else (which may rather seeme) that it tooke name from *Meshech* the sonne of *Aram*. For *Dauid* bewailing his exile (while he liued among a barbarous and irreligious People) vseth these wordes: *Woe is me that I remaine in Meshech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: which *Iunius* interpreteth thus: *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diu: habito tanquam Senite Kedareni*: The *Septuagint* giues it this sense: *Woe is me because my habitation (or abode) is prolonged, who dwell with the inhabitants of Kedar*; with which this of the *Latine* agreeth: *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est; habitauit cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldean* otherwise, and in these wordes: *O me miserum, quia peregrinatus sum Alanis, habitauit cum tabernaculis Arabum*; O wretch, that I am, for I haue traualled among those of *Asia*: I haue dwelt in the Tabernacles of the *Arabians*. But howeouer or which fouer conuerfion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Province of

1. King. 1. v. 18.

Iun. in Gen. 10. v. 13.

Iun. c. 7. 14.

Note.

Lib. 18. de Ciuit. Dei. c. 10.

T. p. 1120. v. 4.

much to call *Aikenaz* Germanic or *Almaine*, for wee heare of no *Swart Rattlers* at that sieg. But the *Aikenaz* were of those Nations which were either subdued or allied to the *Medes*: of which, if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the dispersion of Nations was in aftertimes without account. But for the opinion of *Eusebius*, who makes them to be *Gathis*; or that of *Iosephus*, who calls them *Rhegini*; or of the *Iewes*, who will have them to be *Almaines*; when they confirme it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will thinke as they doe.

Of *Ripbath* the second sonne of *Gomer* there is mention in the first of *Chronicles*. *Berosus* and *Pererius* thinke that hee wandered farre off from the rest of his Brothers, and therefore no memorie of his plantation. But I see nothing to the contrary, but that he might seate himselfe with the rest of his Family: for there wanted no roome or soile in those dayes for all the sonnes and Grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well understood, that the *Riphei* were of *Ripbath*, which the *Greekes* afterwards (according to *Iosephus*) called the *Paplagones*; and *Riphei* (sayth *Melanchton*) signifieth Giants. These people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the most of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti*. The greatest number of the *Sarmatians* were the *Heneti*; who spake the ancient *Polac*: which being first called *Riphei* (for the loue of some of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became *Heneti*, (a custome exceeding common in thole times) and dwelt first in *Paplagonia*, as *Homer* witnesseth, and so doth *Apollo-*
Melanch in
caution.

Now, when these *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) sought new Regions, they came along the shores of *Euxinus*, and filled the North part of *Europe*, containing *Russia*, *Lithuania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they crost thward the Land, and peopled *Syria*, delirous (sayth *Melanchton*) of a warmer soile of fruit and Wine. These *Heneti* or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchton* taketh to be one people, filled all that Land betweene the *Baltick* and *Adriaticke* Seas; and to this day the name of the Gulse *Vene-*
dici is found in *Russia*. This Nation, after they were posselt of *Lithuania* and *Polonia*, disturbed the plantation of the *Boij* and *Hermondunij*. Therefore, it seemeth to mee, that of *Ripbath* came the *Riphei*, afterward *Heneti*; and so thinketh *Arius Montanus*, first seated in *Paplagonia*, but in course of time Lords of *Sarmatia*, and those other parts before remembred, chiefly betweene the Rivers of *Vistula* and *Albis*. The name parts before remembred, chiefly betweene the Rivers of *Vistula* and *Albis*. The name (sayth *Melanchton*) signifieth wandering or Wanderers, or *Nomades*: a people which liued by White-meates and fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the first Ages.

Of the third sonne of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I haue spoken already; now therefore of *Iauans* children, which were foure:

{ *Elisa*,
Tharfi,
Cethim,
Dodanim. }

40

§. IX.

Of the foure Sonnes of *Iauan*: and of the double signification of *Tharfi*, either for a proper name or for the Sea.



v. 7.

F *Elisa* or *Elipha*, came the *Aeoles*: and of this *Elisa* all the *Greekes* were called *Hellenes*, sayth *Montanus*. *Melanchton* makes *Elisa* the Father of so the *Aeoles* in *Asia* side: others of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*, or of both. And seeing the *Greekes* were defended in generall of *Iauan*, it is probable that the *Aeoles* and the *Elei*, tooke name of *Elisa*, his eldest Sonne. *Ezechiel* in the 27. speaking of *Tyre*, nameth the *Iles* of *Elisa*. *Elyacynthus*

Et purpura de insulis Elisa facta sunt operimentum tuum: Blue Silke and Purple, brought from the *Iles* of *Elisa*, was thy covering: The *Chaldeans* for *Elisa* write *Italo*: and so I thinke they might doe with reason. For there was not found any such Purple Dye in *Italie* in those dayes nor since, that I can read of: but those *Iles* of *Elisa*, were by a better coniecture the *Iles* of *Greece*; and the best Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it selfe and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the Coast of *Getulia*.

Tharfi, the second Sonne of *Iauan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharfi* is the *Metropolis*. *Montanus* for *Tharfi* in *Cilicia*, vnderstands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (referring the respect due to so learned a man) he was much mistaken in that coniecture. The *Chaldean Paraphrast* puts *Carthage* for *Tharfi*, but it hath no authoritie, nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is written, that the Ships of *Salomon* went euery three yeeres to *Tharfi*, and brought thence Gold, Siluer, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldean Paraphrast* translates *Tharfi* (*Africa*). But *Salomons* Ships were prepared in the Red Sea at *Ezion Gaber*, in the Bay of *Elana*, neere vnto *Midian*, where *Isidro* (*Moses* Father in Law) inhabited; a Province of *Arabia Petraea*, *Idumaea*, or of the *Chusites*; and they sayled to the higher part of the East India. For it had beene a strange Navigation to haue spent three yeeres in the passage betweene *Indea* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might haue bene sayled in six or ten daies. And if so great riches might haue bene found within the bounds of the *Mediterran* Sea, all other neighbouring Princes would soone haue entertained that Trade also. But this enterprize of *Salomon* is in this sort written of in the first of *Kings*: *Also King Salomon made a Name of Ships in Ezion Gaber, which is beside Elath and the brinke of the Red Sea in the Land of Edom: and Hyram sent with the Name his servants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the servants of Salomon: and they came to Ophir, and set from thence 420 Talents of Gold, &c.* But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the World like vnto their owne, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that only: (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word vsed for the Sea in generall) so, because the *Israelites* and the *Phoenicians* knew no other Sea then that of the *Mediterran* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharfi* had the greatest Ships, and were the first Navigators in those parts with such Vessels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharfi* vsed often for the Sea. And whereas it is said that the Ships of *Salomon* went euery three yeeres to *Tharfi*, that phrase is not strange at all; for we vs it ordinarily wherefoeuer wee navigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are set out euery yeere, or euery three yeere to the Sea, and therefore *Tharfi* was not therein named, eyther for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but vsed for the Sea it selfe. But in this place *Tharfi* is truly taken for *Tharfi*, the chiefe Citie in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharfi* the second sonne of *Iauan*, or by his Successours in memorie of their first parent. To this Citie arriued *Alex. Macedon*, before he gaue the first overthrow to *Darius*, and casting himselfe into the River to bathe and wash his bodie, he fell into an extreme Fener, and great danger of death: and in this Citie of *Tharfi* was Saint *Paul* borne. Now this agreeth with the reason and nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other sonnes inhabiting *Asia* the lesse, and that part of *Syria* adioyning) *Iauan*, who was to passe ouer the Sea into *Greece*, tooke the edge of the same Coast, and first planted the *Iowen* on that shore: gaue the *Ilands* betweene *Asia* the lesse and *Greece*, to *Elisa*, and left *Tharfi* vpon the Sea-side in *Cilicia*; of whom that Citie tooke name.

The third Sonne of *Iauan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romans* and *Italians*, so saith *Berosus*, but I allow better of *Melanchtons* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plural (saith he) and signifieth *percussors*, though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of *Esa. 23.* (according to *Melanchton*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*: *Hec calamitas ab Esai predicta est, qui capite vicesimo tertio inquit,*

O 2

CETHIMVS

sidere exercitum otiosum agere ferret, hoste non audente manu conferere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Æthiopianus Regi filius, nomine THARRIS, &c. which Tale hath this sense in English: when MOSES was grined that his Army lay idle, because the Enemy besieged, durst not sally and come to handie strokes, there happened this accident in the meane while. The Æthiopian King had a Daughter called THARRIS, who at some assaults given beheld the person of MOSES, and withall admired his valour. And knowing that MOSES had not only up-held and restored the falling estate of the Egyptians, but had also brought the conquering Æthiopians to the very brink of subversion: these things working in her thoughts, together with her owne affection, which daily increased, shee made meanes to send unto him by one of her trustiest servants to offer her selfe unto him, and become his Wife; to which MOSES on this condition entreated, that shee should first deliuer the Citty into his possession: wherunto shee condescending, and MOSES hauing taken oath to performe this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

¶ II.

A dispute against the Tale of IOSEPHVS.

THIS Tale (whereof *Moses* hath not a word) hath *Iosephus* fashioned, and therein also utterly mistaken himselfe, in naming a Citty of Arabia for a Citty of Æthiopia: as he names Æthiopia; selfe to haue bene the Countrey of *Moses* his Wife, when (indeed) it was Arabia. For *Saba* is not in Æthiopia, but in Arabia, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, ancient and moderne teach vs, saying that the *Sabæans* are Arabians and not Æthiopians; except *Iosephus* can persuade vs, that the Queene of *Saba* which came from the South to heare the wisdom of *Salomon*, were a Negro, or Blacke-Moore. And though *Damianus* a *Goes* speake of certaine Letters to the King of *Portugall* from *Presler Iohn*, of the *Abissines*; wherein that Æthiopian King would persuade the *Portugals* that hee was descended of the Queene of *Saba*, and of *Salomon*; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that *Salomon* had any Sonne by that great Princeesse: which had it bene true, it is likely that when *Sisbac* King of *Egypt* invaded *Roboam*, and sackt *Hierusalem*, his Brother (the Sonne of *Saba* and *Salomon*) who ioynd vpon *Egypt*, would both haue impeached that enterprize, as also giuen aide and succour to *Roboam* against *Ieroboam*, who drew from him tenne of the twelue Tribes to his owne obedience. Neyther is it any thing against our opinion of *Moses* his Wife, to haue bene an Arabian; that the Scriptures teach vs, that *Moses* married the daughter of *Jethro* Priek of *Midian* or *Madian*: which standing on the North Coast of the Red Sea, ouer against the bodie of *Egypt*, and neere *Eison Gaber*, where *Salomon* prouided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of Arabia, as the Red Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Edom* ia ioyne to the Tribe of *Juda* by the North, to Arabia *Petræa* by the East, to the *Mediterran* by the West, and to the Red Sea by the South-east. And if wee mark the way which *Moses* tooke when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Israel* thence, it will appeare that hee was no stranger in Arabia: in the border whereof, and in Arabia itselfe, hee had formerly liued fortie yeeres; wherit seemeth, that besides his careful bringing vp in *Egypt*, hee was instructed by *Jethro* in the Egyptians learning. For *Iosephus* confesseth, and *Saint Stephen* confirmeth, that hee was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. But on the other side this Text makes much against *Iosephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* the second, Therefore MOSES fled from *Pharaos*, and dwelt in the Land of *Madian* or *Midian*, and not in Æthiopia. And in the third Chapter it is as plaine as wordes can expresse, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written, When MOSES kept the sheepe of *Jethro* his Father in Law, Priest of *Madian*, and drave the Flocke to the Desert, and came to the Mountaine of *God* in *Horeb*. Now that Mount *Horeb* is not in Æthiopia, euery Infant knoweth. And if wee may beleue *Moses* himselfe, then was not the Wife of

Moses

Moses purchased in that manner which *Iosephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrey and Friends) neither had shee the name of *Tharbia*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was shee a Negro, but a *Madianitish*. And as God worketh the greatest things by the simplest meanes: so it pleased him from a Sepherd to call *Moses*, and after him *Dauid*, and by them to deliuer his people first and last. For *Moses* sitting by a Well (as disconsolate and a stranger) defended the daughters of *Reuel* from the other shepherds, and drew them Water to water their sheepe: vpon which occasion (by God ordaind) he was entayned by *Jethro*, whose Daughter he married: and not for any betraying of Townes or Countreies.

From hence also came *Jethro* to *Moses* at *Rephidim*, not farre from *Idumæa*, and finding the insupportable gouernement of such a multitude, he aduised him to distribute this waightie charge, and to make *Gouernours* and *Iudges* of euery Tribe and Familie. And if *Jethro* had bene an Æthiopian, it had bene a farre progresse for him to haue passed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moses*, and to haue found *Mose* in the border of *Idumæa*: the Egyptians hating *Moses*, and all that fauoured him. But the passing of *Moses* through Arabia *Petræa* (which ioyne to *Madian*) proueth that *Moses* was well acquainted in those parts: in which the second time he wandred fortie yeeres, and did by these late trauals of his, seeke to instruct the children of *Israel* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty and rest. For he found them nourished vp with the milke of Idolatrie, and obdurate in the Religion of the *Heathen*, and finding that those stiffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by persuasion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Desarts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those he might receiue fruit, agreeable to his owne desire, and Gods Commandements.

Lastly, this opinion of *Iosephus* is condemned by *Augustinus Chrysostomus*, where also he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who auowed that *Moses* had married both *Tharbia* and *Sephora*: His owne wordes haue this beginning: *Plenitudo etiam Apollinaris duas uxores habuisse MOSEN, &c.* *Apollinaris* is also lyeth in affirming that

MOSES had two wiues: and who doth not perceiue these things fayned by them? for it is manifest that the wife of MOSES was ZEPHORA, Daughter to the Priest or President of *Madian*: and that *Madian* cannot be taken for Æthiopia beyond *Egypt*, being the same that ioyne to Arabia: so farre *Chrysostomus*.

¶ III.

Chubb ill expounded for Æthiopia, *Ezech. 29. 10.*

NOW as *Chubb* is by the Septuagint conuerted Æthiopia, and the wife of *Moses* there ore called Æthiopia: so in the conquest of *Nabuchodonosor* is Æthiopia written for Arabia. For by the wordes of *Ezechiel* it is manifest that *Nabuchodonosor* was neuer in Æthiopia. Behold (saith *Ezechiel*, I speaking of the person of this great Assyrian) I come vpon thee and vpon thy Riuers, and I will make the Land of *Egypt* utterly waste and desolate, from the Towre of *Senen*, even to the borders of the Black-moors: which last wordes should haue bene thus conuerted: From the Towre of *Senen* to the borders of the *Chusites* or Arabians: betwene which two is situate all *Egypt*. For to say, from the borders of *Senen* to the Æthiopians, hath no sense at all. *Senen* it selfe being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and ioyning to Æthiopia, or the Land of the black-Moors. So as if *Nabuchodonosor* conquest had bene but betwene *Senen* and the border of Æthiopia, it were as much to say, and did expresse no other victorie then the conquest of all that Land and Countrey, lying betwene *Middlesex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countreies ioyne together; or all the North parts of *England*, betwene *Barwick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the same sense with the former, if any man sought to expresse by these two bounds, the Conquest of

England.

deede could the *Arabians* come on to succoureither *Pelufium* or *Hierusalem*. But, that there is any Defeat betwene *Pelufium* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath neuer yet beene heard of, or described by any *Cosmographer* or *Historian*. So then this Scripture of the second of Kings, Verse the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word (*Chus*) is also translated *Ethiopia*; and in this sense haue all the Interpreters, (but *Iunius*) exprest the beginning of the ninth Verse: *He heard also men say of Thirrhakeh King of Ethiopia, &c.* whereas it should haue bene thus conuerted with *Ivnivs*: *Andiens autem de Thirrhakeh Rege Chusis; He heard also of Thirrhakeh King of the Chusites*. For they were the *Chusites* and *Arabians*, whose Houses and Cities were next the fire, and vpon whom the very 10 smoke of *Juda* flaming was blowne, being their neereft Neighbours: and so were not the *Ethiopian* blacke-Moorees vnder the *Equinoctiall*, whom neither warre nor peace (which discouereth all Regions) euer found out, saith *Plinie*. For this King was no more King of *Ethiopia* then *Zerah* was, who invaded *Asia* King of *Juda*, with an Armie of a Million and three thousand Chariots. Indeed, how such an Armie and those Chariots should passe through all *Egypt*, (the Kings of *Egypt* being mightie Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are seated, and how farre distant, iudge. For Princes doe not easily permit Armies of a Million to runne through them; neither was there euer any such strength of Black-Moorees heard of in that part of the World, or elsewhere. Neither are these *Ethiopian*s such trauail-20 lers or Conquerors; and yet is this King *Zerah* also called King of *Ethiopia*. But the word *Chus* being first so conuerted for *Ethiopia*, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the seates of Kingdomes, or the possibilities of attempts, or inuasions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

¶ VII.

A farther exposition of the place, ESAY 18. 1.

Concerning these wordes in that eighteenth Chapter of ESAY, *Navium alarum*; 30 *Winged ships*, (so the *Septuagint* turne it) or *Cymbalarum* (according to the *Latine*) *sailes whistling in the windes*, or *terra umbrosa* or *a* (after *Ivnivs*) *the Land of a shadowed coast*, or *the Land shadowing with wings*, as our *English Geneva* hath it. The two first interpretations of the *Septuagint* and *S. Hierome* haue one sense in effect. For the sailes are commonly called the wings of a ship; and we vse to say ordinarily when our ships saile slowly, that they wanteth wings: (that is) when her sailes are either worn or too narrow; and we also vse the same phrase of the winde whistling in the sailes. And it may be that the *Egyptians* employed so many of those small ships, as their sailes were said to give a shadow ouer the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (vpon *Esay*) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabal*) doth signifie 40 both to shadow and to gingle (which is) to make a kinde of *Cymbaline* sound: so as the meaning of this place (saith *Pintus*) is this: *Waite thee, O Egypt, which dost promise to others (safegard, vnder the shadow of thy wings, which (indeede) seemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of Esay: and this phrase is often elsewhere vsed, as in the sixteenth Psalm: Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me; Defend me vnder the shadow of thy wings. The Boates of reede spoken of are of two kindes; either of basket-willow couered with hides (as anciently in Brittain) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built vpon both sides with Canes. Of the one sort I haue seene in Ireland, of the other in the Indies.*

¶ XI.

¶ I.

Of the plantation and antiquities of Egypt.

¶ I.

That *Mizraim* the chiefe planter of Egypt, and the rest of the sonnes of *Ham*, were seated in order, one by another.

10 **T**He second sonne of *Ham* was *Mizraim*, who (according to the place of a second brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabit. For *Chus* first posselt *Chaldea* on the West side of *Gehon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increased in people, so he entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, and to the South-east-side of *Judea*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) past ouer into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*: and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* tooke the Sea-coast, and held the side of *Palestina*: and these foure brothers posselt all that Tract of Land, from *Gehon* in *Chaldea*, as farre to the West as the *Mediterranean* 20 Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deserta*, and *Petra*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*; with the two *Egypt*s, whereof the nether is bounded by *Memphis* on the South, and by the *Mediterranean* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida* (called the vpper *Egypt*) stretcheth it self toward the South as farre as *Syene*, the border of the *Ethiopian*s or black-Moorees. All the rest of the coast of *Africa* Westward *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Familie that dwelt betwene them. And in the same manner did all their sonnes againe, and all the sonnes of the rest of *Noahs* children, sort themselves.

¶ II.

Of the time about which the name of Egypt began to be knowne: and of the Egyptians *Lunatic* yeeres, which made their antiquities seeme the more fabulous.

40 **T**His flourishing Kingdome posselt by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, and became *Egypt*, at such time as *Aegyptus* (otherwise *Rameses*, as some thinke) the sonne of *Belus*, chased thence his elder brother *Danaius*, shifting him into that part of *Greece* now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argiues* were made *Danai*, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. yeeres after the flood, in the time of *Iosua*, as *S. Augustine* coniectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homers Odyssey* it appeareth that the *Egyptians* were so called at the time of the *Troian* Warre. And before this, *Egypt* was knowne by diuers other names, as *Oceana*, *Asia*, *Osiriana*, &c. 50 And *Manethon* (whom *Iosephus* citeth in his first booke against *Apion*) numbrellh all by the Kings of *Egypt* after *Moses* departure, who consumed 393. yeeres. By which other men coniecture, that the *Egyptians* tooke on them that name 330. yeeres after *Iosua*, and about 1000. yeeres after the flood. But where *Iosephus* in the same booke taketh *Israel* to be those *Hiclos*, which he also calleth *Pastores* or Shepherds, which are said to haue reigned in *Egypt* 511. yeeres: whom also he calleth his Ancesters, (meaning the Ancesters of the *Iewes*) in this I am sure he was grossly decieued, or that he vainly boasted: for the *Israelites* had no such Dominion as *Manethon* sayneth: nor abode in *Egypt* so long a time by many yeeres.

Of the Egyptian Antiquities there are many fancies in *Tragus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirme (saith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330. Kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporarie with *Cyrus*; and

and that they had memorie and storie of 13000. yeeres; and that the Starres had four times changed their course, and the Sunne twice set in the East. These Riddles are also rife among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirme, that they are more ancient then *Jupiter* and the *Moone*, whereof *Onid*:

De Fals. Lt.

*Ante Iovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur
Arcades: & Lyra gens prior illa fuit.*

The Arcadians the earth inhabited
Ere yet the MOONE did shine, or IOVE was bred.

19

But for those 13000. yeeres it may well be true: seeing it is certayne that the *Egyptians* reckon their yeeres by Moneths, which makes after that account not about 1000. or 1100. yeeres, whether we take their Moneths or Lunarie yeeres to have beeme of the first kinde of 27. dayes and eight houres; or otherwise 29. dayes and twelue houres; or after any other of those five diuerfities of their Lunarie yeeres.

†. III.

Of certayne vaine assertions of the Antiquitie of the
Egyptians.

20

GERARDVS MERCATOR in his *Chronologie*, reasoneth for the *Egyptians* Antiquitie in this manner: That the sixteenth *Dynastie* (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the generall flood: and that therefore the first of the other fiftene reached the Creation, or soone after it. To which coniecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this answer. That therein *Mercator* was first deceived, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie* was at once with the generall flood: which *Eusebius* maketh 292. yeeres after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the 17. shepherds *Dynastie* (being in number the 17.) in the time of their first King, *Salitis*, to have beene in the yeere of the World 1846. which *Eusebius* findeth in the Worlds age 2140. For the 16. *Dynastie* was begunne but in the 292. yeere after the flood, as they account, and continued 190. yeeres. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh every *Dynastie* to endure 115. yeeres, *Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at lesse then 100. yeeres: for the 28. had but fixe yeeres; the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. yeeres.

Now *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all these 15. *Dynasties* lasted but 162. yeeres: and that the first of the 15. beganne but in the 131. yeere after the flood: so as where *Mercator* makes all the 15. to precede the flood, and the 16. to have beene then in being at the time of the flood, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrarie of fallshood cannot be hidden, though disguised. For *Annius* had forgotten his former Opinion and Assertion, that it was in the 131. yeere that *Nimrod* with the sonnes of *Noah* came into the Valley of *Shinar*: so he forgets the time which was consumed in the building of *Babel*: and that before the confusion of Speech there was no dispersion, nor farre-off plantation at all. And though he hastily conveyed *Gomer* into *Italie*, and *Tubal* into *Spaine*, in the 101. yeere of *Nimrods* reigne: (which was ten yeeres after his arrivall into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more vnaidified. For he makes *Egypt* posselt, and a government established in the very first yeere of the arrivall of *Nimrod* into *Shinar*, before all partition, or 50 any expedition farre off or neere in question: for from thence (that is, from *Babel*) did the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.

†. IIII.

†. IIII.

Against *PERERIUS*: that it is not unlikely, but that *Egypt* was peopled within 200. yeeres after the Creation; at least, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Flood.

BUT whereas *Pererius* seeketh to overthrow this Antiquitie of the *Egyptians* touching their *Dynasties*, (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I do not find any great strength in this opinion of *Pererius*; (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impossible that *Egypt* should be peopled within 100. or 200. yeeres after *Adam*, in the first Age. And whereas he suppoeth that it was not inhabited at all before the generall Flood, I doe verily beleuee the contrarie: and that not only of *Egypt*, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are these: *Quomodo enim primis mundi ducentis, vel etiam centum annos ADAMI proles adeo multiplicari potuit, ut ad Egyptum usq. habitandum & complendum propagata sit, &c.* For how could the children of *ADAM* be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred yeeres of the world, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill *Egypt* for allowing this (saith *Pererius*) we must also confesse, that there were then both the *Assyrians*, and other Nations.

Now seeing that the Scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our faining beleefe, it is lawfull for every man to be guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I doe not gainsay any mans opinion out of any crolling or caulling humour: for I thinke it the part of every Christian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibilitie of vnion, then out of froward fubletie, and preiudicate resolute nesse, to maintaine factions needlesse, and dangerous contentions.

First therefore, to this opinion, that *Egypt* was not planted so soone after *Adam*, no, nor at all before the Flood, I say that there is no reason why we should giue a lesse increase to the sonnes of *Adam*, then to the sonnes of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the flood double, & (after a few yeeres) treble, is an infallible prooffe of their strength and abilitie, to beget many Children: and at that time they observed no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinitie. And that there was a speedie increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some sort appeare by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearefull that the death of *Abel* would have beene reuenged on him) withdrew himselfe from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of *Noah*, and there, by the helpe of his owne issues built a Citie, (called *Enoch*) after the name of his first borne. Now if it bee gathered that *Enoch* came into the Valley of *Shinar* with so many multitudes, as sufficed to build the Citie and Towre of *Babel*: and that to this increase there was giuen but 130. yeeres by *Berosus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly vnderstood, by the birth of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Heber*, and *Phaleg*) but one hundred and one yeere: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the infancy of the first age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, even within 130. yeeres, the same (if not a greater) number might be increased; and so within 70. yeeres after (that is, by such time as the World had stood 200. yeeres) as well *Assyria*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* might be posselt before the Flood, as they were within the same or lesse time after it. Neyther doth it agree with the circumstance or true Storie of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empire, that all those people, which were increased in the first 50 hundred or 130. yeeres after the Flood, came into *Shinar* and *Babylonia*. For that *Euer Noah* himselfe came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authoritie to prouoe it, so all probable coniecture and reason it selfe denies it. Again, those multitudes and powerfull numbers, which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Noah*) found in *India*, considered with her owne Armie of three Millions, (and shee left not

P

all

all her Kingdomes emptye) doe well prouee, that if the World had such plenty of people in so few yeeres after the Flood, it might also bee as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their owne account *Ninus* gouerned *Babylonia* and *Assyria* but 292. yeeres after the Flood of *Noah*. And these Troupes of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Easterne Kingdomes, from *Media* to the *Mediterran* Sea; when there had now past from the Flood to the time of this her inuasion, somewhat lesse or more then 360. yeeres: for much more time the true *Chronologie* cannot allow; though I confesse, that in respect of the strange greatnesse of *Semiramis* Armie, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well bee giuen. And if but the one half be true of that which is said, That her Armie consisted of 1300000. Footmen, and 500000. Horsemen, it must needs bee, that long before *Semiramis* Raigne, the greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge Armie was gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it selfe (much part whereof is barren) mult long before this time of *Semiramis* haue bene plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* hauing a determination to make himselfe Master of all Nations, entred (notwithstanding) in League with the King thereof: whom therefore he eyther feared, or fought his assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well replenished, I see no cause but *Egypt* might also be peopled. Now if we may beleue *Trogus Pompeius* (*Epitomis d'by Iustine*) *Egypt* was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was borne. For these be his owne wordes, speaking of *NINVS. Fuere quidem temporibus antiquioribus VEXORIS REX Egypti, &c. But there were in times more ancient VEXORIS King of Egypt, and TANANIS King of the Scythians*: of which the one inuaded *Pontus*, the other *Egypt*. And how full of people all that part of the World was, the Conquests of *Ninus* witnesse, who subdued with no small force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterwards the *Bactrians*; yea, all that whole bodie of *Asia* on this side *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Ctesias* numb'reth the Armie, wherewith *Ninus* inuaded *Zorasther*, at 1700000. Footmen, and 200000. Horsemen: and the Stories generally shew, that though *Zorasther's* Armie was farre short of this, yet it was greater then any that those parts of the World euer since beheld. But to what end should I seeke for forraigne authoritie? for no man doubteth but that *Egypt* was possit by 30 *Mizraim*, the sonne of *Ham*; and that it was an established Kingdome, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time, the Scriptures tell vs. And sure to prepare and cultivate a desolate and ouergrowne ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Lawes, and Policies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few dayes: and therefore it must bee inhabited in a lesse time then 200. yeeres after the Flood; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the Flood. For if so many Millions of men were found within 300. yeeres after the generall Flood; so as not only *Babylon*, and *Assyria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Palastina*, yea the farre-off *Lybia* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neyther) were all filled: into what small corners could then all those Nations be comprehended, which 1656. yeeres brought 40 forth before the Flood: euen necessitie, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the knowne World; especially, where Death forbore the Father, and made no place for the Sonne, till he had beheld liuing Nations of his owne bodie.

†. V.

Of some other reasons against the opinion of *PERERIVS*.

FOR what a strange increase did the long liues of the first Age make, when they 50 continued 800. or 900. yeeres. Surely, we haue reason to doubt, that the World could not containe them, rather then that they were not spread ouer the World. For let vs now reckon the date of our liues in this Age of the World: wherein if one exceed 50. yeeres, tenne for one are cut off in that passage, and yet wee find no want of people;

people; nay, wee know the multitude such, as if by warres or pestilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the earth with all the industrie of man could not giue them food. What strange heapes then of soules had the first Ages, who enioyed 800. or 900. yeeres, as aforesaid? These numbers, I say, cannot be counted nor conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which haue bene borne in *Brittaine* since 3. or 4. hundred yeeres before the *Norman Conquest* (sparing such as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to these there were added as many as by *Polygamie* might haue bene increased. For (to omit, that the Giants and mightie ones of the first Age obserued 10 no law of Matrimony) it is to be thought that those Louers of the world and of pleasure, when they knew the long and liberal time which Nature had giuen them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could flye from or eschew. For what humane argument hath better perswasion to make men carelesse of life, and fearelesse of death, then the little time which keeps them asunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many paines and diseases, which this eniuous olde Age of the World minglenth together, and soweth with the seeds of Mankind?

Now if that *Berosus* or *Annins* may be alleaged for sufficient Authours, whom *Pererius* himselfe in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Iosephus* confirmed, that the Citie of *Enoch* was seated neere *Zybanus* in *Syria*: and it other 20 parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cain* time, I see no cause why *Palastina* (which is also a Prouince of *Syria*) and *Egypt* (which neighboureth it) could bee left desolate both all the life time of *Cain*, and all those times betweene his death and the Flood, which were by estimation 700. or 800. yeeres. And sure though this Fragment of *Berosus* with *Annins* his Comment bee very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in *Berosus* are not to bee reiected. Therefore Saint *Hierome* for such Authours giues a good rule. *Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria; Let vs choose what is good in them, and reiect the rest.* And certainly in the very beginning of the first Booke, *Berosus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moses*, touching the generall Flood: and in that first part *Berosus* affirmeth, that those mightie men and Giants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded ouer all Nations, and subiected 30 the vniuersall World: and though that phrase (*of all the World*) bee often vsed in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the *Acts*, That there were dwelling at *Hiernsalem* Iewes: men that feared God of euery Nation vnder Heauen: yet by wordes which follow in *Berosus*, it is plaine that his words and sense were the same: for hee addeth from the Sunnes rising to the Sunnes setting, which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Againe, wee may safely coniecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his sonnes at aduenture, or left them as Discouersers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had bene inhabited. 40 And it cannot be denied that the earth was more passable and easie to traualle ouer before the Flood, then after it. For *Pererius* himselfe confesseth, that *Attila* (by reason of mudde and slime which the water left vpon the Earth) was vninhabited 200. yeeres after *Ogyges* Flood, whereby wee may gather that there was no great pleasure in passing into farre Countreies after the generall Deluge, when the earth lay (as it were) incopied for 100. or 130. yeeres together. And therefore was the face thereof in all coniecture more beautifull, and lesse cumbersome to walke ouer, in the first Age then after the generall overflowing.

†. VI.

Of the words of MOSES, GEN. IO. V. ultimo, whereupon PERERIVS grounded his opinion.

L Astly, whereas Pererius draws this Argument out of the last Verse of the tenth of Genesis, And out of these were the Nations divided after the Flood: Quo significatur talem divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium, By which it appeareth (sayth Pererius) that there was no such division before the Flood, which hee also seeketh to confirme out of the cleuneth of Genesis, because the division of tongues was cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, quo significatur, &c. seemeth to me very weake: the Text it selfe rather teaching the contrarie: for out of these (sayth MOSES) were the Nations divided in the earth after the Flood; inferring, that before the Flood the Nations were divided out of others, though after the Flood out of these only. But whatsoever sense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way bee drawne to the times before the Flood, or to any Plantation or division in that Age: for if there were none else among whom the earth could bee divided after the Flood, but *Nahs* Sonnes, wherein doth that necessarie division controule the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alleged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion, it is true, that it was so for that present; but if *Babel* had neuer bene built, nor any confusion of Languages at all, yet increase of people and time would haue enforced a farther-out and general Plantation: as *Berosus* sayes well, that when Mankind were exceedingly multiplied, *Ad comparandus novas sedes necessitas compellat, They were driven by necessity to seek new Habitations.* For we find (as is before said) that within 300. yeeres after the Flood, there were gathered together into two Armies, such multitudes as the Valley about *Babylon* could not haue sustained those numbers with their increase for any long time: all *Asia* the greater and the lesser; all *Sythia*, *Arabia*, *Palestina*, and *Egypt*, with *Greece*, and the Islands thereof; *Mauritania* and *Lybia* being also at that time fully peopled. And if we beleue *Berosus*, then not only those parts of the World, but (within 140. yeeres after the Flood) *Spaine*, *Italie*, 30 and *France* were also planted: much more then may wee thinke, that within 1656. yeeres before the Flood, in the time of the chiefe strength of Mankind, they were replenished with people. And certainly seeing all the World was ouerflowne, there were people in all the World which offended.

†. VII.

A conclusion, resolving of that which is most likely, touching the Egyptian Antiquities: with somewhat of PERERIVS (another Sonne of HAM) which peopled *Lybia*.

T Herefore, for the Antiquitie of the Egyptians, as I doe not agree with *Mercator*, nor iudge with the *Pulgar*, which giue too much credit to the Egyptians Antiquities: so I doe not thinke the report of their Antiquities so fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceiue it. But I rather incline to this, That *Egypt* being peopled before the Flood, and 200. or 300. yeeres, more or lesse after *Adam*, there might remaine vnto the Sonnes of *Mizraim* some Monuments in Pillers or Altars of stone or metall) of their former Kings or Gouvernours: which the Egyptians haue added to the list and Roll of their Kings after the Flood, in succeeding time (out of the vanitie of glory or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inferred. And that the memorie of Antiquitie was in such sort preferred, *Berosus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldeans*, and so doth *Epigenes*. For they both write that the vse of Letters and the Art of Astronomie was knowne to the *Babylonians* 3634. yeeres before *Alexanders* Conquest: and this report *Annus* findeth to agree

agree and reach to the time of *Enefs*, who was borne 1034. yeeres before the Flood, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of *Christs* coming in iudgement, as Saint *Iude* hath witnessed. But leaning these Antiquities to other mens iudgements, and every man to his owne reason, I will conclude this Plantation of *Egypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it tooke the name of *Egypt* from *Egyptus* the forme of *Belus*, as aforesaid. Being divided into two Regions, that part from *Memphis* or *Nicopolis* to the *Mediterranean* Sea, was called the inferiour *Egypt*; surnamed also *Delta*: because the severall branches of *Nilus* breaking asunder from one bodie of the River, gaue it the forme of the Greeke letter *Delta*, which is the forme of a Triangle. That branch, which ranne toward the North-east and embraced the Sea next unto the Deserts of *Sar* and *Phaen*, had on it the Citie of *Pelusiun*, where *Sencherib* was repulld: The other branch, which yielded it selfe to the Salt-water towards the North-west, is beautified by that famous Citie of *Alexandria*: The vpper part of *Egypt* is bounded betweene *Memphis* and *Syene* neere *Ethiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of that ancient Citie of *Thebes*, which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called *Civitas centum portuum*; and by the *Greekes* *Diospolis*; in the Scriptures *No-hamon*, which signifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding beliefe. *Iosephus* calls *Egypt* *Mersin* of *Mizraim*: and *Hierodotus* affirmes that it had once the name of *Thebaia*.

10f. 11. Ant. c. 1.
Hierod. Entrep.

But the third sonne of *Ham* tooke the next portion of Land to his other *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Lybia*: whose people were anciently called *Phutei*; (sayth *Iosephus*) and *Plinie* mentioneth the River *Fut* in *Mauritania*: which River from the Mountaine *Atlas* (knowne to the Inhabitants by the name of *Dyrus*) hee maketh to bee distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezechiel*, that *Phut*, *Chus*, and *Lud* were *contermini* and Associates with the Egyptians.

¶. XII.

Of the cleuen sonnes of CANAAN, the fourth sonne of HAM.

†. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: with the names of his cleuen sonnes.



C ANAAN (the fourth sonne of *Ham*) posselt all that Region called by the *Romanes* *Palestina*; in the Scriptures *Galilea*, *Samaria*, and *Iudea*; in the latter times knowne by the name of the Holy Land and *Iurie*: the limits whereof are precisely set downe by *MOSES*, Genesis the tenth, Then the border of the Canaanites was from *Zidon* as thou goest to *Gerar* untill *Azzah*, and as thou goest vnto *Sodome* and *Gomorha*, and *Admah*, and *Zebaim*, even vnto *Lalba*. Now howsoever these words of the Hebrew Text (as thou goest) be converted, *Moses* meaning was that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan* and *Zidon* the North; *Sodome* and *Gomorha* the East, and the other Cities named stood on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* standeth in a right Line from *Gaza* in the way of *Egypt*, the vttermost Territorie of *Canaan* Southward: and this was properly the Land of *Canaan*.

Now the sonnes of *Canaan* which posselt this Countrie, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number cleuen:

P 3

1. *Zidon*.

1. Zidon.
2. Heth or Chethus.
3. Iebusi or Iebuseus.
4. Emori or Emoreus, or Amoreus.
5. Gergesii or Gergesius.
6. Heni or Chineus.
7. Arki or Harkus.
8. Seni or Sinaius.
9. Aradi or Aradensis.
10. Zemari or Samareus, or Tzemareus.
11. Hamathi or Hamathus, or Chamathus.

Of which the most renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergesites*, *Amorites*, *Henites*, *Iebusites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were descended of *Zemari* or *Samareus*, or from some of his.

†. II.

Of the portions of ZIDON and HETH.

ZIDON the first borne of *Canaan*, built the famous Citie of *Zidon* in *Phoenicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Asser*: for *Asser*, *Zabulon*, and *Nephthali* had a great part of the ancient *Phoenicia* distributed among them; but the *Asserites* could neuer obtaine *Zidon* it selfe.

The second sonne of *Canaan* was *Heth* or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of those seven principall Nations (Commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to bee rooted out; namely, the *Gergesites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, and *Henites*, and the *Iebusites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Bersabe*, and towards *Hebron* neere the Torrent *Belor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moses* maketh the uttermost limit of *Canaan*, hauing the Desert of *Pharan* to the South: for about *Bersabe* (otherwise *Patus inramenti*) foure miles from *Gaza* dwelt *Heth* and his Posteritie, as farre to the Northeast as *Hebron*, and *Mamre*; and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite* did *Abraham* buy the field of *Sarabs* buriall. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her selfe to *Isaac*, saying, *That I see was wearie of her life for the Daughters of HETH*. The Giants *Anakim* were of these *Hittites*, a strong and fierce Nation, whose entertainment by the Kings of *Israel* against them the *Syrians* greatly feared: as in the fourth of the Kings; *Israel* hath hired against vs the Kings of the *Hittites*.

†. III.

Of the Iebusites and Amorites.

IEBUSITES, the third sonne of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Iebusites*, and whose principall seat was *Iebus*, (afterward *Hierusalem*) were also a valiant and stubborn Nation, and held their Citie and the Countie neere it, till such time as *David* by Gods assistance recovered both: yet were not the *Iebusites* extinguished, but were Tributaries to *Salomon*.

Amoreus was the fourth sonne of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* tooke name, who inhabited that Land to the East of *Jordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, hauing *Aradon* and the Mountaines of *Galad* on the East, and *Jordan* on the West: of whom *Og* (King of *Basan*) and *Sihon* (ouerthrowne by *Moses*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behind *Libanus* in the edge of *Calefryia*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had also their

their being in the Mountaynes of *Inda*, and in *Idumea* neere the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were sometime called *Amorites*: as in *Genesis* the fifteenth: For the wickednesse of the *Amorites* is not yet full. And that this was also a powerfull Nation, we finde in the Prophet *Amos*: For *de Amos* 2. *destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of a Cedar, and he was strong as the Oke.*

†. IIII.

Of the Gergesites, Henites, and Harkites.

THE first sonne of *Canaan* was *Gergesius* or *Gergesius*, (otherwise *Girgasi*) who inhabited on the East side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolemie* sets the Citie *Gersa*, which *Iosephus* calls *Gersa* in the Territorie of *Decapolis*. Here it was that *CHRIST* disposed the possessed with Devils; and the *Gergesites* desired him to depart their Coast: because their Swine filled with the euill spirits, drowned themselves in the Sea of *Galilee*. *Gergesius* also built *Berytus* (sometime *Geris*) afterward *Felix iulia*, three miles from the Riuer *Adonis* in *Phoenicia*: in which the *Romans* held a Garrison: and to which *Augustus* gave many large priuiledges.

Henus the sixth sonne; and Father of the *Henites*, inhabited under *Libanus* neere *Emath*. These *Henites*, howeouer the *Capitolin* expelled a good part of them (as in *Dionysius* the second is remembred) yet many of them remayned all the warre of *Iudas*, and afterward to the time of *Salomon*. For God was not pleased utterly to roote out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the *Israelites*, and at other times serued (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to assist them: for as it is written, *Judges* the third: *They remayned to proue ISRAEL by them, whether they would obey the Commandments of God.*

The seventh sonne was *Aracus* or *Arki*, who betwene the foote of *Libanus* and the *Mediterran* Sea, (ouer against *Tripoli*) built the Citie of *Archus*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

†. V.

Of SINI and ARADI.

SINEVS the eighth sonne, *Hieropolymitanus* sets at *Capareva*, which *Ptolemie* findes in *Indea*, not farre from *Iebus*; to the South thereof, saith *Iunius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which *S. Iherome* calls *Sini*, *Ptolemie*, *Simyria*: *Me-la* and *Plinie*, *Simyris*: *Brochard*, *Syon*, (called *Synochis*) neere *Arca*. *Ptolemie* thinks that *Sineus* inhabited the Desarts of *Sini* or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certaintie then the report of *Brochard*, who tooke view of all these places, affirming, that *Sineus* built *Synochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is also another Nation of *Cini* (written with the letter C. otherwise *Kenai*) who descended of *Hobab* the sonne of *Raguel* the *Midianite*, who assisted the *Israelites* in their conduction through the Wildernesse of *Pharan*. But these *Cinai* were admitted among the *Israelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephthalims*, beside their habitations with the *Amalekites*: against these *Cinai*, *Balaam* prophesied, that they should be destroyed by the *Assyrians*.

The ninth sonne was *Aradus* or *Aradensis*, who in the Ile of *Arades* built the Citie *Arados*: opposite against which Iland on the Maine of *Phoenicia*, they founded another Citie of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this Citie came *S. Peter* (saith *Clement*) and in this Ile preached the Gospel, and founded a Church in honor of our Lady: but we finde no such worke of

of his in the *Acts* of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembreth in his prophecies against the *Tyrians*. The inhabitants of *Zidon* and *Arvad* were shy Mariners.

Cap. 7. v. 8.

†. VI.

Of ZEMARI.

OF *Samaricus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth sonne, there are diuers opinions. Some think that he first inhabited in *Calcfyria* at *Edelfa*, and founded *Samararia*, in which in *Joſua* is placid in the Tribe of *Beniamin*. There is also *Samarajm* (of the same Orthographic) vpon the Mountaynes of *Ephraim* (saith *Berodius*) mentioned in the second of *Chronicles* c. 13. v. 4. which the *Latine* conuerreth amisse (saith he) by *Semercon*. The Hieroglyphytan *Paraphraſt* makes *Samaricus* (of whom were the *Periſſites*) the parent of the *Emiffari*, which *Plinie* calls the *Hemſenti*, in *Calcfyria*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembered. But that they founded *Samaria*, both the *Hebrew* Orthographie, and this place in the first of *Kings* (speaking of *Omri*) diproueth: And he bought the Mountayne *Samarior* *Shemer* one of *SHEMER*, for two talents of filuer, and built in the Mountayne: and called the name of the Citie which he built, after the name of *SHEMER*, Lord of the Mountayne *Samarita*. But of all theſe places I shall ſpeake more at large in the conqueſt of the holy Land, by the children of *Iſrael*. Of whomſoeuer the *Samaritanes* were defended, ſure I am, that they were euer a perfidious Nation, and baſe: for as long as the ſtate of the *Iewes* stood vp, they alwayes called themſelues *Iewes*: when it ſuffered or ſanke, they then vltro denyed to be of that Nation or Familie; for at ſuch time as they were returned from their first captivity, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Aſſyrians*; and partly of the naturalls.

Ercal. in Chron.
lib. 4.

1. Kings 16.28

†. VII.

of HAMATH.

T^He laſt of *Canaan* ſonnes was *Hamathew*, or (according to the *Hebrew*) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath*: (ſaith *Berodai*) of which (the aſpiration taken away) the ſame is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamathew* was parent. *Iofeph* and *S. Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*, not that *Antioch* which ſtandeth on the River *Orometes*, on the frontier of *Camagena*, betweene the Mountaine *Caſius* and the Province of *Pieria*, and *Selencius*, of which *S. Peter* was Biſhop, and in which *S. Luke* and *Ignatius* were borne: but *Antioch*, ſurnamed *Epiphania*, as *Berodai* ſuppoſeth, which ſtandeth betweene *Apamea* and *Emel* in *Caſtalis*. Yet, indeede, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* vpon *Orometes*, and that which neighboureth *Emel*, are farther off ſeated from *Canaan*, then euer any of thoſe Nations ſtraggled. And whereas *S. Hierome* ſetteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Neptali*: it is maniſteſt, that *Epiphania*, which ſtandeth to the North of *Emath*, hath all the Province of *Laodicea*, betweene it and any part of the Land diuided. And if *Libanon* it ſelfe were not ſhared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong vnto them: for both the Provinces *Laodicea* and *Libanica*, are betweene *Epiphania* and any part of the holy Land: and therefore *Emath* ſo taken could not be a part of *Neptali*, as in the thirtieth of *Ieſus* is directly proſed. For *Ieſus* counting the lands that remained vnpoſſeſt, reckoneth all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sunne-rising, from *Baalged* vnder mount *Hermon*, vntill we come to *Hamath*. And this reaſon (among others) is vied, that *Emath* was not in *Neptalim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Iſrael*: becauſe *Dauid* accepted the preſents of

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2,517 8.9.

Τοῦ

Toba King of Emath, and (therewithall) conditions of peace: which he would not have done, if that Territorie had ever belonged to the children of *Israel*, but would have recovered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the reit. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight. For if the promise which God made, be considered, as it is written in *Deuteronomie*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, though feared altogether without the bounds of the Land promised, according to the description of *Moſes*: and *Iofa*: for *Emath* is indecde ſituate on the o- ther ſide of the Mountayne of *Hermos*, which ioyneth to *Libanus*: and is otherwiſe called *Iurea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Iofa* the 19. v. 35. and written in the
10 *Latine* conuerſion *Emath*, therein (ſaith *Beroaldus*) was *S. Hierome* miſtaken. *Emath* or *Iurea* is that ouer the Mountaynes, and the Citie in *Nephtalim* ſhould be written *Hamath*: and ſo the *Septuagint* (vnderſtanding the difference) writ it *Amath* and not *Emath*, the ſame which indecde belonged to the *Nephtalims*, feared on the South ſide of *Libanus*, to the Eaſt of *Aſſedim*: which Citie *S. Hierome* writes *Emath*; *Iofephus*, *Hamath*; others, *Emathin*, or *Amatheos*; and the people *Amathin*; of which (as I take it) *Rabſſach* vaunted in the ſecond of *KINGS*: Where is the god of *Hamath*? cap. 18. v. 24. cap. 18. v. 29.

♂. XIII.

20 *Of the sonnes of CHUS (excepting NIMROD) of whom hereafter.*

The sonnes of *Chus* were, {
Seba,
Havila,
Saba,
Raama,
Sabieca,
Nimrod.
} And the sonnes of *Raama* were, {
Sheba,
and
Dedan.
}

†. I.

*That the most of the Sonnes of CHUSH were seated in Arabia the Happy:
and of the Sabaeans that robbed IOB: and of the Queene
that came to SALOMON.*

SEBA was the eldest fonne of *Chus*, the eldest fonne of *Han*, to make a difference betwene Him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the fonne of his brother *Raama*, or *Regma* (or *Ragma* after *Montanus*) his name is written with a fingle *(S)* *Samech*, and *Sheba* the fonne of *Regma* with an *(S)* *alephete*, which is the Hebrew *Schin*. *Seba* the eldest fonne of *Chus*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the fonne of *Regma* posselt both the fhores of *Arabia Felix*. *Saba* tooke that part toward the Red Sea, as neerest his Father *Chus*, and the Land of the *Chusites*: *Regma* and *Sheba* the East coast of the fame *Arabia*, which looketh into the Gulfe of *Perfus*; of which *P*LINE: *Sabæi Arabum populi propter thura clarissimi ad vitas, maria porrecti gentibus habitant*; The *Sabæan* people of *Arabia*, famous for their Frankincense, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas, (to wit) the *Perfian*, and the *Arabian*, or Red Sea. This Countrey was afterwards called *Arabia*, & *populi mixtionē*, faith *Pollusius*. To this agreeeth *Ptoleme*, who setteth the Citie of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or Red Sea, and the Citie *Rhegama* towards the *Perfian*, with whom also we may leave *Saba* for so much *Montanus* gatheredeth out of *Ptoleme*, because he remembereth a Nation (called *Stabæi*) neere the *Perfian* Sea; and *Massabathe* which defended the same. But *Montanus* hath sent *Regma*, or (as he calls him *Rabma*) into *Carmania*, for which I see no reason. *Iosphus*, who onely attended his owne families, hath banished *Saba* or *Saba* to the border of *Ethiopia*.

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But *Beroaldus* thinks it strange, that the *Sabei*, which stole away *Iob's* Cattle, should runne through all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petrea*, and finde out *Iob* in *Traconitis*, betweene *Palestina* and *Calefyria* 1200. miles off. Now, as this coniecture was more then ridiculous, so doe I thinke, that neither the *Sabei* on the Red Sea, nor those toward the *Persian* Sea, could by any meanes execute the stealth upon *Iob*, which sooner *Beroaldus* shall take for necesse. But these were the *Sabei* of *Arabia* the *Desart*, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his owne experience, that the Citie *Saba* is seated: the fame which *Ptoleme* calls *Saua*, now *Semiscasae*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia* the *Desart*, came those *Magi* or *Wise-men* which worshipped *Christ*, faith *Melchior*, whose wordes are these: *The Magi came neither out of Mesopotamia (as 10* *Chrysostome, Hierome, and Ambrose supposed) nor out of Arabia the Happie, as many wise men doe beleue, but out of Saba in Arabia the Desart: which Cite when my selfe was there, was (as I indged it) called Semiscasae.* And to approue this opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that these *Sabei* were neighbours to *Iob*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (I will those on the *Persian* Sea, as those on the Red Sea) are so disioyned with large *Desarts*, as there is no possibilitie for strangers to passe them, especially with any numbers of Cattle, both in respect of the mountaines, of the sands, and of the extreme want of water in those parts: *Vbi nec homines, nec bestia videntur, nec aues, in d. nec a bores, nec germen aliquod, sed non nisi montes saxosi, altissimi, asperissimi; Where there are found neither men, nor beasts, no not so much as birds, 20* *altrissimi, asperissimi; Where there are found neither men, nor beasts, no not so much as birds, or trees, nor any pasture or grasse, but only sharpe, and high stonie, and craggie mountaines.* *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* conceiue, that the Queene of *Saba* which came to visite *Salomon*, was of the *Sabei* on the East side of *Arabia Felix*; but the contrarie seemeth more probable, and that shee was Queene of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Salomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petrea*, twixt *Idumaea* and the Red Sea, as farre downe as *Adisan* or *Maadian*, and *Ezion Gaber*: and this Queene of *Saba* which inhabited the West part of *Arabia Felix*, being his neighbour, might without any farre trouble enter his Territories, free from all danger of surpris by any other Prince or Nation.

But to avoid tediousnesse, it is manifest that *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Regma*, 30 with his Sonnes *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the possellers of *Arabia* the *Happie*, and the *Desart*: onely *Hauilah* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the East side *Chus*, who held *Arabia Petrea*. Now for *Sabta*, there is found of his name the Citie of *Sabbatha* or *Sabota* in the fame *Arabia*: of which both *Plinie* and *Ptoleme*; who withall nameth *Sabotale*, within the walls whereof there were sometimes found sixtie Temples. *Ezechiel* ioyneeth the Father and the Sonne together, *The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants.* And that they wereth the Eastern *Arabians* their merchandise witnesseth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradise*. For *Iosephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the parent of the *Ethiopiens* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopiens* *Asiabari*, they bee not worthe any farther answer then 40 hath already bene given: especially seeing these Citties preferring the memorie of the names of *Saba*, and of *Sabta* in *Arabia* were yet remaining in *Ptolemies* time, though in some letters changed. As also in the coastes adioyning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of *Chus*, with little alterations are preferred. In *Arabia* the *Desart* is found the Citie *Saba* or *Saua*, (now *Semiscasae*) with the Citie of *Rhegma* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Ptoleme* himselfe called *Rabeni* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the *Happie* is found the Citie of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*; which also keepeth the sound of *Rhegma*, the Citie of *Saptha* or *Saptah*, not far from the East coast of *Arabia*: as also the *Metropolis* and chiefe Citie in the body of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*; and to the West of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea the great Citie of *Saba*; and the Nation adioyning, *Sabei*: & to the South thereof againe toward the freight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Saba*. To all these his Brothers and Nephewes which were seated on the East side of *Arabia*, *Hauilah* by the passage of *Tigris* was a neighbour, to whom he might passe by Bore 50 euen

Plin. l. 13. c. 14.
Ptol. lib. 6. Asie.
Ezech. 27. 22.

euen vnto *Rhegma* the Citie of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, set neere the Riuer of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Persian* Sea, which stood in *Ptolemies* time.

¶ II.

IOSEPHVS his opinion of *DEDAN*, one of the issue of *CHUS* to haue bene seated in the West *Ethiopia*, disproued out of *EZECHIEL*: and
HIEREMIE.

10 **A**ND whereas *Iosephus* (whom in this *S. Hierome* followeth, as not curious herein) sent *Dedan* the sonne of *Raamah* into West *Ethiopia*, it is strange that *Ezechiel* should couple *Sheba*, *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15. Verse, and *Sheba*, and *Raamah* in the 22. Verses to be the Merchants of *Tyre*; if *Dedan* had dwelt in West *Ethiopia*, which is distant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his father and brother) about 4000. miles. Besides which the merchandise that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked Black-mores. For they of *Dedan* (faith *Ezechiel*) were thy Merchants in precious clothes for thy Chariots; and these Western *Ethiopiens* neuer saw cloth, till the *Portugals* seeking those Coastes traded with them: the merchandise of the Countie being Hides, Elephants teeth, some 20 Gold and Amber, Ciuer Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all these they exchanged for linnen, or yron chieflie.

But in those dayes the West part of *Africa* within the body of the land was known onely by imagination: and, being vnder the burnt Zone was held vninhabitable. And therefore that the *Negros* of the West *Ethiopia*, which inhabite about *Serra* *Liona*, or *Niger*, could either passe by Sea or Land to *Tyre* in the bottome of the *Mediterranean* Sea, was a strange, or rather a foolish fancie. Now to put it out of dispute that *Dedan* also dwelt by the rest of the children of *Chus*, which feates they held by that name in the time of *Hieremie* the Prophet, let vs heare *Hieremie* his owne words: *Hee, yee Inhabitants of Dedan, for I haue brought the destruction of Esau upon him.* 30 Hereby it appeareth that *Dedan* was a Neighbour to the *Idumeans*: and *Idumaea* is a Prouince of *Arabia Petrea*: and *Dedan* which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia Felix*, ioyne'd in that part to *Petrea*, the seat of his Grand-father *Chus*; which neighbourhood and fellowship of *Dedan* and the *Idumeans*, is also confirmed by *Ezechiel*: *Ezech. cap. 35. I will stretch out mine hand vpon Edom, and destroy Man and Beast out of it, and I will make it desolate from Teman: and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword.* ver. 13.

¶ XIII.

of the issue of *MIZRAIM*: and of the place of *HIEREMIE*,
Chap. 9. Vers. 7.



FTER *Chus* it followeth to speake of *Mizraims* sonnes, whose names (faith Saint *Augustine*) were plurall, to signifie the Nations, which came of them. *Ludim*, the eldest sonne of *Mizraim*, was the father of the *Lybians* in *Africa*: and the rest of his brothers disperfed themselves into all Regions adioyning. Among the sonnes of *Shem* there is also *Lud*; but he is differenced from *Lud* the sonne of *Mizraim* by the singular number: the sonne of *Shem* being written *Lud*, the sonne of *Mizraim*, *Ludim*: and yet these Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference 50 both of Names and Nations. For that *Ludim* the sonne of *Mizraim* was the parent of the *Lybians* in *Africa*, and that he was seated not farre from *Mizraim* his father, appeareth by the Prophet *Hieremie*, who ioyneeth them in this fort together: *Come vp ye Horses, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Black-moors, and the Lybians which beare the shield:* for those Nations assisted the *Egyptians* being of one

The termination in in the Hebrew, is commonly a signe of the plural number, as also of the dual.

cap. 46. ver. 9.

one parent defended. And in *Ezechiel*, *Phus* and *Lud* are ioyned together. *Ethiopia* (or *Chus*) saith *Ezechiel* c. 30. v. 3. And *Phut* and *Lyd*, and all the common people, and the men of the *Land* that are in league (shall fall with them by the sword : as it is much to say, as the fonnnes of *Chus*) (which were the *Chusites*) the fonnnes of *Afrazaim*, which were the *Egyptians* and the *Lybians* (defended of his fonne *Lud*) with other the inhabitants of *Egypt* and *Africa* shall fall together. *Hieroglymitanus* findes also in *Africa* a Nation of the *Lydians*. And I beleue it: because *Hieronymus* ioyneth the *Lybians* and *Lydians* together in the place before remembred. But *Lybia* in *Africa* is by the *Hebrewes* called *Ludim* (saith *Arias Montanus*) though *2.Chron.* 12.3. they seeme to be called *Lubim* or *Lubei*, a name somewhat neerer the word *Lybie*, and by which it may seeme that the truer writing is, not *Lybie*, but *Lybies*. Neither is it here to be omitted, that *Pintus* (vpon the thirtieth of *Ezechiel*) vnderstandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of *Lud*, not to be meane of the *Lybians* at all : for he will haue this threatening to be meane againt the people of *Lydia*, a Citie (saith he) betwene *Egypt* and *Palestina*, which opinion I could not mislike if the Citie of *Lyda* were so leated. But *Lyda* (which should be written *Lydda* with a double D, and is the same Citie which was afterward *Diaspolis*, in which *S.Petr* cured *Aenes* of the palsey; standeth neere the Torrent *Gaza*, not farre from *Joppe* the Port of *Hiera/Alem*. Yet it is not impossible but that this Citie might haue *Lud* for the Founder. For there are many Cities of one name founded in all the Regions of the World, and farre asunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus*, many Cities called *Alexandria*, *Seleucia*, and *Antiochia*, so of diuers others. *S. Hierome* maketh *Lebanim* to be the Father of *Lilya*, who was the third fonne of *Afrazaim*: and so doth *Poellius*; and either opinion may be true.

The rest of *Mizraims* Sonnes haue no proper Countries given them in the Scriptures, saving *Cassabim* and *Caphthorim*, of whom came the *Philistims*, whom the Scriptures call *Peleset*.

These *Cassibim* inhabited *Cassotis*, a Region lying in the entrance of *Aegypt* from *Palestina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis*, and the Mountayne *Cassius* are found: not farre from whence *Pompey* was buried.

from whence Pompey was buried. *Capthorim* called neere *Caslabim* in that Tract of *Egypt* called *Sethbrois*, not farre from *Pelufum*. *Strabo* calls it *Sethbrois*; *Stephanus* and *Plinie*, *Sethbrois*, of the Cite *Sethron*: whome *Orelus* takes to be the same which *Ptoleme* calls *Hercules parva*. Of the *Caslabim* and *Capthorim* came the *Philistims*, which are called by the *Septuaginta* *Apholyti* (which is) *Alienigena*, Strangers, or of a frange kindred. These *Philistims* inhabited the South part of the holy Land towards *Egypt*, of whom *Psallina* tooke name. For the *Hebrewes* (saith *Iffidore*) doe not vnder the letter (P) but in read of it (ph). Their principall Cities were *Gaza*, *Afalon*, *Azotus*, *Gerth*, and *Accaron*: and the people of them called *Gasai*, *Afalomatici*, *Azotij*, *Gebei*, and *Accaronites*. *Iffidore* affirms, that *Afalon* was first called *Philistim*: and of that Cite the Countrie adioyning. But where *Iffidore* had it, I know not.

The first known King of the *Philistims* was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abrahams* wife; with whom *Abraham* made a covenant and league. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeed at this time in *Gerar*; but it is written that he was also King of the *Philistims*, in these wordes: *Wherefore ISAAC went to ABIMELECH King of the Philistims unto Gerar*. Now in regard that this or some ancient *Abimelech* governed the commonwealth greatly to his glorie, the rest of his successors called themselves by the same name. The *Philistims* commanded that Traict of land upon the *Mediterranean* Sea to the Northward, from the Caffe of *Pilgrims* (otherwise *Casarea Palestina*, or *Stratons* Towre) which was the South-border of *Phenicia*, to *Gaza*, or to the River of *Egypt*. The *Anakims* or strong Gyants were of these *Philistims*: and *Goliath* was of *Geth* one of the five Cities above named. They had sometimes five Kings, kept *Lyrans*. They mastered the *Israelites* at severall times above 150. yeeres, and seized their Tributaries, till they were weakened by *Sampson* and *Samuel*, but in

in the end this yoke was taken off by *David*, and laid on themselves.

It is objected, that because these Cities and the Countries adjoining, were held by the Ionnes of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Israelites* dispossesse the Ionnes of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing those places.

To this faith *Pererius*, that although the *Palestines* or *Philistims* held it in the time of *Iefus*, yet at the time of the promise it was posselt by the *Canaanites*; as in the second of *Deuteronomi*. The *Heuteis* dwelt in the Villages vnto *Gaza*. And what maruaile, if (the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the *Philistims* were of *Caphor*, and so of *Mizraim* and not of *Canaan*, beides *Mofes* the Prophet *Heremie* witnesleth: *The Lord will destroy the Philistims, the remnant of the issue of Caphor*; and in like manner in the ninth of *Amos*, the *Philistims* are said to beeth reliques of *Caphorims*; *Have not I brought up ISRAEL out of the Land of Egypt, and the Philistims from Caphor*, and *ARAM* from *Kir*? So I reade this place with diuers of the learned. For whereas the *Vulgar* hath, & *Palestines* of *Cappadocia*, & *Syros* of *Cyrene*, this conuerfion *Berosius* condemneth; where *Caphor* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a Citie directly Welt from *Egypt*, betweene *Ptolemus* or *Bace* and *Apollonia*; but *Kir* in *Afia* vnder the *Alfyrians*: *Iustus* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*; and so hath the *Geneua*. But *Pererius* calls *Caphorim* *Cappadocia*, according to the *Vulgar* translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he meane *Cappadocia* in *Palestina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the Sea Pontus in the North of *Afia* the lesse. For whether they inhabited *Sethreites*, or *Cappadocin* of *Palestina*, it is not certainly knowne. And sure in this manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, as well as he doth *Cyrene*: taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Affica*, but for a place in *Media*. For it is written in the second of *King*, that *Teglatphalaser* King of the *Affyrians* carried away the Inhabitants of *Daniasus* into *Kir*; and so *Iofephus* seemes to vnderland this *Kir*, for *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene*, *Media superior*: for it was the manner and policie of the *Affyrians* to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Israelites*, and other Nations. And hereof it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-Media*: because the *Syrians* by the *Affyrians* were therein captiued.

♂. X V.

Of the issue of S E M.

†. I.

of ELAM, ASSUR, ARPHAXAD, and LYD.

It remayneth lastly to speake of the Sonnes of *Sem*; who were these:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Ashur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

50 **H**e posteritie of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from
 them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Storie of the
Hebrewes: For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.

Of these five sonnes the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the children of him and *Aram*, the rest

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are barely spoken of by rehearsal of their names, sauing that it may be gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found *Ninive*) was also said to be the Father of the *Assyrians*, whose issues, and the issues of *Cham*, infantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the *Assyrians*; sometimes the *Babylonians* obeyed, according to the vertue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth vs, that all the East parts of the World were peopled by *Assur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (sauiug *India*) which I beleuee *Noah* himselfe first inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Hauilah* the sonnes of *Isack* afterward repayed. *Hij filij Sem ab Euphrate flauio partem Asia usq; ad Oceanum Indicum tenuerunt*; These sonnes of *SEM* (saith *S. Hierome*) held all those Regions from Euphrates to the Indian Ocean.

10^{of Ant. l. 6. c. 7.}

Of *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembered *Acts* 2. vers. 9. and the Princes of *Persia*; which namethen began to be out of vse and lost, when the *Persians* became Masters of *Babylonia*: the East Monarchie being established in them. Some prophane Writers distinguish *Elam* from *Persia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Susa* (which the Scriptures call *Susan*) in *Elam* was the Kings seat of *Persia* (witnesseth *Daniel*). And I saw (saith he) in a vision, and when I saw it, I was in the Palace of *Susan*, which is in the Province of *Elam*. This Citie is embraced by the River *Euleus* (according to *Ptoleme*) in *Daniel*, *Plai*; and seated in the border of *Susiana*.

cap. 8. vers. 2.

Phil. 4. 3. 1. 6. Dan. 8. 2.

Assur (as most Historians beleuee) the second sonne of *Sem*, was Father of the *Assyrians*, who disdayning the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Ninive*, 20 of equall beautie and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disprove that opinion. Euery mans hand hath bene in this Storie, and therefore I shall not neede herein to speake much: for the *Assyrians* so often invaded and spoyled the *Israelites*, destroyed their Cities, and led them Captiues, as both in Diuine and Humane letters there is large and often mention of this Nation.

But howsoever *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honor this Nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the *Assyrians* of any such power, after such time as *Sardanapalus* lost the Empire. For *Senacherib* who was one of the powerfullst Princes among them, had yet the Mountayne *Taurus* for the vtmost of his Dominion toward the North-east, and *Syria* bounded him toward the West, 30 notwithstanding those vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Esay* the 37. Hence the gods of the Nations deluered them whom my Fathers haue destroyed? as *GOZAN*, and *HARAN*, and *RESEPH*, and the Children of *EDEN* which were at *Telsassar*. Where is the King of *Hamath*, and the King of *Arphad*, and the King of the Citie *Sepharuaim*, *Hens* and *Inab*? All these were indeede but pettie Kings of Cities, and small Countries; as *Harar* in *Mesopotamia*: *Reseph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Itura*, vnder *Libanus*: the Ile of *Eden*: *Sepher*, and others of this sort. Yea, *Nabuchodonosor*, who was most powerfull, before the conquest of *Agypt* had but *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palestina* and *Phenicia* parts thereof. But in this question of *Assur*, I will speake my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whose plantation I haue omitted among 40 the rest of the *Chusites*, because he established the first Empire: from whom the most memorable storie of the World taketh beginning.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldeans*, saith *S. Hierome*, and *Iosephus*, but it must be those *Chaldeans* about *Ur*: for the sonnes of *Cham* posselt the rest. It is true that he was the Father of the *Hebreues*: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*; and *Shela*, *Heber*; of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth Sonne of *Shem*, gaue name to the *Lydians* in *Asia* the lesse, is the common opinion, taken from *Iosephus* and *S. Hierome*; but I see not by what reason he was moued to straggle thither from his friends.

†. II.

†. II.

Of ARAM, and his Sonnes.

ARAM the fifth and last Sonne of *Shem* was the parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damasus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (sayth *Eusebius* out of *Iosephus*) which *Syrus* liued before *Moses* was borne; the same which others call the sonne of *Apollo*. *Mesopotamia* also being but a Province of *Syria* had the name of *Aram* *Nabariym*, which is as much to say, as *Syria duorum flumium*, *Syria* compassed with two Riues: (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*: and the Greekes *Mesopotamia* simply.

Euseb. 7. 2. 8. Euseb. p. 10. 6.

Arise and get thee to *Padan Aram* (sayth *Isaac* to *Jacob*) to the house of *BETHUEL* thy mothers father, and thence take thee a wife. *Strabo* also remembreth it by the ancient name of *Aram* or *Aramea*, as these his owne words conuerted witnesseth: *Quoniam Syri vocantur, ipsi Syri Armenios & Arames vocant*; These which we call *Syrians* (sayth hee) themselves call *Armenians* and *Arameans*.

Gen. 28. 2. See Gen. 25. 10. Allo Dent. 33. 4. Ind. 3. Ptol. 1. 19. Plal. 59. Strabo 1. 1.

Against this opinion, that *Aram* the sonne of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in generall; (and not only of those in *Syria*, *Inter-amnis*, which is 20 *Mesopotamia*) some reade, *Genes* 22. 21. *Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where other out of the originall read *Kemuel*, the sonne of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconuenience for vs to vnderstand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of some one of note; the rather, because in the Historie of *Abraham* and *Isaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuel*s Posteritie could bee famous) wee find *Mesopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: sometimes with *Nabariym*, and sometimes of *Padan*, to distinguish it from another *Aram*, which (as it seemes) then also was called *Aram*. For whereas *Iunius* thinkes in his note vpon *Genes* 25. 20. that *Padan Aram* ought to bee restrained to some part of *Mesopotamia*, (to wit) to that part which *Ptoleme* calls *Ancobartus* (so called from the River *Chaboras*, which 30 diuiding it runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiscuous vse of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Nabariym* (which latter appellation questionlesse comprehends the whole *Mesopotamia*) may seeme to refute this opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeeth with the whole Region. For it signifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agrees with this Region: because the two Riues, (as it were) yoked together goe along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appeare in the name of two Cities in *Ptoleme*, called *Aphadana*: (as *Iunius* hath well noted) the one vpon *Chaboras*, the other vpon *Euphrates*.

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The Sonnes of Aram were,

Vz or Hus,
Hul,
Gether, and
Mesh or Mes.

Vz or Hus inhabited about *Damasus*, and built that Citie, saith *Iosephus* and *Saint Hierome*. But *Tostatus* mistaking this opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who also followeth *Iosephus*, affirmeth that *Abraham*s Steward *Eliezer* was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that Hus the eldest sonne of *Aram* dwelt neere vnto his father, who inhabited the bodie of *Syria*. For Hus was a Region of the same adioyning to *Arabia* the Desert, and to *Batanea* or *Traconitis*: whereof the Prophet *Hieremie*; 50 Reioyce and be glad O Daughter of *Edom* that dwellest in the Land of Hus. Hus therefore is seated beyond *Jordan*, in the East Region of *Traconitis*, adioyning to *Batana*, hauiug *Batanea* *Gaulonitis*, and the Mountaine *Seir* to the East, *Edrai* to the South, *Damasus* North, and *Jordan* West: hauiug in it many Cities and people, as may also bee gathered out of *Hieremie*: And all sorts of people: and all the Kings of the Land of Hus.

Hieron. in trad. Hebraic.

Hieron. Lam. 1. cap. 4. vers. 1.

C. 25. v. 30.

Q. 2

In

In this Region dwelt *Iob*, descended of *Hus*, the sonne of *Nabor*, the brother of *Abraham* (sayth Saint *Hierome*) and married *Dina* the Daughter of *Jacob*, sayth *Philo*.

Hul the second sonne of *Aram*, Saint *Hierome* makes the Father of the *Armenians*; and *Gether* the third sonne, parent to the *Armenians* or *Carians*: which opinion, (because I find not where to set him) I do not disprove, though I see no reason why *Gether* should leave the fellowship of his owne brethren, and dwell among Strangers in *Asia* the lesse. *Iunius* giues *Hul* (whom hee writes *Chul*) the Desart of *Palmirena*, as farreas *Euphrates*, where *Ptolomie* setteth the Citie of *Chole*.

Gether (sayth *Iosephus*) founded the *Bactrians*; but *Iosephus* gaue all *Nubis* children feathers, to carrie them farre away in all haste. For mine owne opinion I alwayes keepe the rule of Neighbour-hood, and thinke with *Iunius*: (to wit) That *Gether* seated himselfe neere his brothers, in the bodie of *Syria*, and in the Prouince of *Cassotis*, and *Selenis*, where *Ptolomie* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Plinie* called *Gindareni*.

Iunius also giueth to *Mes* or *Mesob* the North part of *Syria*, betweene *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, neere the Mountaine *Mafius*. The certaintie of those Plantations can no otherwise be knowne then by this probabilitie, that *Aram* the father (of whom that great Region tooke name) planted his sonnes in the same Land about him: for hee wanted no scope of Territorie for himselfe and them; neither then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred yeeres after: and therefore theris no reason to cast them in the Desart parts of the World, so farre asunder. And as necessitie and policie held them together for a while: so Ambition (which began to gather with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, set them asunder. For although these sonnes of *Aram*, and the sonnes of the rest of *Nashis* children, kept themselves within the bounds of some one large Kingdome; yet therein euery one also fought a Prouince apart, and to themselves giuing to the Cities there-in built their owne names, thereby to leaue their memorie to their Posteritie: the vie of Letters being then rare, and knowne to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many Prouinces: euery one emulating and disdayning the greatnesse of other, as they are thereby to this day subiect to inuasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (*Nova Hispania* and *Peru* excepted, because those Countries are vnaccessable to Strangers) an easie force will cast them out of all the rest.

Mes the fourth sonne made the parent of the *Moonians*: of whom something hath bene spoken already. *Arphaxad* the third sonne of *Shem*, begat *Shelub*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two sonnes, *Phaleg* and *Ischaw*: and in *Phaleg*'s time was the Earth diuided.

Chap. 8. §. 7.

†. III.

Of the diuision of the Earth in the time of *Phaleg*, one of the sonnes of *Heber*, of the issue of *Shem*.

THE many people which at the diuision (at *Phaleg*'s birth) were then liuing, and the through Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were diuided at eyther. The *Hebrewes* (sayth *Pererius* out of *Sedar Holam*, one of their Chronicles) affirme that this partition happened at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was borne in the yeere after the Flood 101. and liued in all 239. yeeres, which numbers added makes 340. And therefore was it so many yeeres after the Flood, ere the children of *Noah* seuered themselves. But so to this opinion of the *Hebrewes*, and the doubt they make, how in so few yeeres as 101. (the time of *Phaleg*'s birth) so many people could be increased, *Pererius* giues this answer, that if 70. persons of the Family of *Jacob* increased to 600000. fighting men in 215. yeeres, (besides women, children, and impotent persons) how much more

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more is it likely, that so soone after the Flood the children of *Noah* might in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes, hauing receiued the blessing of God, *increase and multiply, and fill the Earth*? What strength this answer hath, let others iudge: for the children of *Israel* were 70. and had 215. yeeres time: and the sonnes of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. yeeres of time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceiue that *Phaleg* tooke that name after the diuision, in memorie thereof: as *Iosephus* and Saint *Augustine*, who reason in this manner. If the diuision were at *Phaleg*'s death (which happened in the yeere, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was by more likely computation 12. yeeres before his birth) then was the diuision 38. yeeres after *Ninus*, who gouerned 52. yeeres in the 43. yeere of whose raigne *Abraham* was borne. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Assyrians*, 80. yeeres before this diuision (as this diuision is placed by the *Hebrewes*, *Hierome* and *Chrysostome*) then was the earth so peopled in all the East and Northerne parts, as greater numbers haue not bene found at any time since. For *Ninus* associating to himselfe *Arius* King of *Arabia*, a people who at that time (sayth *Diod. Siculus*) *plurimum opibus atq; armis prestant*, Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men, subdued many Cities in *Armenia*; receiued *Babylon* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his Wife and seuen Children; vanquished all those Regions betweene *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Aegyptians*, *Phenicians*, the Kingdomes of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Persia*, to the *Hyrcanian* Sea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (alreadie remembered out of *Ctesias*) against *Zoroaster* and others: and *Zoroaster* on the other side, who made resistance with foure hundred thousand, prouoe it sufficiently, that if the diuision had not happened before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no diuision at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions, as they fought to be Masters of all, and greater Armies were there neuer gathered then by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit that if the diuision had bene made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then sufficient numbers borne to fill the earth: It was neuer meant that the earth could be filled euery where at the instant, but by times and degrees: And surely whatsoeuer mens opinions haue bene herein, yet it is certaine, that the diuision of tongues and of men must goe neere together with the ceasing of the worke at *Babel*: and that the enterprize of *Babel* was left off instantly vpon the confusion of Languages, where followed the execution of the diuision; and so neyther at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was borne in the yeere 101. after the Flood, which was the yeere that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or 10. yeeres after hee arrived, sayth *Berosus*.

Now if it bee objected that *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whose name signifieth diuision) must haue liued without a name, except the name had bene giuen him at the time of this confusion and partition: to this objection it may be answered, That the change of names vpon diuers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for *Jacob* was called *Israel* after he had wrestled with the Angell; *Abraham* was first *Abram*; and *Eodem Esau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principall man in this diuision had his first name vpon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the *Hebrewes*, Saint *Hierome* and *Chrysostome* account *Heber* a great Prophet, if that by giuing his sonne the name of *Phaleg*, hee foretold the diuision which followed: to this I say, I do not find that *Heber* deserved any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his sonne: for diuision and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessitie; and this Prophesie (if any such had bene) might also haue reference to the diuision, which afterwards fell among the *Hebrewes* themselves.

But if we giue a reasonable time to the building of the Towre and Citie of *Babel*, by which time many people (by reason and by demonstratiue prooue) might be increased: and that vpon the fall thereof the confusion and diuision followed (where-

Q 3

vpon

*Ioseph. l. 1. Ant.
August. ciuit.
Dn. l. 16. c. 11.*

*Pererius in Gen. li.
15. c. 10.*

vpon Phaleg tooke name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

†. IIII.

Of the sonnes of IOCTAN, the other sonne
of HEBER.

1. Elmedad.
2. Saleph, or Seleph, or Sheleph.
3. Asamath, or Chatzar.
4. Iere, or Ierabb, or Ierath.
5. Hadoram.
6. Vzal, or Vzal.
7. Dicklach, or Dicla.
8. Obal, or Ebal, or Hobal.
9. Abimael.
10. Sheba, or Seba.
11. Ophir, or Opir.
12. Haulah, or Chauila, and
13. Jobab.

The sonnes of Ioctan were

ALL those sonnes of Ioctan (according to Saint Hierome) dwelled in the East parts of the World, or India, euen from the Riuer Cophe or Chous, which is one of the branches or heads of Indus.

But the certaine places of those thirteene Sonnes cannot bee gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of Moses being generall. And their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest vnto Sephar a Mount in the East. Of all these thirteene Sonnes, there were only three memorable, (to wit) Sheba, Ophir, and Haulah. Concerning whose names, to auoide confusion it is to be obserued, that among the Sonnes of Chush, two of them had also the names of Seba and Haulah. Abraham had also a third Saba, his grand-child by his wife Ketura. But Seba the sonne of Chush, and Sheba the sonne of Rhexma his Nephew, wee haue left in Arabia Felix: and Haulah the sonne of Chush vpon Tigris. Saba the grand-child of Abraham was (as some haue thought) the Father of the Sabaens in Persia: of which Nations Dionysius de Orbis situ, maketh mention. Primum Sabai; post hoc sunt Passagardae; prope verò hos sunt Tasci. The first are Sabaens: after these be Passagardae; and neere these be Tasci. And whereas it is written: But vnto the Sonnes of the Concubines which ABRAHAM had, ABRAHAM gave gifts, and sent them away from ISAAC his sonne (while hee yet liued) Eastward to the East-Country: hereupon it is supposed, that this Saba the sonne of Abraham wandered into Persia: for Persia was accounted the furthestmost East-Country in respect of India; which also Ouid setteth vnder the Sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of Abraham's sonnes seated themselves on the borders of India, I rather choose to leaue Saba the sonne of Abraham in Arabia the Desert, where Ptolomie setteth a Citie of that name.

But Saba the sonne of Ioctan, the sonne of Heber, (as I conceiue) inhabited India itselfe. For Dionysius Afer in his Periegesis, (or description of the World) which he wrote in Greeke Verse, among the Regions of India findeth a Nation called the Sabai. Taxilus has intermedios habitati Sabaei: In the middle of these dwell the Sabai, and so the Taxili, sayth this Dionysius.

†. V.

†. V.

Of OPHIR one of IOCTANS sonnes, and of Peru, and of that
voyage of SALOMON.

OPHIR also was an Inhabitant of the East India, and (as S. Hierome vnderstands it) in one of the Ilands plentifull of gold, which are now knowne by the name of Molucca. Iosephus vnderstands Ophir to be one of those great head-lands in India, which by a generall name are called Cherfoneis, or Peninsula: of which there are two very notorious; Calicut, and Malacca. Ptolemy takes it rightly for an Iland, as Saint Hierome doth, but he sets it at the head-land of Malacca. But Ophir is found among the Moluccas farther East.

Arias Montanus out of the second of Chronicles, the third Chapter and sixt Verse, gathers that Ophir was Peru in America, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called Mare del Sur, or the South Sea; by others Mare pacificum. The wordes in the second of the Chronicles are these: And he overlaid the house with precious stones for beantie; and the gold was gold of Parauim. Ivnivs takes this gold to be the gold of Haulah, remembered by Moses in the description of Paradise: And the gold of that Land is good: finding a Towne in Characene a Province of Susiana called Barbatia; Gen 2.11. & 12. Plin. lib. 6. c. 28. so called (as he thinks) by corruption for Parauim: from whence those Kings subiects by David brought this gold, with which they presented him; and which David preferred for the enriching of the Temple.

But this fancie of Peru hath deceived many men, before Montanus, and Plesir, who also tooke Ophir for Peru. And that this question may be a subject of no farther dispute; it is very true, that there is no Region in the World of that name: sure I am that at least America hath none, no not any Citie, Village, or Mountayne so called. But when Francis Pizarro first discovered those Lands to the South of Panama, arriving in that Region which Atabaliba commanded (a Prince of magnificence, Riches and Dominion inferior to none) some of the Spaniards vnto the ignorance of that language, demanding by signes (as they could) the name of the Countrey, and pointing with their hand athwart a Riuer, or Torrent, or Brooke that ranne by, the Indians answered Peru, which was either the name of that Brooke, or of water in generall. The Spaniards thereupon conceiuing that the people had rightly vnderstood them, set it downe in the Diurnall of their enterprise, and so in the first description made, and sent ouer to Charles the Emperour, all that West part of America to the South of Panama had the name of Peru, which hath continued euer since as diuers Spaniards in the Indies assured me; which also Acosta the Iesuite in his naturall and morall Historie of the Indies confirmeth. And whereas Montanus also findeth, that a part of the Indies (called Incastin) tooke that name of Ioctan, who as he supposed navigated from the vtmost East of India to America: it is most true, that Incastan is nothing else in the language of that Countrey, but (What is this) or (What say you?) For when the Spaniards asked the name of that place (no man conceiuing their meaning) one of the Saluages answered Incastan (which is) What aske you, or what say you? The like hapned touching Paria, a mountaynous Countrey on the South side of Trinidad and Margotia: for when the Spaniards inquiring (as all men doe) the names of those new Regions which they discovered, pointed to the Hills as farre off, one of the people answered, Paria, which is as much to say; as high Hills or Mountaynes. For at Paria begins that maruailous ledge of Mountaynes, which from thence are continued to the Strait of Magellan: from eight degrees of North latitude to 52. of South; and so hath that Countrey euer since retayned the name of Paria.

The same hapned among the English, which I sent vnder Sir Richard Greenenile to inhabit Virginia. For when some of my people asked the name of that Countrey, one of the Saluages answered, Wingandacon, which is as much to say, as, You were good.

good clothes, or gay clothes. The same hapned to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the Island *Trinidad*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that selfe place which the Sea incompassed, they answered, *Caer*, which signifieth an Island. And in this manner haue many places newly discovered bene intitled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we must leaue *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabout such an Island is credibly affirmed to be.

Now although there may be found gold in *Arabia* it selfe (towards *Persia*) in *Hanilah*, now *Sassana*, and all along that East *Indian* shore; yet the greatest plentie is taken vp at the *Philippines*, certayne Islands planted by the *Spaniards*, from the West *India*. And by the length of the passage which *Salomons* ships made from the Red Sea, (which was three yeeres in going and coming) it seemeth they went to the uttermost East, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeede these that now goe from *Portugall*, or from hence, finish that navigation in two yeere, and sometimes lesse: and *Salomons* ships went not about a tenth part of this our course from hence. But we must consider, that they euermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the vse of the Compasse was knowne, it was impossible to navigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore *Salomons* ships could not finde *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull for the *Spaniards* themselves (had it not bene for the plentie of gold in the East *India* Islands, farre about the mines of any one place of *America*) to saile euery yeere from the West part of *America* thither, and there to haue strongly planted, and inhabited the richest of those Islands: wherein they haue built a Citie called *Manila*. *Salomon* therefore needed not to haue gone farther off then *Ophir* in the East, to haue sped worse: neither could he navigate from the East to the West in those dayes, whereas he had no coast to haue guided him.

Flaccus, lib. 6.
Diod. Sicul. l. 26.

To *Strabo* also gathereth a fantastick opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Countrey, whose Mountaynes of gold are kept by *Griffins*: which Mountaynes *Solinus* affirmeth to be in *Scythia Asiatica*, in these wordes: *Nam cum aura & gemmis affluant, Griphes tenent vniuersa, distes ferocissima, Arimaspi cum his dimicant, &c.* For whereas these Countreys abound in gold, and rich stone, the *Griffins* defend the one and the other: a kinde of Fowle the fiercest of all other; with which *Griffins* a Nation of people called *Arimaspi* make warre. These *Arimaspi* are said to haue been men with one eye only, like vnto the *Cyclopes* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclopes*, *Herodotus* and *Aristotle* make mention: and so doth *Lucan* in his third Booke: and *Valerius Flaccus*: and *D. Siculus* in the storie of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine owne opinion) I beleue none of them. And for these *Arimaspi*, I take it that this name signifying One-eyed, was first giuen them by reason that they vsed to weare a vizard of defence, with one sight in them by middle to serue both eyes; and not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Solinus* borroweth these things out of *Plinie*, who speakes of such a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called *Gysitram*, or the Cape of the Northeast winde. For the rest, as all fables were commonly grounded vpon some true stories or other things done: so might these tales of the *Griffins* receiue this Morall. That if those men which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of halfe their eye-sight (at least of the eye of right reason and vnderstanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not subiect themselves to famine, corrupt aire, violent heate, and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And though this fable be fayned in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the World, where wild Beasts or Serpents defend Mountaines of gold, it might be auowed. For there are in many places of the world, especially in *America*, many high and so impassable Mountaynes which are very rich and full of gold, inhabited only with Tygres, Lyons, and other rauenous and cruell beasts: into which if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to finde the same warre, which the *Arimaspi* make against the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any sense of gold,

gold, or seeke to defend that metall, but being disquieted, or made afraide of themselves or their yong-ones, they grow irraged and aduenturous. In like sort it may be said that the *Alegarios*, (which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodyles*) defend those Pearles which lye in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poore *Indians* are eaten vp by them, when they die for the pearle. And though the *Alegarios* know not the pearle, yet they finde fauour in the flesh and bloud of the *Indians*, whom they deuoure.

†. VI.

Of *HAVILAH* the sonne of *IOCTAN*, who also passed into the East Indies: and of *MESHA* and *SEPHAR* named in the bordering of the Families of *IOCTAN*: with a Conclusion of this discourse touching the plantation of the World.

OF *Havilah* the sonne of *Ioctan*, there is nothing else to be said, but that the generall opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East India in the Continent, from which *Ophir* passeth into the Lands adioyning. And whereas *Ganges* is said to water *Havilah*, it is meant by *Havilah* in the East India, which tooke name of *Havilah* the sonne of *Ioctan*: but *Havilah*, which *Pisbon* compasseth, was so called of *Havilah*, the sonne of *Chush*, as is formerly proued by this place of Scripture: *SAVE* (smote the) *Amalekites* from *Havilah*, as thou comest to *Shur*, which is before *Egypt*. But that *Sau* cuer made Warre in the East India, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteene sonnes of *Ioctan*, these three, *Saba*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*; though at the first seated by their brethren about the hill *Mafius* or *Mesb*, *Gen.* 10. 30 (to wit) betwene *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*; yet at length either themselves or their issues remoued into East India, leauing the other Families of *Ioctan*, to fill the Countreys of their first plantation, which the Scripture defines to haue bene from *Mesb* vnto *Sephar*. And although *S. Hierome* take *Mesb* to be a Region of the East India, and *Sephar* a Mountaine of the same (which Mountaine, *Apollonius* would haue to be the *Andes* in *America*) those fancies are farre beyond my vnderstanding. For the word (*Eysb*) in the Scriptures, wher it hath reference to *Iudea*, is neuer farther extended then into *Persia*. But *Mesb* is that part of the Mountaynes of *Mafius* in the North of *Mesopotamia*, out of which the Riuier *Chaboras* springeth which runneth by *Charran*: and in the same Region we also finde for *Sephar* (remembered by *Moses*) *Sipphara* by *Ptoleme*, standing to the East of the Mountaynes *Mafius*; from whence *Ioctan* hauing many sonnes, some of them might passe into *India*, hearing of the beaurie and riches thereof. But this was in procelle of time.

The other falshood of planting I vnderstand not, being grounded but vpon mens 40 imaginations, contrarie to reason and possibilitie. And that this Mountaine in the East was no farther off then in those Regions before remembered, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is vsed: as in *Numbers* 23. *BA. Perst. LAC* the King of *Moab* hath brought me from *Aram*, out of the Mountaine of the East; which was from the East part of *Mesopotamia*. For *Balaam* brought *Balaam* out of *Mesopotamia*, (witnesseth this place of *DEUTERONOMIE*) Because they hyred *Balaam* the sonne of *Beor*, of *Pethor* in *Aram Nabarajim*, to curse thee: for *Aram Nabarajim* was *Syria fluniorum*, which is *Mesopotamia*, as aforesaid.

This plantation of the World after the flood doth best agree (as to me it seemes) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these be the reports of 50 Reason and probable coniecture; the Guides which I haue followed herein, and which I haue chosen to goe after, making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their owne fancies, be they ancient or moderne. Neither haue I any end herein, priuate, or publike, other then the discouerie of truth. For as the partialitie of man to himselfe hath disguised all things: so the factious and hireling Historians of

of all Ages (especially of these latter times) haue by their many Volumes of vntre reports left *Honor* without a Monument, and *Virtue* without *Memorie*: and (in stead thereof) haue erected *Statues* and *Trophies* to those, whom the darkeſt forgetfulneſſe ought to haue buried, and couered ouer for euermore. And although the length and diſſolving Nature of Time, hath worne out or changed the Names and memorie of the Worlds firſt planters after the flood (I meane the greateſt number and moſt part of them) yet all the foot-ſteps of Antiquitie (as appeares by that which hath bene ſpoken) are not quite worne out nor ouer-growne: for *Babylon* hath to this day the found of *Babel*; *Phenicia* hath *Zidon*, to which Citie the eldeſt Sonne of *Canaan* gaue name; ſo hath *Cilicia* *Thaſis*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hibernians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumeans*, *Libyans*, *Moores*, and other Nations, haue preſerued from the death of forgetfulneſſe ſome ſignes of their firſt Founders and true Parents.

CHAP. IX.

Of the beginning and eſta bliſhing of
Gouernement.

20

§. I.

Of the proceeding from the firſt Gouernement vnder the eldeſt of Families to Regall, and from Regall abſolute, to Regall tempered with Lawes.



T followeth now to entreate how the World beganne³⁰ to receiue Rule and Gouernement, which (while it had ſcarcitie of People) vnder-went no other Dominion then Paternitic and Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldeſt of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (*Elder*) was alwayes vſed both for the Magiſtrate, & for thoſe of Age and Grauitie: the ſame bearing one ſignification almoſt in all languages. For in the eleuenth of *Numbers* God commanded *Moses* to gather together⁴⁰ 70. of the Elders of the people, and Gouernours ouer them: the *Hebrew* bearing the ſame ſenſe, which the *Latine* word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Sysanna*, *Then the Aſſembly beleued them as thoſe that were the Elders and Iudges of the People*. And ſo in the words of thoſe falſe Iudges and witrneſſes to *Daniel*, *Shew it vnto vs, ſeeing God hath giuen thee the office of an Elder*. *Demosthenes* vſeth the ſame word for the Magiſtrate among the *Gracians*. *Cicero* in *Cato* giueth two other reaſons for this appellation: *Apud Lacedaemonios qui ampliffimum Magiſtratum gerunt, ut ſunt, ſic etiam appellantur Senes*; Among the *Lacedaemonians* the chiefe Magiſtrates, as they are, ſo are they called Eldermen: and againe, *Ratio & prudentia niſi eſſent in ſenibus, non ſummum Concilium Maiores noſtri appellaffent Senatum*; If reaſon and aduiſement were not in old men, our Anceſters had neuer called the higheſt Councell by the name of a Senate. But though theſe reaſons may well be giuen, yet we doubt not but in this name of (*Elders*) for Gouernours or Counſailers of State,⁵⁰ there is a ſigne that the firſt Gouernours were the Fathers of Families; and vnder them

them the eldest Sonnes. And from thence did the French, Italian, and Spaniard take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seignourie*) for Lordship and Dominion: signifying (according to *Loysan*) puissance in proprietic, or proper power. The kinds of this *Seignourie*, *Seneca* makes two: the one, *Potestas aut imperium*; Power or command: the other, *Proprietas aut dominium*; Proprietie or Mastership: the correlative of the one is the subject, of the other the slave. *Ad Cesarem* (saith he) *potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietat*; *Cesar hath power over all, and every man proprietie in his owne*: and againe, *Cesar omnis imperio possidet, singuli dominio*; *Cesar holdeth all in his power, and every man possesseth his owne*. But as men and vice beganne abundantly to increase: so obedience, (the fruit of naturall reuerence, which but from excellent seede felldome ripeneth) being exceedingly overhadowed with pride, and ill examples vterly withered and fell away. And the soft weapons of paternall persuasions (after mankind beganne to neglect and forget the originall and first giuer of life) became in all ouer-weake, either to resist the first inclination of euill, or after 'when it became habituall) to constraime it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided and steered by their owne fancies, and tost to and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the world, while wisdome was seuered from power, and strength from charitie: Necessitie (which bindeth euery nature but the immortall) made both the Wife and Foolish vnderstand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would become farre more miserable then that of beasts, and that a generall flood of confusion would a second time ouerflow them, did they not by a generall obedience to order and dominion prevent it. For the Mightie, who trusted in their owne strengths, found others againe (by interchange of times) more mightie then themselves: the feeble fell vnder the forcible; and the equall from equall receiued equall harmes. In so much that licentious disorder (which seemed to promise a libertie vpon the first acquaintance) proued vpon a better tryall, no lesse perillous then an vniuersall bondage.

*Necessitas est si-
mon iudicium,
& immutabilis
providentia po-
testas.*

These Arguments by Necessitie propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed perswaded all Nations which the Heauens couer, to subiect themselves to a Master, and to Magistracie in some degree. Vnder which Government, as the change (which brought with it lesse euill, then the former mischiefes) was generally pleasing: so time (making all men wise that obserue it) found some imperfection and corrosiue in this cure. And therefore the same Necessitie which inuented, and the same Reason which approoued soueraigne power, bethought it selfe of certaine equall rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundlesse) might also discern her owne limits. For before the inuention of Lawes, private affections in supreme Rulers made their owne fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen: measuring by this yard, and waighing in this ballance both good and euill.

For as wisdome in Eldership preceded the rule of Kings; so the will of Kings fore-went the inuentions of Lawes. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant*; *The people were not gouerned by any other lawes then the willes of Princes*: Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did those mens vertues: value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor those mens vices deforme them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt, Lone sees one while too much, another while starke nothing*. Hence it came to passe, that after a few yeeres (for direction and restraint of Royall power) Lawes were established: and that government which had this mixture of equalitie (holding in an even ballance supreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regall: the other (which had it not) was knowne for Tyrannicall: the one God established in fauour of his people: the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancie of this Regall authoritie, Princes as they were chosen for their virtues only so did they measure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore (saith *Fabius Pictor*) *Principes, quia iusti erant, & religionibus dediti, iure habiti* *De aucto ferule.*
Dij & dicti; *Princes, because they were iust and religious, were rightly accounted and called* *patri.*
Gods.



And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to Reason and Necessitie; yet it was God himselfe that first kindled this light in the mindes of men, whereby they saw that they could not live and be preferred without a Ruler and Conduer: God himselfe by his eternall providence haue ordained Kings; and the law of Nature Leaders, and Rulers over others. For the very Bees haue their Prince; the Deere their Leaders; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their owne safetie. *The most High beareth rule over the Kingdome of Men; and appointeth ouer it whom he will.* By me (saith *Wisdome*, spoken by the Sonne of God) *Kings reigne; By me Princes rule; and it is God* (saith *DANIEL*) *that setteth up Kings; and taketh away Kings; and that this power is giuen from God*, 10 *CHRIST* himselfe witnesseth, speaking to *PILATE*: *Thou couldest haue no power as thou art against me, except it were giuen thee from above*.

It was therefore by a threefold Iustice that the world hath beene gouerned from the beginning, (to wit) by a Iustice naturall: by which the Parents and Elders of families gouerned their Children, and Nephewes, and Families, in which gouernment the Obedience was called naturall Pietie: Again, by a Iustice diuine, drawne from the Lawes and Ordinances of God: and the Obedience hereunto was called Conscience: And lastly, by a Iustice ciuill, begotten by both the former: and the Obedience to this we call Dutie. That by these three thole of the eldest times were commanded: and that the rule in general was Paternal, it is most euident: for *Adam* 20 being Lord over his owne Children, instructed them in the seruice of God his Creator; as we read, *Cain and Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had been taught by their Parent, the Father of mankind.

§. II.

Of the three commendable sorts of Gouernement with their opposites: and of the degrees of humane societie.



What other Policie was exercised, or State founded after such time as 30 mankind was greatly multiplied before the flood, it cannot be certainly knowne, though it seeme by probable coniecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first age: it being possible that many Princes of the *Egyptians* (remembered among their antiquities) were before the general flood; and very likely, that the cruell Oppressions in that Age proceeded from some tyrannie in Gouernement, or from some rougher forme of Rule, then the Paternal.

Berosus ascribeth the rule of the World in those dayes to the Gyants of *Libanus*, who maltred (saith he) all Nations from the Sunne-rising to the Sunne-set. But in the second Age of the World, and after such time as the rule of Eldership fayled, 40 three feuerall sorts of Gouernement were in feuerall times established among men, according to the diuers natures of Places and People.

The first, the most ancient, most generall, and most approued, was the Gouernement of one, ruling by iust Lawes, called *Monarchie*: to which *Tyrannie* is opposed, being also a sole and absolute Rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or obseruation of the Lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magistrate (saith *Aristotle*) is the Keeper of Right and Equitie: and of this condition ought euery Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word: 50 *Judges and Officers shalt thou make thee in thy Cities: And these shall iudge the people with righteous iudgement.*

The second Gouernement is of diuers principall Persons established by order, and ruling by Lawes, called *Aristocracie*, or *Optimum potestas*; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and usurpation of a few great-ones) is opposed: as the *Decemviri*, or *Triumviri*, and the like.

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The third is a State popular, (or Gouernment of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is opposed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent vniuersit ruling of the confused multitude, seditiously swaying the State, contrarie to their owne Lawes and Ordinances. These three kinds of Gouernement are briefly exprest by *Tholofanius*; *Vnus, paucorum, & multorum*, Of one, of few, of many.

Now as touching the beginning and order of policie since the second increase of Mankind, the same grew in this sort: First of all, euery Father, or eldest of the Family, gaue Lawes to his owne issues, and to the people from him and them increased. These as they were multiplied into many Households (man by nature louing societie) 10 ioynted their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latines call *Vici*; of the Greeke *vicus*, which signifieth a House, or of the word (*Via*) because it hath diuers wayes and paths leading to it. And as the first House grew into a Village, so the Village into that which is called *Pagus*, (being a societie of diuers Villages) so called of the Greeke *paidion*, which signifieth a Fountaine: because many people (haueing their habitations not farre asunder) dranke of one Spring or Streame of water. To this word the English Hundreds, or (as some thinke) Shires answereth not vnfitly.

But as men and impetie beganne to gather strength, and as emulation and pride betweene the Races of the one and the other daily increased: so both to defend themselves from outrage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they beganne to ioyne and set together diuers of their Villages, inuironing them first with banks and ditches, and afterwards with wals: which being so compassed were then called *Oppida*; cyther *ab opponendo se hostibus*, Because wals were opposed against Enemies, or *ab opibus*, because thither they gathered their riches for safetie and defence: as also they were called *Vrbes*, *ab orbe*, because when they were to build a Citie, they made a Circle with a Plough (sayth *Varro*) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortifie. And although *Vrbs* and *Civitas* bee often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Vrbs* signified no other then the very wals and buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: so called of *Civis*; and that, *ab eo quod multitudo coit, of coming together*. But all inhabitants within these wals are not properly Citizens, but only such as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the Citie, may by turnes become Officers and Magistrats thereof: the rest goe vnder the name of Subiects, though Citizens by the same generall name of Subiects are also knowne. For euery Citizen is also a subiect, but not euery Subiect a Citizen: perhaps also some Citizen (as the chiefe Magistrate, if hee bee to bee termed one of the Citizens) is no subiect; but of this wee need not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken 10 *Magistro*, from a *Master*, and the word (Master) from the Aduerbe *Magis* (as also *Magisteria*, Precepts of Art) or else from the Greeke word (*Μεγιστος*;) and 40 *of the Greekes* call them *Μεγιστανες*, whom the Latines call *Magnates*, or *Magistratus*.

The office and dutie of euery Magistrate *Aristotle* hath written in few wordes. *Ethic. 1. A Magistrate or Prince (sayth hee) is the keeper of right and equitie; but the same is best taught by Saint Paul, who expresth both the cause efficient, and final, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordained, together with their duties and offices. A Magistrate is the Minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou dost euill, feare: for he beareth not the sword for naught. For hee is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth euill. He also teacheth in the same place; That euery soule ought to be 15 subiect to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained; and that who soeuer resisteth that power, resisteth God, the giuer and fountaine thereof: and shall not only be therefore subiect to the iudgement and condemnation of Man, but of God: For ye must be subiect (saith he) not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake.* *Rom. 13. 4. Ps. 8. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods punishments vpon those that haue resisted Authoritie, by God ordained and established. Neyther ought any subiect therefore

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therefore

therefore to resist the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with iniustice or cruelty: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand; and the Commandement of obedience is without distinction. The Prophets and Christ himselfe subiected themselves to the power of Magistracie. Christ commanded that all due to Caesar should be giuen vnto him: and he payed Tribute for himselfe and Peter. Hieremie commanded the Israelites (euen those that were Captiues vnder Heathen Kings) to pray for them, and for the peace of Babylon. So Abraham prayed for Abimelech; and Iacob blessed the King of Egypt: And it is acceptable in the sight of our Saviour (sayth PAVL) that yee make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in autoritie: and if for such Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did Saint Chrysostome in his Homily to the people preferre Monarchicall Government, as hee rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) then that they should be wanting: *Præstat Regem tyrannum habere, quam nullum; Better a tyrannous King, then no King: to which also Tacitus subscribeth: Præstat (sayth Tacitus in the first of his Historie) sub malo Principe esse quam nullo; It is better to haue a bad Prince then none at all.* And bee they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no libertie more safe, then to serue them: *Neg enim libertas tutor villa est (sayth CLAVDIAN) quam Domino seruire bono: No libertie (sayth hee) more safe for vs then to be seruants to the vertuous.* And certainly howsoever it may be disputed, yet is it safer to liue vnder one Tyrant, then vnder 100000. Tyrants: vnder a wife man that is cruell, then vnder the foolish and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as Agesthus answered a Citizen of Sparta that desired an alteration of the Government, That kind of rule which a man would disdaine in his owne houle, were very vnfit to gouerne great Regions by.

Lastly, as many Fathers erected many Cottages for their many children: and as (for the reason before remembred) many Houholds ioyned themselves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: so when these Cities and Citizens ioyned together, and established Lawes by consent, associating themselves vnder one Governour and Government, they so ioyned were called a Commonwealth: the same being sometimes gouerned by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; sometimes by the people themselves.

¶ III.

Of the good Government of the first Kings.

Now this first Age after the Flood, and after such time as the people were increased, and the Families became strong and dispersed into severall parts of the World, was by ancient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Couetousnesse being as then but greene, and newly growne vp, the seeds and effects wherof were as yet but potential, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then fought for no larger Territorie then themselves could compasse and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, then sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest: they cared for no other delicacie of fare, or curiositie of dyet, then to maintaine life: nor for any other apparell then to couer them from the cold, the Raine and the Sunne.

And sure if wee understand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient simplicitie of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truly be cast vpon those elder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may bee attributed more to any one time then to another, (I meane to one limited time and none else) it may bee doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times haue brought forth of both sorts. And as the infancy of Empire, (when Princes played their Prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might bee called

called the Golden Age: so may the beginning of all Princes times bee truly called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then best purchased; or if honour affect men, it is then that good desertings haue commonly the least impediments: and if euer Liberalitie ouerflow her bankes and bounds, the same is then best warranted both by policie and example. But Age and Time doe not only harden and shrinke the openest and most Iouiall hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes toorne citates before their eyes, and (withall) perswadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there bee no Kings vnder the Sunne whose meanes are answerable vnto other mens desires; yet such as value all things by their owne respects, doe no sooner find their appetites vnanswered, but they complain of alteration, and account the times iniurious and yron. And as this falsh out in the Raigne of every King, so doth it in the life of every man, if his dayes be many: for our younger yeeres are our Golden Age; which being eaten vp by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and (indeed) the grievous alterations in our selues, and the paines and diseases which neuer part from vs but at the graue, make the times seeme so differing and displeasing: especially the qualitie of mans nature being also such, as it adoreth and extollereth the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how iust soeuer: *Fit humana malignitas visio, ut semper vetera in laude, presentia in fastidio sint; It comes to passe (sayth TACITVS) by the*

vice of our malignitie, that we alwayes extoll the time past, and hold the present fastidious: For it is one of the errorours of wayward Age: *Quod sint laudatores temporis acti; That they are prayes of fore-past times, forgetting this aduice of SALOMON: Say not then, Why is it that the former dayes were better then these? for thou dost not inquire wisely of this thing: to which purpose SENECA; Maiores nostri quæsti sunt, & nos querimus, posteri queruntur, cures esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum & in omne nefas labi: Our Ancesters haue complained, wee doe complaine, our children will complaine, that good manners are gone, that wickednesse doth raigne, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all euill.* These are the vnuall discourses of Age and misfortune. But here of what can we adde to this of ARNOLDVS? *Nomares quædæq; vetus fiet, & vetus tempus*

peribit quibus caput noua fuit & repentina: What soeuer is new, in time shall be made old: and the ancientest things when they tooke beginning were also new and sodaine. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentments of present times haue made Golden, this wee may set downe for certaine, That as it was the vertue of the first Kings, which (after God) gaue them Crownes: so the loue of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crownes on their heads. And as God gaue the obedience of Subiects to Princes: so (relatiuely) hee gaue the care and iniustice of Kings to the Subiects; hauing respect, not only to the Kings themselves, but euen to the meanest of his Creatures: *Quoniam particulari bono seruit omne bonum; The infinite goodnesse of God doth not attend any one only: for hee that made the small and great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings haue of all theirs, which makes them beloued of all theirs; and by a general loue it is, that Princes hold a generall obedience: For Potestas humana raditur in voluntatibus hominum: All humane power is rooted in the will or dispositions of men.*

Tacit. in Dialo. Grat.

Ecclus. 3.

Arnob. lib. 2.

Wisd. 6. 7.

§. IIII.

Of the beginning of Nobilitie: and of the vaine vaunt thereof
without vertue.



Vetus nobilitas non
nisi in seculo fit.

AND with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authoritie beganne also other degrees and differences among Subiects. For Princes made election of others by the same Rule, by which themselves were chosen; vnto whom they gaue place, trust, and power. From which employments and Offices sprang those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which haue continued from Age to Age to these dayes. But this Nobilitie, or difference from the Vulgar, was not in the beginning giuen to the Succession of Bloud, but to Succession of Vertue, as hereafter may be prooued. Though at length it was sufficient for those whose Parents were aduanced, to bee knowne for the Sonnes of such Fathers: and so there needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, vpon whom glorie or worldly Nobilitie necessarily descended. Yet hereof had Nobilitie denomination in the beginning, That such as excelled others in vertue, were so called: *Hinc dictus Nobilitas, quasi virtute pre alijs nobilitas*. But after such time as the deferred Honour of the Father was giuen in reward to his Posteritie, Saint Hierome iudged of the Succession in this manner: *Quia si aliud video in Nobilitate appendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate constringuntur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent; I see no other thing to be affected in Nobilitie, then that Noblemen are by a kind of necessitie bound, not to degenerate from the vertue of their Ancesters*. For if Nobilitie be *Virtus & antiqua diuitie*; Vertue and ancient riches, then to exceed in all those things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glorie, and the like, doe no otherwise define Nobilitie, then the word (*animal*) alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to *L. Vines*) be a witness of vertue and well-doing: and Nobilitie (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of vertue in a Race or Linage: then are those in whom Vertue is extinguished, but like vnto painted and printed Papers, which ignorant men worship in stead of *Christ* our Ladie, and other *Saints*: men, in whom there remaine but the dregges and vices of ancient Vertue: Flowers, and Herbes, which by change of soile and want of manuring are turned to Weeds. For what is found prayse-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountaines, if in all the rest of their course they runne foule, filthie, and defiled? *Ex terra fertilis produciuntur aliquando Cienta venenosa, & ex terra sterili pretiosum aurum*; Out of fruitful ground ariseth sometimes possoning Henbane: and out of barren soile precious Gold. For as all things consist of matter and forme, so doth *Charon* (in his Chapter of Nobilitie) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobilitie: the forme (which giues life and perfect being) he maketh to be Vertue, and Qualitie, profitable to the Commonweale. For he is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a singular profession of public Vertue, seruing his Prince and Countrey, and being descended of Parents and Ancesters that haue done the like. And although that Nobilitie, which the same Authour calleth personall, (the same which our selues acquire by our Vertue and well deseruings) cannot bee ballanced with that which is both naturall by Descent, and also personall; yet if Vertue be wanting to the naturall, then is the personall and acquired Nobilitie by many degrees to be preferred: For (sayth this *Charon*) this Honour (to wit) by Descent, may light vpon such a one, as in his owne nature is a true Villaine. There is also a third Nobilitie which hee calleth Nobilitie in Parchment, bought with Silver or fauour: and these bee indeed but Honours of affection, which Kings with the change of their fancies by which they knew well how to wipe off againe. But surely, if wee had as much sence of our degenerating in worthinesse, as we haue of vanitie in deriuing our selues of such and such Parents, wee should rather know such Nobilitie (without Vertue) to bee shame and dishonour, then Noblesse, and glorie to vaunt thereof.

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What calamitie is wanting (sayth *Bernard*) to him that is borne in sinne, of a Pottshare bodie and barren minde? for (according to the same Father:) *Dele fecum sugas bonari huius, & male coronata nitorem gloria, &c.* Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glorie, that then thou maiest consider thy self nakedly: for thou camest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence with thy Tyes, or glistening with Jewels, or garnished with Silkes, or adorned with Feathers, or suffred with Gold? if thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certaine morning cloudes, which doe or will soone passe ouer, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poore, and wretched, and miserable man, and blushing, because he is naked, and weeping because hee is borne, and repining because he is borne to labour, and not to honour.

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference betweene it and dust: which if thou dost not beleene (saith Saint *Chrysostome*) looke into the Sepulchres and Monuments of thy Ancesters, and they shall easily perswade thee by their owne example, that thou art dust and dirt: so that if man seeme more Noble and beautifull then dust, this proceedeth not from the diuersitie of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.

For true Nobilitie standeth in the Trade
Of vertuous life; not in the fleshly Line:
For bloud is brute, but Gentrie is Diuine.

Phar.

And howsoeuer the custome of the World haue made it good, that Honours be cast by birth vpon vnworthy Issues: yet *Salomon* (as wise as any King) reprehendeth the same in his Fellow-Princes: *There is an euill* (sayth hee) *that I haue seene vnder the Sun, which is as an error that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth. Folly is set in great excellencie,*

CHAP. X.

Of NIMROD, BELVS, and NINVS: and of memorable things about those times.

§. I.

That NIMROD was the first after the Flood that raigned like Soueraigne Lord: and that his beginning seemeth to haue bene of iust authoritie.



HE first of all that raigned as Soueraigne Lord after the Flood was *Nimrod*, the Sonne of *Cub*, distinguished by *Moses* from the rest (according to Saint *Augustine*) in one of these two respects: eyther for his eminencie, and because hee was the first of fame, and that tooke on him to command others: or else in that hee was begotten by *Cub*, after his other children were also become Fathers; and of a later time then some of his Grand-children and Nephewes. Howsoeuer, seeing *Moses* in expresse wordes callth *Nimrod* the Sonne of *Cub*, other mens coniectures to the contrarie ought to haue no respect. This Empire of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers and many later Writers call tyrannicall: the same beginning in *Babel*, (which is) confusion.

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But it seemeth to mee that *Melanchton* conceived not amiss herof: the same exposition being also made by the Author of that worke called *Onomasticum Theologicum*, who affirms that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator, A bitter or fureur Gouverneur*, because his forme of rule seemed at first farre more terrible then Paternall authoritie. And therefore is he in this respect also called *a mightie Hunter*; because he tooke and destroyed both Beasts and Theeves. But *Saint Augustine* vnderstands it otherwise, and conuerts the word (*ante*) by (*contra*) affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mightie Hunter against God: *Sic ergo intelligentius est Gigante, Venator contra Dominum; So is that Giant to be vnderstood, a Hunter against the Lord.* But howsoeuer this word (*a mightie Hunter*) bee vnderstood; yet it rather appeareth, that *10* *Nimrod* had the command of all those, which went with him from the East into *Shinar*: so, this charge was rather giuen him, then by him vsurped. For it is no where found, that *Nab* himselfe, or any of the Sonnes of his owne bodie, came with this troupe into *Babylonia*: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the yeeres of his life excepted) in the succeeding storie of the *Hebrewes*: nor that *Sem* was in this disobedient Troupe, or among the builders of *Babel*.

The same is also confirmed by diuers ancient Historians, that *Nimrod, Suplus*, and *Ishtar* were the Captaines and Leaders of all those which came from the East. And though *Sem* came not himselfe so farre West as *Shinar* (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his Sonnes *Nephew Heber*, the name and Nation of the *Hebreus* (according to the generall opinion) tooke beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of *Chaldea* about the Citie of *Ur*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And because those of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldea*, were no partners in the vnbelaueing worke of the Towre: therefore (as many of the Fathers coniecture) did they retain the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his Illues: *In familia HEBER remansit hebraica; in the Family of HEBER this Language remained* (saith *Saint Augustine* out of *Epiphanius*;) and this Language *Abraham* vsed: yea it was anciently and before the Flood the generall speech: and therefore first called (saith *Cassiodorus*) *lingua humana: the humane tongue*.

We know that *Gregorius Becanus* following *Theodoret, Rabbi Moses, Egyptian, Virgata*, and others, is of another opinion; but howsoeuer we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolve, that none of the godly seed of *Sem* were the chiefe Leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by iust authoritie, then by violence of vsurpation.

§. II.

That *NIMROD, BELUS, and NINUS* were three distinct persons.

De Cinit. Di.

BENZO, and out of him *Nanderus* with others make many *Nimrods*. *Eusebius* confounds him with *Belus*; and so doth *Saint Hierome* vpon *Ose*; and these wordes of *S. Augustine* seeme to make him of the same opinion: *ibi autem NINUS regnabat post mortem patris sui BELI, qui primus ille regnauit 65. annos; There after NINUS reigne after the death of his Father BELUS, who first governed in Babylon sixty five yeeres.* But it could not bee vnkowne to *Saint Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the Establisher of that Empire: *Moses* being plaine and direct therein. For the beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdome (saith he) was *Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalne* in the Land of *Shinar*. Wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel*. And certainly it best agreeth with reason; that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Alerator* (led by *Clement*) supposed: for in *Ninus* time the World was maruailously replenished. And if *S. Augustine* had

had vndoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would haue giuen him the name which the Scriptures giue him, rather then haue borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those wordes of *S. AUGUSTINE* (*qui primus ille regnauit*; who was the first that reigned there) supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those wordes doe not disprove that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Julius Caesar* ouerthrew the libertie of the *Roman* Commonwealt, making himselfe a perpetuall Dictator, yet *Augustus* was the first established Emperor: and the first that reigned absolutely by soveraigne authoritie ouer the *Romans*, as an Emperor. The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternitie, laying the foundation of soveraigne Rule, as *Caesar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with a generall allowance exercised such a power. *Paterius* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. yeeres after the flood (as they account) that *Belus* reigned: but such agreement of times proues it not. For to *Edward the Third*, and his grand-child *Richard the Second*, were Kings both in one yeere: the one dyed; the other in the same yeere was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is farre more probable then that of *Alerator*, who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For it is plaine that the beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdome was *Babel*, and the Townes adioyning: but the first and most famous worke of *Ninus* was the Citie of *Ninia*.

Now whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth, that *Ninus* ouercame and suppressed the *Babylonians*, the same rather proueth the contrarie, then that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one person. For *Ninus* established the seate of his Empire at *Ninie* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdayne thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered againe by strong hand; which was calic: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* time.

Dictur atam
Cottitulus maris circiffi SEMIRAMIS Urbem.

SEMIRAMIS with walls of bricke the Citie did inclose.

Further, where it is alledged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod* mightie: so *Infinite* hath the fame of *Ninus*, which is one of *Alerator's* arguments; It may be answered, that such an addition might haue bene giuen to many other Kings aswell. For if we may beleue *Iustine*; then were *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, and *Tamius* of *Scythia* mightie Kings before *Ninus* was borne. And if we may compare the wordes of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the vnder takings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference betweene them. For whereas *Alerator* conceiueth, that it was too early for any that liued about the time of the confusion of languages, to haue invaded and mastered those Cities so farre removed from *Babel*, namely, *Erech, Accad, and Chalne*: which worke he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest vnder taking; and consequently would haue *Nimrod* to haue bene long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I doe not finde that supposition true, That euer *Nimrod* invaded any of these Cities; but that hee founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the flood, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these Cities in many mens opinions are found to stand farre away from *Babylon*, I finde no reason to bring me to that beliefe. The Citie of *Accad* which the *Septuagint* calls *Archard*, and *Epiphanius, Arphal*; *Tamius* takes to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia* (for the Region thereabout the Cosmographers (saith he) call *Acabene* for *Acadene*, Others vnderstand *Nisibis* and *Ninive* to be one Citie: so

doe Strabo and Stephanus confound it with Charran; but all mistaken. For *Nisibis*, *Accad*, and *Charran* are distinct places. Though I cannot deny *Accad* to be a Region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arias Montanus* out of *S. Hierome* calls *Achad*; and so doe the *Hebrewes* also call *Nisibis*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the Citie of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*; *S. Augustine*, *Oreg*, and *Pagninus*, *Erec*; this place *Iunius* vnderstands for *Araca* in *Susiana*: but there is also a Citie in *Comagena* called *Araca*: and indeede likelihood of name is no certaine proofe, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Lib. 23.

Concerning the third Citie (called *Chalneh*) some take it for *Calinis*: of which *Am. Marcellinus*, *S. Hierome* takes it for *Seleucia*; *Hierosolymitanus* for *Ctesiphon*: others doe think it to be the *Agrani* vpon *Euphrates*, destroyed and razed by the *Persians*. But let *Moses* be the Moderator and Iudge of this dispute, who teacheth vs directly, that these Citie are not seated in so diuers and distant Regions; for these be his wordes: And the beginning of his Kingdom (speaking of *Nimrod*) was *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalneh*, in the land of *Shinar*: so as in this Valley of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldea* (being all one) we must finde them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) thinke with *Viterbienfis*, that these foure made but one *Babylon*, then that they were Citie farre removed, and in seuerall Prouinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* precisely distinguish *Chalne* from *Babylon*. Goe you (saith *Amos*) to *Chalne*, and from thence goe you to *Hamath*, and then to *Gath* of the *Philistines*. The *Geneua* translation fauouring the former opinion, to set these Citie out of *Shinar*, hath a marginal note expresseing that *Shinar* was here named: not that all these Citie were therein seated, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chaldea*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*; but I finde little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrod*'s Empire there was no such *Babylon*, nor any Citie at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great Citie of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not farre from the place where stood *A Memphis* the ancient Citie, but not so ancient as *Babylon* vpon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chalne* is situate in the Valley of *Shinar*, it hath beene formerly proued in the Chapter of *Paradis*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three Citie from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were distinct and successiue Kings.

§. III.

That *Nimrod*, not *Assyr*, built *Ninine*: and that it is probable out of
ESAY 23. 13. that *Assyr* built *Pr* of the *Chaldees*.

Now as of *Nimrod*: so are the opinions of Writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great state of *Babylon* and *Assyria*: a controuersie wearisomely disputed without any direct proofe, conclusion, or certaintie. But to me (of whom) where the Scriptures are silent, the voyce of Reason hath the best hearing) the interpretation of *Iunius* is most agreeable; who besides all necessarie consequence doth not disioyne the sense of the Scriptures therein, nor confute the vnderstanding thereof. For in this sort he conuerteth the Hebrew Text: *Erut enim principum regni eius Babel, & Erech, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaris; & terra hac prociuit in Assyriam ubi edificauit Ninnum;* (which is) For the beginning of this Kingdom was *Babel*, and *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalneh*, in the land of *Shinar*: and he went forth of this land into *Assyria*, and built *Ninine*. So as *Iunius* takes *Assur* in this place, not for any person, but for the Region of *Assyria*: the land being so called in *Moses* time, and before it. For certainly, the other construction, (where the word (*Assur*) is taken for *Assur* the Sonne of *Sem*) doth not answer the order which *Moses* obserueth through all the Bookes of *Genesis*, but is quite contrary vnto it. For in the beginning of the

tenth

tenth Chapter he setteth downe the sonnes of *Noah*, in these wordes: *New these are the Generations of the sonnes of Noah: SEM, HAM, and JAPHETH, vnto whom sonnes were borne after the flood*: then it followeth immediately: *The sonnes of JAPHETH were GOMER, &c.* so as *Japheth* is last named among *Noah*'s sonnes, be he eldest or youngest: because he was first to be spoken of: with whom (hauing last named him) he proceedes and sets downe his issue, and then the issue of his sonnes: first, the issue of *Gomer*, *Japheth*'s eldest sonne; and then speakes of *Iaan* and his sonnes: for of the rest of that Familie hee is silent. Anon after hee numbrell the sonnes of *Ham*, of which *Cush* was the eldest: and then the sonnes of *Cush* and *Misraim*; and afterward of *Canaan*; leaving *Shem* for the last, because he would not disioyne the Storie of the *Hebrewes*. But after he beginneth with *Sem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*, vnto *Abraham*, and so to *Iacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to haue brought in one of the sonnes of *Shem* in the middle of the generations of *Ham*, had beene against order; neither would *Moses* haue pait ouer so lightly the erection of the *Assyrian* Empire, in one of the sonnes of *Shem*, if he had had any such meaning: it being the storie of *Shem*'s sonnes which he most attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the rest of the sonnes of *Cush*, because he founded the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empire: and in the eleventh Chapter he returnes to speake of the building of *Babel* in particular, hauing formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Citie which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinar*. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, so also in the eleventh he maketh no report of *Shem*, till such time as he had finished so much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the issue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Israd*. And of *Iunius* opinion touching *Assur*, was *Caluin*: to which I conceiue that *P. Comestor*, in his *historia Scholastica*, gaue an entrance, who after he had deliuered this place in some other sense, he vseth these wordes: *Vel intelligendum non est de ASSYR filio SEM, &c. sed ASSYR (id est) Regnum Assyriorum inde egressum est, quod tempore SARVG prout ABRAHAM factum est, (which is) Or else it is not to be understood of ASSYR the sonne of SEM, &c. but ASSYR (that is, the Kingdome of the Assyrians) came from thence (videlicet, from Babylon) or was made out of it: which happened in the time of SARVG the great grand-father of ABRAHAM.* After which he reconcileth the differences in this sort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the first Erector of the *Assyrian* Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*; Respecting the beginning; but others conceiue that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is also true, *Quantum ad regni ampliationem*; Regarding the enlargement of the Empire. To this I may adde the opinion of *Epphanus*, confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Assur* to be the sonne of *Nimrod*: and so doth *Aethobodus*, and *Vitehenfis*, *S. Hierome*, and *Cyrillus*, and now lastly *Tornelius*: who saith he tooke vpon him that name of *Assur* after he had beaten the *Assyrians*, as *Seipio* did of *Africans*, after his conquest in *Africa*: and that *Assur* was a common name to the Kings of *Assyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Psalm* 81. *Esay* 10. *Ose* 5. &c. but to helpe the matter, he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the sonne of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Arch-Bishop of *Metz* in the yeere of *Christ* 854. an ancient and learned Writer, vnderstands this place with *Comestor*, or *Comestor* with him, agreeing in substance with that translation of *Iunius*: to which wordes of *Moses* he giueth this sense: *De hac terra Assyriorum pullulant imperium, qui ex nomine NINI, BELI filij, Ninum condiderunt, urbem magnam, &c.* Out of this land grew the Empire of the *Assyrians*, who built *Ninus* the great Citie, so named of *NINUS* the sonne of *BELEVS*. On the contrary *Caluin* obiectioneth this place of *ESAY*: Behold the land of the *Chaldeans*, this was no people, *ASSYR* founded it by the inhabitants of the Wilderness; then which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diuersitie in the translation and vnderstanding; in so much as *Michel de Palatio* vpon *Esay* (though in all euer diligent) passeth it ouer. But *Caluin* seemeth hereby to inforce, that because *Assur* founded the state of the *Chaldeans*, therefore also *Assur* rather

Tornell. Annot. facit in Gen. 10.

23. 13.

ther then *Nimrod* established the *Assyrian* Empire, and built *Nimue*: contrarie to the former translation of *Innus*, and to his owne opinion. Now out of the *Vulgar* (called *Hieromes* translation) it may be gathered that *Assur* both founded and ruined this Estate or Citie of the *Chaldeans*; by *Esay* remembred: vnto which Citie, People, or State, he plainly telleth the *Tyrians* that they cannot trust, or hope for reliefe thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this Citie of *Chaldea*, and that Estate, an example vnto those *Phenicians*, whom in this place he foretelleth of their ruine: which Citie of *Chaldea* being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the *Assyrians* vterly wasted and destroyed: where-by he giueth them knowledge, and foretelleth them, that their owne Citie of *Tyre*, 10 (inuinible, as themselves thought) should also soone after be ouer-turned by the same *Assyrians*: as (indeede) it was by *Nabuchodonosor*. And these be the wordes after *Hierome*: *Ecc terra Chaldeorum, talis populus non fuit, Assur fundauit eam, in captiuitatem traduxerunt robulos eius, suffoderunt domos eius, posuerunt eam in ruinam, (which is) Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, such a people there were not (or, this was no people, after the Geneva) Assur (or the Assyrians) founded it, they carried away their strong men captiue, they vndermined their houses, and ruined their Citie.* The Septuagint expresse it but in a part of another Verse, in these wordes: *Et in terra Chaldeorum, & hec desolata est ab Assyrijs, quoniam murus eius corruit, making the sense perfect by the preceding Verse, which all together may be thus vnderstood: If thou goe ouer to Chittim (which is Macedonia or Greece) yet thou shalt haue no rest (speaking to the Tyrians) neither in the Land of the Chaldeans, for this is made desolate by the Assyrians, because their walls fell together to the ground. Pagninus and Vatablus conuert it thus: Ecc terra Chaldym, iste populus non erat illic olim; nam Assur fundauit eam manibus, erexerunt arces illius: contriuerunt ades eius, posuit eam in ruinam: which may be thus Englished: Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, this people was not once therein inhabiting: for Assur built it a harbour for ships, they erected the Towers thereof, and againe brake downe the houses thereof, and ruined it. Iuuius in the place of ships sets the word (pro Barbaris) that is, for the Barbarians: and the Geneva, by the Barbarians. But this is vnderstood that the Prophet *Esay* (as may be gathered by all the sense of the Chap- 30 ter) did therein assure the *Tyrians* of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terror) he maketh choice to note the calamities of those Places, Cities, and Regions, by whose Trade the state and greatnesse of the *Tyrians* was maintayned; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tharsis*; from the *Macedonians*, and other *Gracians* vnder the name of *Cittim*; also by the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldeans*, and the rest. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Towne of the World most renowned. And (as it appeares in our discourse of *Paradise*) not the least part of her chiefe merchandize came in by the Citie *Tyre* or *Tyrechoa* in *Chaldea*, where the body or chiefe streame of *Euphrates* (euē that frame which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otrū*, which now falleth into *Tigris*) had his passage into the *Persian Gulfe*: though now 40 it be stopped vp. For (as we haue heretofore noted) the *Arabians* (that descended from *Sheba* and *Ramah*) dwelling on the East banks of the *Persian Gulfe*, trading with the *Tyrians* (as those of *Eden*, *Charran*, and *Chalne* did) transported their merchandise by the mouth of *Tigris*, that is, from *Teredon*, and of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Tyre* or *Tyrechoa*: and then by *Babylon*, and thence by Riuer and ouer Land they conueyed it into *Syria*, and so to *Tyre*: as they doe this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Tyre* of the *Chaldees* was a Port Towne, and one of those Cities which had Intelligence, Trade, and Exchange with the *Tyrians*: for it stood by the great Lakes of *Chaldea*, through which that part of *Euphrates* ranne, which passage is now stop vp. *Eius cursum velis- 50 tas aboleuit* (saith *Niger*.) And *P. Line*, *Locus ubi Euphratis estum fuit, flumen salum*, 50 *Time habi worne away the channell of Euphrates: and the place where the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of salt water.* These things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) we may expound the Citie of the *Chaldees*, whose calamities *Esay* here noteth for terror of the *Tyrians*, to be the Citie anciently called *Tyre*; and (by *Heateus*)*

Camarina:

Camarina; by *Ptolemie*, *Tyrechoa*: and by the *Greekes*, *Chaldaeopolis*, The Citie of *Chaldea*: which the sonnes of *Shem*, vntill *Abrahams* time, inhabited. And whereas in all the Translations it is said, that *Assur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be vnderstood, that *Assur* the Founder was the sonne of *Shem*; and *Assur* the destroyers were the *Assyrians*, by whom those that inhabited *Tyre* of *Chaldea*, were at length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore-seeing commanded *Abraham* thence to *Charran*, and so into *Canaan*. And if the Hebrew word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* conuerted (by ships) doe beare that sense, the same may be the better approved; because it was a Port Towne: and the Riuer so farre vp as this Citie of 10 *Tyre* was in ancient time nauigable, as both by *Plinie* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word (for the Barbarians) or (by the Barbarians) be allo in the Hebrew Text, it is no lesse manifest, that the most barbarous *Arabians* of the Desert were and are the confronting, and next people of all other vnto it. For *Chaldea* is now called *Arachalder*, which signifieth desert Lands, because it ioyneeth to that part of *Arabia* so called: and *Cicero* (calling those *Arabians* by the name of *Iuraans*) addeeth, that they are of all other people the most saluage; calling them, *Homines omnium maxime barbaros*.

So as this place of *Esay*, which breedeth some doubt in *Caluin*, proueth in nothing the contrarie opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former translation of *In- 20 nus*, nor the interpretation of *Comestor* and *Rabanus*. For though other men haue not conceived (for any thing that I haue read) that *Assur* is in this place diuerly taken (as for the sonne of *Shem*, when he is spoken of as a Builder of *Tyre*; and when as a Destroyer thereof, then for the *Assyrian* Nation) yet certainly the euidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seeme to enforce it. And so this Founding of the Citie of the *Chaldees* by *Assur* (into which the most of the posteritie of *Sem* that came into *Shinar*, and were separate for the Idolatrie of the *Chusites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themselves) hath nothing in it to proue that the same *Assur* built *Nimue*, or that the same *Assur* was all one with *Ninus*; except wee will make *Assur*, who wasthe sonne of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the sonne of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) 30 *Ninus* was the first notorious Sacrificer to Idols; and the first that set vp a Statue to be honored as god. Now if *Assur* must be of that Race, and not of the Familie of *Sem*, as he must be if he founded *Nimue*, then all those which seeke to giue him the honor thereof, doe him by a thousand parts more iniurie, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Besides, if this supposed *Assur* whom they make the Founder of *Nimue* (and so the sonne of *Belus*) were any other, and not the same with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainly he was very vnworthy and obscure, and not like to be the Founder of such an Empire and such a Citie, if no man haue vouchsafed to leaue to posteritie his expulsiō thence, and how he lost that Empire againe or quitted it to *Ni- 40 nus*: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) farre differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the storie of that age written by prophane Authors, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the first workes and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moses*, and that these workes being finished within the Valley of *Shinar*, he looked farther abroad, and set in hand the worke of *Ninus*, lying neere vnto the same frame that *Babel* and *Chalne* did: which worke his grand-child *Ninus* afterward amplified and finished, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to passe, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundresse of the Citie: which shee only finished: so also *Ninus* of *Nimue*: *Quam 50 quidem Babylonem potuit instaurare*; She might repaire or renew *Babylon*, saith *S. Augustine*. For so did *Nabuchodonosor* vaunt himselfe to be the Founder of *Babylon* also, because he built vp againe some part of the wall, ouer-borne by the furie of the Riuer: which worke of his stood till *Alexanders* time, whereupon he vaunted thus: *Is Dan. 4. 27. not this great Babel which I haue built?*

§. IIII.

Of the acts of NIMROD and BELVS, as farre as now they
are knowne.

BVt to returne to the Storie, it is plaine in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transugum*; and *Iulius Africanus* surnamed *Saturne*) was the establisher of the *Babylonian Monarchie*, of whom there is no other thing written, then that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those foure Cities before remembred, *Babel*, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Affryia*; and in *Affryia* built foure more Cities (to wit) *Nimue*, *Rebobo*, *Celab*, and *Resen*. And seeing that he spent much time in building *Babel* it selfe and those adioyning, and that his traualles were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that worke of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of *Nimue*, and the other Cities of *Affryia* which he builded (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficultie then any thing performed by his Successors in many yeeres after: to whose undertakings time had giuen so great an increase of people; and the examples and patternes of his beginning so great an aduancement and encouragement: in whole time (saith *Glycas*) all these Nations were called *Meropes*, à *sermonia linguarum terræq; diuisione*; By reason that the earth and the speech were then diuided.

Belus, or *Bel*, or *Iupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114. yeeres; of whose acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low Lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firme ground of all those great Fennes and ouer-flowne Marishes which adioyned vnto it. For any of his Warres or Conquests there is no report, other then of his begun enterprise against *Sabatius* King of *Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia* which *Bereus* calls *Scythia Saga*, whose sonne and succellor *Barzanes* became subiect and Tributarie to *Ninus*, that followed the warre to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begunne.

§. V.

That we are not to maruaile how so many Kingdomes could be erected about
these times: and of *Vexoris* of *Egypt*, and *TANAIS*
of *Scythia*.

THat so many Kingdomes were erected in all those Easterne parts of the World so soone after *Nimrod*, (as by the storie of *Ninus* is made manifest) the causes were threefold, (namely) Opportunitie, Example, and Necessitie. For Opportunitie being a Princeesse liberall and powerfull, bestowed on her first Entertainers many times more benefits, then either Fortune can, or Wisdome ought; by whose presence alone the vnderstanding mindes of men receiue all those helps and supplies, which they either want or wish for: so as euery Leader of a troupe (after the diuision of tongues and dispersion of People) finding these faire offers made vnto them, held the power which they posselt, and governed by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their destined places. For it cannot be conceiued, that when the Earth was first diuided, mankind straggled abroad like beasts in a Desert; but that by agreement they disposed themselves, and vnder-tooke to inhabite all the knowne parts of the World, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had Kings, and were peopled in *Ninus* time, would not haue bene posselt in many hundreds of yeeres after, as then they were;

were; neyther did those that were sent, and traualled farre off (order being the true parent of prosperous successe) vnder take so difficult enterprizes without a Conduiter or Commander. Secondly, the Example of *Nimrod* with whom it succeeded well, strengthened euery humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessitie resolu'd all men by the arguments of common miseries, that with out a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enioy the harvest of their owne Traualles: nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence: nor those which fought after any proportion of greatesse, eyther possesse the same in quiet, or rule and order their owne Ministers and Attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the vnder takings and Conquests of *Ninus* (the sonne of *Belus*) made it apparent: for hee found euery where Kings and Monarches, what way soeuer his Ambition led him in the Warres.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to vs knowne, when he first tooke on him Soueraignetic and sole commandement of all those the children of *Noah*, which came from the East into *Babylonia*: though in his life time others also rayled themselves to the same estate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his sonne and Successour) found *Sabatius* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerfull to resist his attempts: which *Sabatius* I take to bee the same, which *Iustine* calls *Tanaïs*; and should coniecture; that *Mizraim* had bene his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some error, (as *Iustine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumstances seemes to me rightly accounted by the Iudicious and Learned *Reineccius* all one with the great *Sejestrus*, that liued certaine Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, reigned 65. yeeres, according to the common account.

See more of
this, &c. of this
first Part. esp.
§. 6.

§. VI.

Of the name of *BELVS*, and other names affixe vnto it.

WHence this second King and Successour of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bel*, or *Belus*, question hath bene made: for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) giuen by *Ninus*, than assumed by *Belus* himselfe.

Cyrrillus against *Iulian* calls the Father of *Ninus* *Arbelus*, affirming that hee was the first of all men that caused himselfe to be called a God: which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* be thence deriued. But *Bel*, as many Learned Writers haue obserued, signifieth the Sunne in the *Chaldean* Tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* giue that name to their Father, that hee might be honoured as the Sunne, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a God. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by diuers others of the *Chaldean* Princes, and *Babylonian* Satraps: so was it vsed (in imitation) by the chiefe of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians haue conceiued.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus* pertaine (as in affinitie) those voyces of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphegor*, *Belpheub*, and *Beelzebub*. Those that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldean* conuert the word *Baal* by the *Latine*, *Princeps militie*, Chiefe in the Warre; though *Daniel* was so called (saith *SVIDAS*) *Ob honorem explanationis arcanarum verum; in honorem huius expounding secrets*. Saint *Ierome* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to haue the same signification: and sayth, that the Idoll of *Babylon* was so called, which *Ninus* in memory of his father set vp to be worshipped: to which that he might adde the more honour and reuerence, he made it a Sanctuarie and refuge for all offenders. Hence (saith *Zyranus*) came Idolatrie, and the first vse of Images into the World. *Isidore* is doth interpret *Bel* by *Velus*, old or ancient; adding, that as among the *Affryians* it is taken for *Saturne* and the Sunne: so in the *Punick* or *Carthaginian* Language it signifieth

hier, in *Ofc.*

Lyr. in *Sapient.*
Salom. c. 11.
1. fol. 18. s. 22.

shipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest that *Moses* spake of Images of the living God, and not of *Bad* and the rest of that nature, for you saw no Image (sayth *Moses*) that day that the Lord spake unto you in *Horeb*. Surely it was excellently sayd of *Basil*; *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscribas eum mente tua: Doe not imagine any forme to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy minde too*. Now, if the great *Basil* thought it a presumption vnlawfull to represent a patterne of the infinite God to our owne thoughts and mindes, how farre doe those men presume that put him vnder the greazie Pensill of a Painter, or the rustie Axe or other Instrument of a Carpenter or Caruer.

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God beganne in *Babel*: so did the Deuill transport and speed this inuention into all the Regions adioyning, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romans* for a while refitted the erection of these Idols and Images, refusing to set them in their Temples for 170. yeeres, obseruing therein the Law of *Numa*: who thought it impetie to relembe things most beautifull, by things most base. But *Tarquinus Priscus* afterwards preuailing, and following the vanitie of the *Gracians* (a Nation of all others vnder the Sunne most deluded by *Satan*) set vp the Images of their Gods; which (as Saint *Augustine* witnesseth) that Learned *Varro* both bewailed, and vtterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth; *Simulacra deorum venerantur, illis supplicat, genu posito illa adorant, & cum hec suspiciant, fabros quoque illa fecere contemnunt; The Images of the Gods are worshipped, those they pray vnto with bended knees; those they adore, and while they so greatly admire them, they contemne the Handicraftsmen that made them: which also Sedulius the Poet in this sort scoffeth at:*

*Hec miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sinistro
Religio sibi sculptunt simulacra, summs
Factorem fugiunt, & que fecere venerantur.
Quis furor est? quanta animos dementia ludit?
Vt volucrem, turpemq; bonem, toruamq; Draconem,
Semi-hominemq; canem supplex homo pronus adoret.*

Ah wretched they that worship vanities,
And consecrate dumbe Idols in their heart,
Who their owne Maker (God on high) despise,
And feare the worke of their owne hands and art.
What furie? what great madnesse doth beguile
Mens minds? that man should vgly shapcs adore,
Of Birds, or Buls, or Dragons, or the vile
Halfe-dogge-halfe-man on knees for aide implore.

And though this deuice was barbarous, and first, and many yeeres practised by Heathen Nations onely, till the *Jewes* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to scorn the ignorant stupiditie of his Nation: but *Iustin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sibyls* inuighed against Images: and *Hosianus*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the soules of men to erect and adore those Babels. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witnesseth, that the *Persians* did not erect or set vp any Statue of their Gods. *Zenocrus* neuer taught it the *Lacedemonians*, but thought it impetie to represent immortal natures by mortall Figures. *Eusebius* also witnesseth in his sixth Booke de preparatione Euangelica, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brachmans* in *India*, that Images should be worshipped. The same doe *Tacitus* and *Criminus* report of the ancient *Germans*. Many other Authours might be remembered that witness the disdain which the Heathen themselves had of this childish Idolatrie: of which *Hosianus* hath written at large in his Tract, de originibus imaginum.

imaginum. And it was truly said, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initijs orta sunt, All ill examples haue sprung from good beginnings*. The Heathen at first made these Statue and Images, but in memorie of such remarkable men, as had deserved best of their Countries and Common-wealths: *Effigies hominum* (sayth *Plinius*) non solabant exprimi, nisi aliqua illustri causa perpetuitatem mererentur: Men were not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for some notable cause to be perpetually remembered. And though of the more ancient *Papists*, some haue borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appeareth in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulacra* are pro *elementis literarum*, ut per ea discerint homines Deum inuisibilem cognoscere: Images (say they, and so before them the Heathen said) are in stead of Letters, whereby men might learne to know the inuisible God: in which vnderstanding (perhaps they no otherwise cleeme them then Pictures indeed; yet as that of *Bad* or *Bel* set vp in memorie of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterwards the most reuerenced Idoll of the World, by which so many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himselfe) were misled and cast away: so those very stocks and stones, and painted Canaues (called the pictures of *Christ*, our *Ladie*, and others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but cleemed to haue life, motion, and vnderstanding. On these stockes we call (sayth the Booke of *Wisdom*) when we passe through the raging vynes, on these stockes more rotten then the Ship that carrieth vs.

This Heathen inuention of Images became so fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to distinguish them into degrees and orders; as *Dij Consetes*, seu *maiorum gentium*; selecti, *Patricij*, in *gentiores*, *dij medi*; *Counselling Gods*, or *Gods of the mightiest Nobilitie*, select *Gods*; *Patrician*, *Gods of mark*, and *common Gods* (which the *Romans* called *Medioximi*) *dij infirmi*, and *terrstrall Heroes*, and multitudes of other Gods: of which Saint *Augustine* hath made large mention in his Booke de *Ciuitate Dei*. But (saith *Lactantius*) among all those miserable foules and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimenides Cretensis* (by what good Angell moued I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altars to the vnknewne God, which stood with the same title and dedication euen to the times of Saint *Paul*: who made them first know to whom those Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might discern the difference betwixt that light which lightenth every man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the Deuill had so many yeeres led and misled them. And it sufficed not that the multitude of these Gods was so great in general, or that euery Nation had some one which tooke particular and singular care of them; as *Iupiter* in *Crete*, *Isis* in *Egypt*, in *Athens* *Minerva*, in *Samos* *Inno*, in *Paphos* *Venus*, and so of all other parts; but euery Cite, and almost euery Family had a God a part. For as it is written in the second of *Kings*: the men of *Babel*, made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Asima*, and the *Amis* made *Ribhaz* and *Tarrak*, and the *Sephernims* burnt their children in the fire to *Airamelech*. All which how plainly hath the Prophet *Esa* decided? *Men cut downe Trees, rinde them, burne a part of them, make readie their meate, and warme themselves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketh a God; an Idoll, and prayeth vnto it: but God hath shut their eyes from sight, and their hearts from vnderstanding*. It is therefore safest for a Christian to beleue the Commandements of God so direct against Idolatrie, to beleue the Prophets, and to beleue Saint *Paul*: who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly, *My beloved, flye from Idolatrie, I speake as vnto them which haue vnderstanding, in doe ye what I say*.

§. VIII.

Of the Warres of NINUS: and lastly of his warre against
ZOROASTER.

NOW this *Belus* succeeded *Ninus*, the first that commanded the exercise of Idolatrie, the first that injuriously invaded his Neighbour Princes; and the first that without shame or feare committed adulterie in publique. But as of *Belus* there is no certaine memorie (as touching particulars:) so of this *Ninus* (whose storie is gathered out of Pro-¹⁰ phane Authours) I find nothing so warrantable, but that the same may bee disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For although that piece of *Berosus* set out and commented vpon by *Annius*, hath many good things in it, and giueth great light (as others: yet *Lodouicus Vives*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them haue layed open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment; and procuring directly that it cannot bee the same *Berosus* which liued in *Alexanders* time, cited by *Athenaus* and *Iosephus*: and whose Statue the *Athenians* erected, sayth *Plinie*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many haue gathered the succession of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Princes, euen from *Nimrod* to the eighteenth King *Ascatades*, and to the times of *Iosua*. For of *Aetios* a Historian, of the Race of the *Persian* Priests, there are found but certaine Papers, or some few lines of the *Chaldean* and *Assyrian* Monarchies: but hee afterwards in the collection of the *Persian* Kings is not without his errors.

Ctesias of *Chnidus* (a Citie adioyning to *Halicarnassus*) who liued together with *Cyrus* the yonger, and with *Artaxerxes Menemon*, gathered his Historie out of the *Persian* Records, and reacheth as farre vpwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and though in the storie of *Cyrus* the yonger, *Xenophon* approoueth him in some things, and *Athenaus*, *Pausanias* and *Tertullian* cite him; yet so bafe and apparent are his flatteries of the times and Princes with whom he liued, and so incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and especially of *Semiramis*; as whatsoeuer his reports were, times haue consumed his workes, sauing some very few exceptions lately published.

And therefore in things vncertaine, seeing a long discourse cannot bee pleasing to men of iudgement, I will passe ouer the Acts of this third *Assyrian*, in as few words as I can expresse them. Saint *Augustine* affirmes that *Ninus* mastered all *Asia*, *India* excepted. Others say that he waite it all, saue *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia* the Companion of his Conquests, with whom hee entred into a straight league of amitie, because he commanded many people and was his Kinsman, and a *Chusite*, and the nearest Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His first enterprise was vpon *Syria*, which he might easily subdue, both because hee invaded it on the sodaine, and because it lay next him: and also because the *Arabians* and their King *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) assisted him in the Conquest thereof.

The King of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aide him in his Warre against *Zoroaster*: for from *Armenia* hee bent himselfe that way toward the East; but that euer he commanded the lesser *Asia*, I do not beleue, for none of his Successors had any possession therein.

His third Warre was against *Pharnus*, King of the *Medes*, whom it is sayd that hee ouerthrew, and cruelly murdered with his seuen children, though others affirme that they all dyed in one battaile against him. Whether hee invaded *Zoroaster* before the building or amplifying of *Ninus*, or after, it is vncertaine. It is said that hee made two expeditions into *Bactria*; and that finding little or ill successe in the first, he returned, and set for the worke of *Ninus* forward: and then a second time entred *Bactria* with 1700000. Foot, and 200000. Horie, and 10000. fixe hundred Cha-
riots:

Armen. 1. 1.
Ioseph. cent. 4.
p. 1. 1. 1. 1.

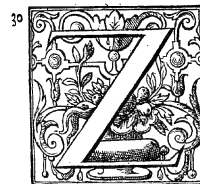
riots: being encountered by *Zoroaster* with 400000. But *Ninus* preuailing, and *Zoroaster* slaine, he entred farther into the Countrey, and besieged the chiefe Citie thereof, called *Bactra* or *Bactrian* (saith *Stephanus*:) which by a passage found, and an assault giuen by *Semiramis* (the wife of *Menon*) he entred and possesse. Vpon this occasion *Ninus* both admiring her iudgement and valour, together with her person and externall beautie, fancied her so strongly, as (neglecting all Princely respects) he tooke her from her husband, whose eyes he threatened to thrust out if he refused to consent. He therefore yeelding to the passion of loue in *Ninus*, and to the passion of sorrow in himselfe, by the strong perswasions of shame and dishon-
10 nor, cast himselfe head-long into the water and dyed.

CHAP. XI.

Of ZOROASTER, supposed to haue beene the chiefe
Author of Magick arts: and of the diuers Kindes
of Magick.

§. I.

That ZOROASTER was not CHAM, nor the first Inuenter of Astrologie,
or of Magick: and that there were diuers great Magicians
of this name.



ZOROASTER King of the *Bactrians*, *Vincennius* supposeth to be *Cham*, the sonne of *Noah*: A fancie of little probabilitie. For *Cham* was the Paternall Ancestor of *Ninus*, the Father of *Chus*, the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whose sonne was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincennius* had heard of that booke which was called *Scriptura Cham*, deuised by some wicked Knaue, and so intituled: of which *Sextus Seneca* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by *Cassianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gaue the inuention of *Magick* to *Cham*, the sonne of *Noah*.
Cassian. in Vita. Cal. cap. 21.

so did *Comestor* in his Scholasticall Historie: which *Arte* (saith he) with the seuen liberrall Sciences he writ in foureteen Pillers: seuen of which were made of brasle, to resist the defacing by the waters of the Flood; and seuen of brick against the iniurie of fire. There was also another deuised discourse, which went vnder the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Cassianus* out of *Serenus* hath somewhat like vnto this of *Comestor*. These be *Cassianus* wordes: *CHAM* (filius *NOAH*) qui superstitionibus istis & sacilegiis fuit artibus infelix, sciens nullum se posse super his memorialem librum in Arcam prefatus inferre, in qua erat cum patre suo, &c. *CHAM* (the sonne of *NOAH*) who was infected with these superstitions, and sacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any booke or memoriall of that nature into the Arke, wherein he was to remayne with his godly Father, caused the Precepts and Rules thereof to be grauen in metall and hard stone.

S. Augustine noteth that *Zoroaster* was laid to haue laught at his birth, when all other children weepe; which presaged the great knowledge which afterward he attained vnto: being taken for the Inuenter of naturall *Magick* and other Arts; for the

Corrupter,

Corrupter, faith *Plinie* and *Iustine*. But I doe not thinke that *Zoroaster* inuented the doctrine of the *Horoscopes* or *Natimities*; or first found out the nature of herbs, stones, and minerais, or their Sympatheticall or Antipatheticall workings; of which, I know not what King of *Chaldea* is also made the Inuenter. I rather thinke that these knowledges were farre more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his sonnes. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaster*, (as *Iosephus* reporteth) was no lesse learned herein then any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living: differing from the wisdome of after-times in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giuer of life and vertue to nature and all natural things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, dispersed, and vniuersall power) admired to the instruments, and attributed proper strength to the things themselves, (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisdome, *which being one, and remysing in it selfe, can doe all things and reneweth all.*

11/ed. c. 7.

Now whether this *Zoroaster* (ouer-throwne by *Ninus*) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For *Zoroaster* the *Magician*, *Cresias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Plinie* findes of a later time. And if *Zoroaster* were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midt of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then *Zoroaster*, slaine by *Ninus*, was not the *Magician*: which is also the opinion of *Sealiger*.

Sealing in Kufib.
Ioseph. lib. 1.
Antiq. c. 44.

Againe, *Iosephus* and *Cedrenus* affirme, that *Seth* first found out the Planets, or wandering Starres, and other Motions of the Heauens: for if this arte had bene inuented by *Zoroaster*, he could not haue attained to any such excellencie therein, in his owne life time; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular iudgement, he might adde somewhat to this kinde of knowledge, and leaue it by writing to posteritie.

But of this *Zoroaster* there is much dispute: and no lesse iangling about the word and arte of *Magick*. *Arnobius* remembreth foure, to whom the name of *Zoroaster*, or *Zoroastres* was giuen: which by *Hermodorus* and *Dion* seemeth to be but a cognomen, or name of arte, and was as much to say, as *astrorum cultor*. The first, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the same that *Ninus* ouerthrew: the second, a *Chaldean*, and the *Astronomer* of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaster Pamphilus*, who liued in the time of *Cyrus*, and his familiar: the fourth, *Zoroaster Armenius*, the Ne-³⁰ phew of *Hosianes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*: betweene whom and *Cyrus* there past threecore and eightene yeeeres. *Suidas* remembreth a fift, called *Persimendus sapiens*: and *Plato* speaketh of *Zoroaster* the sonne of *Oromasdes*; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now of what Nation the first and chiefe *Zoroaster* was, it is doubted. *Plinie* and *Laertius* make him a *Persian*. *Gemisthius* or *Pletho*, *Ficinus* and *Stenchius*, make him a *Chaldean*. But by those bookes of one *Zoroaster*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a *Chaldean* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldean*) was as often giuen to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishing of Nations. *Porphyrus* makes the *Chaldei* and *Magi* diuers; *Picus* the same.⁴⁰ But that this *Zoroaster* was a *Chaldean* both by Nation and Profession, it appeareth by his Bookes, which (saith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldean* tongue; and the Comment in the same language. Now that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be iudged by the name of those bookes of *Zoroaster*, which in an Epistle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he saith, to be intituled, *Patri Ezre Zoroastrii, & Melchior magorum oracula.*

§. II.⁵⁰

§. II.

Of the name of *Magia*: and that it was anciently farre diuers from Coniuring, and Witchcraft.



OW for *Magick* it selfe; which Arte (saith *Mirandula*) pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt; Few vnderstand, and many reprehend. Et sicut *Cicero* ignotus semper allatur; As *Dogs* bark at those they know not: so they condemne and hate the things they vnderstand not: I thinke it not amisse (leauing *Ninus* for awhile) to speake somewhat thereof.

Pic. mir. fol. 81.

It is true that many men abhorre the very name and word (*Magus*) because of *Simon Magus*: who being in deede, not *Magus*, but *Gaeus*, (that is) familiar with euill spirits, vnrped that title. For *Magick*, Coniuring, and *Witcherie*, are farre differing Arts, whereof *Plinie* being ignorant scoffeth thereat. For *Nero* (saith *Plinie*) who had the most excellent *Magicians* of the East sent him by *Tyridates* King of *Armenia*, who held that Kingdome by his grace, found the arte after long studie and labour altogether ridiculous.

Plin. 30. lib. 2.
Nat.

Magus is a *Persian* word primitiue, whereby is exprest such a one as is altogether conuerfant in things diuine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the arte of *Magick* is the arte of worshipping God. To which effect *apollonius* in his Epistles expounding the word (*μαγος*) saith, that the *Persians* called their gods *μαγος*: whence he addeth that *Magus* is either: 1. *magus* Sile of *Deogratius* *magus* (that is) that *Magus* is a name sometime of him that is a God by nature; sometimes of him that is in the seruice of God: in which latter sense it is taken, *Matth. 2. v. 1.* And this is the first and highest kinde: which *Piccolominio* calleth diuine *Magick*: and these did the *Latines* newly intitle *Sapientes* or *Wisemen*: For the feare & worship of God is the beginning of knowledge. These *Wisemen* the *Greekes* call *Philosophers*; the *Indians*, *Brachmans*: which name they somewhat neerely retyaue to this day, calling their Priests *Bramines*; among the *Aegyptians* they were termed Priests; with the *Hebrewes* they were called *Cabalites*, *Prophets*, *Scribes*, and *Pharisees*: amongst the *Babylonians* they were differenced by the name of *Chaldeans*: and among the *Persians*, *Magicians*: of whom *Arnobius* (speaking of *Hosianes*, one of the ancient *Magicians*) vseth these words: *Et eorum Decurmeris maiestate persequitur, & Angelos ministros Dei, sed veri, eius uenerationis nouit as-*

Porph. & A.
pal.
Plato in Al. v.Ficet. d. De. 31.
Prouer. 1. 7.
Prouer. de. De. 31.
Iohn 1. 19.
Lingelot.

sister, Idem demonas prodiit terrenos, magos, humanitatis inimicos; *SOSTHENES* (for so *M. Felix* calleth him, not *HOSIANES*) describeth the due maiestie to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his *Angels* are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the true God. He also hath deliuered that there are *Devils* earthly and wandering, and enemies to mankind.

In octavo Mi-
nus. Prouer. cum
Arnobio, pag. 360.

HIS MAIESTIE also in his first Booke of *Demonologie* c. 3. acknowledged, that in the *Persian* tongue the word (*Magus*) imports as much as a contemplator of diuine & heauenly Sciences; but vniuſly so called, because the *Chaldeans* were ignorant of the true diuinitie. And it is also right which H IS MAIESTIE auoweth, that vnder the name of *Magick* al other vnlawfull arts are comprehended, and yet doth H IS MAIESTIE distinguish it from *Necromantie*, *Witchcraft*, and the rest: of all which he hath written largely and most learnedly. For the *Magick* which H IS MAIESTIE condemmeth, is of that kinde whereof the *Deuil* is a partie. *Daniel* in his second chapter nameth foure kindes of those *Wisemen*: *Arioli*, *Magi*, *Malefici*, and *Chaldai*. *Arioli* the old *Latine* translation calleth *Sophistes*; *Vatubius* and *Pagninus*, *Genethliacos*, or *Physici*, or *Philosophers*, or (according to the note of *Vatubius*) *Naturalisti*: *Nempe sunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod Philosophi apud Grecos* (saith) *diuinum humanarum rerum scientiam praestantes*; For the *Magi* are the same with the *Barbarians*, as the *Philosophers* are with the *Grecians* (that is) men that proffesse the knowledge of things both diuine and humane. The *Greeke* and the *Englishe* call them *Inchanters*, *Iantus*, *Magicians*, *Castilions*, *Coniurers*: in the *Syrian* they are all foure by one name called *Sapientes Babyloni*; The *Wisemen* of *Babel*.

Demonolog. li. 2.
cap. 11.

The

The second sort *Fatalibus*, *Pagnin*, *Iunius*, and our *English*, call *Astrologers*; *Hierome* and the *Septuagint*, *Magicians*.

The third kinde are *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; in *Hierome*, *Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, *Witches*, or *Possoners*: in *Iunius*, *Præfagiatores*, or *Sorcerers*, as in *English*.

That *Witches* are also rightly fo called *Venefici*, or *Possoners*; and that indeede there is a kinde of *Malefici*, which without any arte of *Magicke* or *Necromantie* use the helpe of the Deuill to doe mischiefe, *H. I. S. MAIESTIE* confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Booke: speaking also in the fifth Chapter of their practice, to mixe the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Deuill prepared; and at other times to make pictures of Waxe, or Clay, or otherwise (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things, which the Deuill by other meanes bringeth to passe.

The fourth, all Translators call *Chaldeans*: who tooke vpon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, and their euents: and this they vaunted to performe by the influences of the Starres by them obserued, and vnderstood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which haue made odious the very name of *Magicke*, hauing chiefly fought (as is the manner of all impostures) to counterfaiit the highest and most noble part of it, yet so as they haue also crept into the inferior degrees.

A second kinde of *Magicke* was that part of *Astrologie*, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kinds of agriculture and husbandrie: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Starres into those lower Elements.

Philo Iudeus goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of *Magicke* or *Astrologie*, together with the motions of the Starres and other heauenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he liued in *Chaldaea*: *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognouit Creatorem*, (saith *Io. DAMASCEN.*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature.* *IOSEPHVS* reporteth of *Abraham*, that he instructed the *Egyptians* in *Arithmetike* and *Astronomie*, who before *ABRAHAM*s coming vnto them knew none of these sciences.

And so doth *Archangelus de Burgo*, in defence of *Marandula* against *Gorsias*: *ALEXANDER & EVPOLEMON dicunt, quod ABRAHAM sanctitate & sapientia omnium præstantissimas Chaldaeos primum, deinde Phœnices, demum Ægyptios sacerdotes Astrologum & diuina docuerit*, *ALEXANDER* (saith he, meaning *ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR*) and *EVPOLEMON* affirme, that *ABRAHAM* the holiest and wisest of men, did first teach the *Chaldaeos*, then the *Phœnices*; lastly, the *Egyptian Priests*, *Astrologie* and diuine knowledge.

The third kinde of *Magicke* containeth the whole Philosophie of nature; not the brabbings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost vertues, and draweth them out of natures hidden bosome to humane vse, *Virtutes in centro centri latentes; Virtutes hidden in the center of the center, according to the Chymists*. Of this sort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villanova*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before these, in elder times, and who better vnderstood the power of nature, and how to apply things that worke to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of: *Apollonius Tyranus* remembered by *S. Hierome* to *Paulinus*; in some mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*; among the *Indians*, *Thestian*: among the *Egyptians*, *Hermes*; among the *Babylonians*, *Budda*: the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis*: the *Ethiopi* *Periborians* (as is supposed) *Abbari*: and the *Italians*, *Petrus Aponeusis*. The *Magickie* which these men profess is thus defined: *Magia est connexio à viro sapienti agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, ut inde opera prædant non sine eorum admiratione qui causam ignorant; Magickie is the connexion of naturall agents and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wiseman to the bringing forth of such effects, as are wonderfull to those that know not their causes.* In all these three kinds which other men diuide into foure, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned: especially in the first and highest. For in his Oracles he confesseth God to be the Creator of the vniuersall: he beleueth of the ** Trinitie*, which he could not intellectuallitate

De vit. sanct.
Ebr. Annal. fol.
180.

See vpon this
Comment. in
Aug. de Citat.
Dib. lib. 8. ca.

* Toto in mundo
lucet Trinitas
cuius Monas est
princeps, Cuncta
namque perfectæ
pairs, & mens
tradidit scilicet.

negligate by any naturall knowledge: he speaketh of Angels, and of *Paradise*: approueth the immortallitie of the soule: teacheth *Truth*, *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Love*, discounting of the Abstinence and Charitie of the *Magi*: which Oracles of his, *Pfellus*, *Pfell*, & *Vicin*, *Flavius*, *Patritius*, and others haue gathered and translated.

Of this *Zoroaster*, *Eusebius* in the *Theologie* of the *Phœnicians*, vsing *Zoroaster*s owne wordes: *Hæc ad verbum scribit* (saith *EVSEBIUS*) *Deus primus incorruptibilis, sempiternus, ingenuus, expertus partium, sibiipso similissimus, bonorum omnium auriga, munera non expectans, optimus, prudensissimus, pater iuris, sine doctrina institutum perdoctus, natura perfectus, sapiens, sacra natura vnicus inuentor, &c.* Thus writeth *ZOROASTER* word for word. *God the first incorruptible, enuerlasting, vngotten, without parts, most like himselfe, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, having learn'd iustice without teaching, perfect wise by nature, the only inuentor thereof.*

Sextus Senensis speaking of the wisdom of the *Chaldeans*, doth distinguish those wise men into five orders, (to wit) *Chasædum*, or *Chaldeans*: *Asaphim*, or *Magicians*: *Chartamin*; (which he translates *Arioli*, or *Sophists*) *Alcaphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; *Witches*, or *Possoners*; and *Gazarim* *Augures*, or *Aruspices*, or *Diuiners*.

Chasædum were those which had the name of *Chaldeans*, which were *Astronomers*: *Hij celorum motus diligentissime spectarunt; These did most diligently contemplate the motions of the heauens: whom Philo in the life of Abraham describeth.*

Asaphim were in the old *Latine* translation called *Philosophers*: of the *Septuagint* and of *Hierome*, *Magicians*: *Qui de omnium tam diuinorum quam humanarum verum causis Philosophati sunt; Who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well diuine as humane: of whom Origen makes Balaam (the sonne of Beor) to be the first: but Laertius ascribeth the inuention of this arte to Zoroaster the Persian.*

Chartamin, or *Inchanters*, the *Disciples* (saith *Saint Augustine*, *Plinie*, and *Iustine*) of another *Zoroaster*: who corrupted the admirable wisdom of the *Magi*, which he receiued from his Ancesters.

Alcaphim, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are those of which we haue spoken already out of *H. I. S. MAIESTIES* booke of *Demonologia*.

Gazarim, or *Aruspices* (after *S. Hierome*) which diuine from the entrailes of beasts slaine for sacrifices: or by *Gazarim* others vnderstand *Augures*, who diuine by the flying, singing, or feeding of birds.

By this distinction we may perceiue the difference betweene those wise men which the *Kings of Babylon* entertained; and that the name and profession of the *Magi* among the ancient *Persians* was most honest. For as *Pencer* truly obserueth, *Præsertim religioni Persice, ut in populo Dei Leuita, studij, vere Philosophie docti erant: nec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, quin non antea Magorum disciplinam scientiamq; percepisset; The Magi (saith he) were the chiefe Ministers of the Persian Religion, as the Leuites among Gods people, and they were giuen to the studies of true Philosophie: as neither could any be King of the Persians, who had not first bene exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the Magi.* *SIXTUS SENENSIS* in defence of *Origen* against *Polychronus* and *Theophilus*, hath two kinds of *Magickie*, his owne wordes are these: *Et ne quem moueat premissa POLYCHRONIJ & THEOPHILI testimonij, scientiam est duplicem esse Magiam; alteram vbiq; ab ORIGINE damnatam, quæ per fœdera cum demonibus inita aut verè aut apparenter operatur; alteram ab ORIGINE laudatam, quæ ad præctiuen naturæ philosophiæ pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad inuicem agentium ac patientium; That the testimonies of THEOPHILUS and POLYCHRONUS (saith he) may not moue any man, it is to be vnderstood that *Magickie* is of two sorts, the one euerywhere condemned by *ORIGEN*; which worketh (whether truly or seemingly) by covenants made with *Demills*; the other commended by *ORIGEN*; which appertaineth to the practick part of naturall Philosophie, teaching to worke admirable things by the mutual application of naturall vertues, agent and suffering reciprocally. This partition *Hierome* doth embrace in the first of his*

Com.

De præp. Evang.
lib. 1. cap. 7.

Lib. 2. fol. 46.

Laert. lib. 1.

Pencer. de Diuini
nat. 3. de mag.
fol. 135. & 136.

lib. 1. 6. fol. 424.

falsified his doctrine of Characters, Numbers, and Incantations; and taught men to beleue in the strength of Words and Letters: (which without Faith in God are but Inke or common breath) thereby eyther to equall his owne with the All-powerfull Word of God, or to diminish the glorie of Gods creating Word, by whom are all things.

Moreover, hee was neuer ignorant, that both the wise and the simple observe when the Sea-birds forsake the shores and flye into the Land, that commonly some great storme followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow betoken faire weather; that the crying of Crows and bathing of Duckes foreshew raine: for they feele the Ayre moistened in their Quills. And it is written in *Jeremie* 10 the Prophet, *Euen the Storke in the ayre knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow.* Hereupon, this enemy of Mankind working vpon these as vpon the rest of Gods creatures, long time abused the Heathen by teaching them to observe the flying of Fowles, and thereby to iudge of good or ill successe in the Warre: and (withall) to looke into their entrailes for the same, as if God had written the secrets of vnsearchable providence in the liuers and bowels of birds and beasts. Againe, because it pleased God sometimes by Dreames, not only to warne and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also; as *Abimelech* to restore *Sara* to *Abraham*; because he admonished *Joseph*, and by Dreame informed *Jacob*, *Laban*, *Pharao*, *Salomon*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the East, and others. For as it is remembred in *Isa*: In Dreames and Visions of the night when sleepe falleth vpon men, &c. Then God openeth the eares, that he might cause man to returne from his enterprise: therefore, I say, doth the Deuill also practise his Diuinations by Dreames, or (after *Parisenfis*) diuinitatis imitationes, his mocke-diuintie. This in the end grew so common, as *Aristides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his owne Dreames: *Mithridates* of those of his *Concubines*. Yea the *Romanes* finding the inconuenience hereof, because all Dreames (without distinction of causes) were drawne to Diuination, forbade the same by a Law, as by the words of prohibition *aut narrandis somnijs: occultam aliquam artem diuinandi* it may appeare. Likewise by the Law of God in *Deuteronomie* cap. 13. seducing Dreamers were ordered to be slaine. Yet it is to be contemned, not that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedie in his Dreame for two grieuous diseases that opprest him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolomies* poysoned wound; nor that which *Saint Augustine* reporteth of a *Millanoise*; whose sonne (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already payed, was told by his Father in a Dreame where the Acquittance lay to discharge it: nor that of *Athyages* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, forasmuch as the cause is notin our felues, this place denieth dispute.

§. III.

That *DANIELS* misliking *NABUCHODONOSORS* condemning of the *Magicians* doth not iustifie all their practices.



Deut. 18. 10. Leuit. 20.

BVt it may be objected, that if such Diuination as the Heathens commonly vsed were to be condemned in them, who tooke on them verie many and strange Ruelations: how came it to passe that *Daniel* both condemned the haultie sentence of *Nabuchodonosor* against the *Magicians* of *Chaldeas*, and in a sort forbade it? especially considering that such kind of people God himselfe commanded to be slaine. To this diuers answers⁵⁰ may be giuen. First, it seemeth that *Daniel* had respect to those *Chaldeans*, because they acknowledged that the Dreame of the King, which himselfe had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any Art eyther Natural or Diabolically: For there is none other (sayd the *Chaldeans*) that can declare it before the King, except the Gods, ^{who}

whose dwelling is not with flesh: and herein they confessed the power of the Euer-living God.

Secondly, it may be coniectured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any euill or vnlawfull Artes, but were merely *Magicians* and *Naturalists*: and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perswaded the contrarie, and called it a haultie iudgement, which proceeded with furie without examination. And that some of those mens studies and professions were lawfull, it may be gathered by *Daniels* instruction: for himselfe had bene taught by them, and was called chiefe of the *Enchanters*; of which some were termed *Soothsayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldeans*, others *Magior Wisemen*: and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* misliked and forbade the execution of that iudgement, because it was vniust. For howsoeuer those men might deserue punishment for the practice of vnlawfull Artes (though not vnlawfull according to the Law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltlesse. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Deuill himselfe could not know. So then in *Daniels* dislike, and hindering of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the *Magicians*, there is no absolute iustifying of their practice and profession.

§. V.

The abuse of things which may bee found in all kinds, is not so condemne the right vse of them.



NOtwithstanding this mixture euery where of good with euill, of falsehood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: The good, The truth, The puritie in euery kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by Sacrifice; there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbore to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, because the Deuill in the Image of *Baal*, *Asareth*, *Chemath*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like was so adored.

Neyther did the abuse of *Astrologie* terrifie *Abraham* (if we may beleue the most ancient and religious Historians) from obseruing the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neyther can it dehorte wise and learned men in these dayes from attributing those vertues, influences, and inclinations to the Starres and other lights of Heauen, which God hath giuen to those his glorious creatures.

The Sympatheticall and Antipatheticall working of Herbes, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other vtmost vertues, sometimes taught by the Deuill, and applied by his Ministers to harmefull and vncharitable ends, can neuer terrifie the honest and learned *Physician* or *Magician* from the vying of them to the helpe and comfort of Mankind: neyther can the illusions, whereby the Deuill betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reiect the obseruations of Dreames; so farre as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make vse of them.

Lastly, the prohibition to marke flying of Fowles (as signes of good or euill successe) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crows against Raine, or to any obseruation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may bee giuen. For if we confound Artes with the abuse of them, wee shall not only condemne all honest Trades and enterchange among men (for there are that decieve in all professions) but wee shall in a short time burie in forgetfulness all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure and couer it ouer with a most scornfull and beggerly ignorance: and (as *Plinie* teacheth) wee should shew our felues ingrates erga eos, qui laborant curam, lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce: Vnthankfull we should shew our felues toward those, who with paines and care haue discovered vnto vs light in this light.

Cusan. Comp.
Theolog. c. 1.

Indeed not only these naturall knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the *Mathematicks* also and Professors thereof: though those that are excellently learned iudge of it in this sort: *In speculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni scibili queritur, relict; non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate: In the Glasse of the Mathematicks that Truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of knowledge, not in an obscure image, but in a nere and manifest representation.*

¶ VI.

Of the diuers kinds of vniuersall Magicke.

IT is true that there are many Artes, if wee may so call them, which are couered with the name of *Magicke*: and esteemed abusively to bee as branches of that Tree, on whole root they neuer grew. The first of these hath the name of *Necromancie* or *Goetia*: and of this againe there are diuers kinds. The one is an Inuocation at the Graues of the dead, to whom the Deuill himselfe giues answer in stead of those that seeme to appeare. For certaine it is, that the immortall soules of men doe not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they giue motion and vnderstanding to the liuing: death being nothing else but a separation of the bodie and soule: and therefore the soule is not to be found in the Graues.

A second practice of those men, who pay Tribute or are in league with *Satan*, is that of coniuring or rayling vp Deuils, of whom they hope to learne what they list. These men are so distrust, as they beleue that by terrible words they make the Deuill to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keepe out a Moufe) they therein (as they suppose) inforce themselves against that great Monster. Doubtlesse, they forget that the Deuill is not terrified from doing ill and all that is contrarie to God and goodnesse, no, not by the fearefull Word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to sit in Gods seat, that hee made no scruple to tempt our Sauour *Christ*, whom himselfe called the Sonne of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an vnworthy wretch will yet resolute himselfe, that hee can draw the Deuill out of Hell, and terrifie him with a Phraze: whereas in verie truth the obedience which Deuils seeme to vse, is but thereby to possesse themselves of the bodies and soules of those which rayle them vp; as *His Maiestie* in his Booke aforesaid hath excellently taught: *That the Deuils obedience is only, secundum quid, scilicet ex pacto; respectiue, that is, vpon bargain.*

I cannot tell what they can doe vpon those simple and ignorant Deuils, which inhabit *Iamblicus* imagination; but sure I am the rest are apt enough to come vncalled: and alwayes attending the cogitations of their seruants and vassals, doe no way need any such inforcement.

Or it may be that these Coniurers deale altogether with *Cardans* mortall Deuils, as following the opinion of *Rabbi Aarnathan* and of *Porphyrius*, who taught that these kind of Deuils liued not aboue a thousand yeares: which *Plutarch* in his Treatise de *Oraculorum defectu* confirmeth, making example of the great *God Pan*. For were it true that the Deuils were in awe of wicked men, or could bee compelled by them, then would they alwayes feare those wordes and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the *Familiar of Simon Magus* when hee had lifted him vp in the Ayre, cast him headlong out of his clawes, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this perhaps were done by *S. Peters* Prayers (of which *S. Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the same prank at other times vpon his own accord the Deuill played with *Theodosius*: who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to haue bene) had the same mortall fall that he had. The like successe had *Rudas*, a principall pillar of the *Manichean* Heresie, as *Socrates* in his Ecclesiasticall Historie witnesseth: and for a manifest prooff hereof wee see it every day, that the Deuill leaves all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallowes, for whom at other times hee maketh

Euth. hist. Eccl.
lib. 5. c. 16.

Lib. 1. c. 21.

heth himselfe a *Pegasus*, to conueigh them in haste to places faire distant, or at least makes them so thinke: For to those that receiued not the truth (sayth Saint *Paul*) *God shall send them strong illusions*. Of these their supposed transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) *His Maiestie* in the second Booke and the fourth Chapter of the *Demonologie*, hath confirmed by vnanswerable reasons, that they are merely illusive. Another sort there are who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glassees and Crisall: of whom *Cusanus*: *Falsi sunt incrementores, qui in vngue & vitro volunt spiritum includere: quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore: They are foolish Incubitors which will shut up their spirits within their niles or in Glasse: for a Spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.*

There is also another Art besides the afore mentioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *white Magicke*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Inuocation they draw out of Heauen, and Communicate withall. But the administering Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due vnto their Creatour: so seeing they are most free Spirits; there is no man so absurd to thinke (except the Deuill haue corrupted his vnderstanding) that they can bee constrained or commanded out of Heauen by threats. Wherefore let the professors thereof couer themselves how they please by a professed purtie of life, by the ministerie of Infants, by fasting and abstinence in generall; yet all those that tamper with immateriall Substances and abstract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or inforcement, are men of euill faith and in the power of *Satan*. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are Deuils which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked Diuinations: as by fire, called *Pyromantia*; by water, called *Hydromantia*; by the ayre, called *Atmantia*, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other is *Fascination* or *Witchcraft*: the Practisers whereof are no lesse enuious and cruell, reuengefull and bloudie, then the Deuill himselfe. And these accursed creatures haue sold their soules to the Deuill, worke two wayes; either by the Deuill immediately, or by the art of poysoning. The difference betweene *Necromancers* and *Witches*, *His Maiestie* hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a sort) command; the other obey the Deuill.

There is another kind of pettie Witcherie (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beasts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the same exceeded the Art of Falconrie, yet was it no more to be admired then *Mahomet*s Doue, which he had vied to feed with Wheate out of his care: which Doue, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet*s shoulder, and thrust his Bill therein to find his breake-fast: *Mahomet* perswading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghost that gaue him aduice. And certainly if *Bankes* had liued in elder times, hee would haue famed all the Inchanters of the World: for whosoever was most famous among them, could neuer master or instruct any Beast as he did his Horse.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the *Marians* a people of *Italie* practised: *Colubros disrumpit Marica cantu: Inchanting Marica makes the Snakes to burst*.) That it hath bene vied it appeares, *Psal. 58. 6.* though I doubt not, but that many Impostures may bee in this kind; and euen by naturall causes it may be done. For there are many Fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the like. So many things may be laied in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other *Magicke* or Inchantment, then to draw out a Moufe with a peece of tosted Cheese.

Corin. 1. 5.

Exercit. 1. 2.

Ælian. 1. 6. not. 15.

Lucin. in Sura.

¶ 3

¶ VII.

§. VII.

Of diuers wayes by which the Deuill seemeth to worke his wonders.

BVt to the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we do not giue to the Deuill any other dominion then he hath (not to speake of his abilitie, when hee is the Minister of Gods vengeance, as when *Egypt*, according to *Dauid*, was destroyed by the Deuill) he other wayes worke but three wayes. The first is by mouing the cogitations and affections of men: The second by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And that they cannot worke what they would, *G. Parisiensis* giueth three causes: the first, a naturall impotencie; the second, their owne reason disswading them from daring ouermuch, or indeed (and that which is the only certaine cause) the great mercie of the Creatour, *Tenens eas ligatas* (sayth the same Authour) *velut immanissimas belluas*. Saint *Augustine* was of opinion that the Frogs which *Pharao*s Sorcerers produced were not naturall, but that the Deuill (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appeare to be such. For as *Varro* obserueth, those Frogs of the Enchanters were not found corrupted as those of *Moses* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof sayth Saint *Augustine*: *Nec sane Damantes naturas creant, sed quæ à Deo creata sunt commutant, ut videantur esse quod non sunt*: The Deuill create not any natures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seeme to be that which they be not: of which in the 83. Question he giueth the reason. *Demon quidam nebula implet omnes meatus intelligentie, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet*, (that is) The Deuill fills with certaine cloudes all passages of the vnderstanding, by which the beame of the mind is wont to open the light of reason.

Sint. per se de vniuerso. 2. 2. 70.

Maxima via est phantasia ad errores.

And as *Tertullian* in his Booke de anima rightly conceiuet, if the Deuill can possesse himselfe of the eyes of our mindes, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazzle those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, so the Deuill entrench in, beginning with the fantasie, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soule: for the fantasie is most apt to be abused by vaine apprehensions.

Aquinas on the contrarie held that those Frogs were not imaginarie, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *Magice artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to *Thomas*) *Per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem*: By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not be deceived by that sleight of false semblance; and Saint *Augustine* in another case like vnto this, (to wit) of the turning of *Diomedes* his Companions into Birds, *per actus cum passibus*, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perfwaded that Saint *Augustine* beleueed that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Parisiensis* a man very learned also confirmeth. For speaking of naturall *Magike* hee vseth these words: *De huiusmodi autem operibus est subita generatio variorum, & pedicularum, & vermium, aliorumque animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adiutorijs, qui ipsa semina natura confortant & acciunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut cui qui hoc fecerunt non opus natura videatur (que tardius talia efficere consuevit) sed potentia Demonum, &c.* to which he addeth: *Qui autem in his docti sunt talia non mirantur, sed solum Creatorem in his glorificant*: In such workes (sayth he) the Iodaine generation of Frogs, and Lice, and Wormes, and some other creatures is: in all which Nature alone worketh, but by means so

D. l. 2. 2. 4. 6. 67.

strengthening the Seeds of Nature, and quickning them; in such wise that they so hasten the worke of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant not to be the worke of Nature, which usually worketh more lesurely, but they thinke it is done by the power of Deuils. But they who are learned in these Arts maruaile not at such working, but glorifie the Creatour. Now by these

these two wayes the Deuills doe most frequently worke, (to wit) by knowing the vttermost of nature; and by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible or vnsearchable power, but of God only.

For shall we say, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempests; and can infect the ayre, as well as moue it or compresse it; who knowes not that these things are also naturall? Or may it be objected that he fore-telleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion? It is true, that he sometimes doth it; but how? In elder ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets: and he fore-told the death of *Saul*, at such time as he was in his owne possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath liued from the infancy of the world to this day, and obserued the successe of euery counsaile: he that by reason of his swift motions can informe himselfe of all places, and preparations: he that is of counsaile with all those that studie and practise subuersion and destruction: he that is Prince of the ayre, and can thence better iudge, then those that inhabit the earth: if he should not sometimes, yea if he should not very oftentimes gheffe rightly of things to come (where God please not to giue impediment) it were very strange. For we see that wise and learned men doe oftentimes by comparing like causes conceiue rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the Deuill doubteth and would willingly keepe his credit, he euermore answereth by 20 Riddles, as

Ephes. 2. 2. & 6. 15. Diabolus magnus habet secretum suum: que res multum habet momentum in quibus negotijs, Aug. de Animis, c. 26. 27. & c.

Cræsus Halym penetrans magnam subuertit opum vim.

If *Cræsus* ouer Halys goe,
Great Kingdomes hee shall ouerthrow.

Which answere may be taken either way: either for the ouerthrow of his owne Kingdom, or of his Enemies. And thus farre we grant the Deuill may proceed in predictions, which (otherwise) belong to God only; as it is in *Esay*: *Show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that yee are Gods: show vs at all times and certainly what is to come. Solus enim diuina intelligentia ac sapientia est, occulta mouere & reuelare: It is only proper to Gods vnderstanding and wisdom, to know and reueale hidden things.*

Guil. Parisiensis de lib. 1. c. 24.

§. VIII.

That none was euer rayed from the dead by the power of the Deuill: and that it was not the true *SAMUEL* which appeared to *SAUL*.

TO conclude, it may be objected that the Deuill hath rayed from the dead: and that others by his power haue done the like, as in the example giuen of *Samuel* rayed by the Witch of *Endor*: which were true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that some of the Deuils acts exceed all the powers of nature, false semblance, and other illusions. *Iustine Martyr* was sometimes of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeed: and so was *Ambrose*, *Lyra*, and *Burgenus*; from which authorities those men borrow strength which so beleuee. But *Martyr* changed his opinion: and so did *S. Augustine*, who at first seemed to be indifferent: For in his questions vpon the Old and New Testament, he accounteth it detestable to thinke that it was *Samuel* which appeared: and these be his wordes elsewhere to the same effect: *In requie sunt animæ piarum à corpore separate, impiorum autem pœnæ launt, donec illarum ad vitam æternam, illarum vero ad æternam mortem que secunda dicitur corpora renouiscant*: The soules of the goodly separated from their bodies are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies

Iust. Martyr in collat. cum Tryphono interpellat. ad Oratio. q. 32. Ambros. in Luc. 1. c. 11. Lyra in Reg. Aug. ad Simplician. 3. De ciuit. Dei. l. 2. c. 8.

dies of the iust rise to eternall life, and of the wicked to an eternall and second death. And (besides S. Augustine) Iustine Martyr, Eularius, Tertullian, Athanasius, Chrysostome, and others, beleueed firmly, and taught it: that the soules of men being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all: *Credere debemus* (saith CYRIL) *quam a corporibus sanctorum anime abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris* *bonitati diuine commendari; We must beleuee when the soules of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the diuine Goodnesse, as into the hands of a most deare Father.* If then they be in Heauen, the power of the Deuill cannot stretch so high: if in Hell, *Ab inferno nulla est redemptio; From hell there is no redemption.* For there are but two habitations after death: *Vnum* (saith AVGVSTINE) *in igne aeterno; alterum in regno aeterno; The one in eternall fire; the other in Gods eternall Kingdom.* And though it be written in Iure Pontificio, that many there are who beleuee that the dead haue againe appeared to the liuing; yet the Glosse vpon the same Text findes it ridiculous: *Credunt, & male, quia sunt Phantasmata* (saith the Glosse) *They beleuee, and they beleuee amisse, because they be but Phantasmes, or Apparitions.* For where-as any such voice hath beene heard, saying, I am the Soule of such a one: *Hac oratio a fraude atq. deceptione diabolica est; That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Deuill,* saith Chrysostome. Likewise of the same, saith TERTVLLIAN: *Abist ut animam cuiuslibet sancti, nedum Prophetæ, a demonio credamus extraham; God forbid that we should thinke that the soule of any holy man, much lesse of a Prophet, should be drawne up againe by a Deuill.*

16. q. 5. Epist. 101.

It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition *Samuel*, so doe they the wooden images *Cherubims*: and false brazen gods are called gods, and the like. And where-as these of the contrarie opinion build vpon that place of the 26. of *Ecclesiasticus* (a booke not numbred among the *Canonical* Scriptures, as S. Augustine himselfe in his Treatise, if it be his, *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, confesseth) yet *Siracides* following the literal sense and phrase of the Scriptures, proueth nothing at all: For though the Deuill would willingly perfwade, that the soules (yea euen of iust men) were in his power, yet so farre is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods iust and mercifull nature, and so contrarie to all diuine reason, as Saint Augustine (or 30 whosoeuer wrote that booke before cited) might rightly terme it a detestable opinion so to thinke. For if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that he refused to answer him either by *dreames*, by *Prim*, or by his *Prophets*: it were forth to conceiue, that he would permit the Deuill, or a wicked Witch, to raise a Prophet from the dead in *Sauls* respect: it being also contrarie to his owne diuine Law to aske counsaile of the dead; as in *Deuteronomie* 18. and elsewhere. Therefore it was the Deuill, and not the soule of a dead body, that gaue answer and aduice.

1. Kings 17. 12.
2. Kings 4. 34.
Nihil enim
magis aut de-
mon mortuum
vixit unquam
exultans,
vixit de falsis.

But because *Helias* and *Helizetue* had raised some from the dead by the power of God; those Deuils which S. Augustine calleth *iudificatores animantium sub iudicio*; *Mockers of their owne vassals*, calling before their eyes a semblance of humane bodies, and framing sounds to their eares like the voyces of men, doe also perfwade their gracelesse and accursed attendants, that themelues both possesse, and haue power ouer the soules of men. *Eludit Diabolus aciem tuam speculantium, tum etiam cogitantium,* saith L. VIVES; *The Deuill beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine.* These then are the bounds of the Deuils power, whom if we wil not feare, we must feare to sinne. For when he is not the instrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himselfe his voluntarie vassall: *Potesi ad malum inuitare, non potes trahere,* saith S. AVGVSTINE, *he can allure, but he cannot inforce to euill.* Such as thinke otherwise, may goe into the number remembered by *Lucretius*.

Nam

*Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atq. omnia caecis
in tenebris metuant: sic nos in luce timemus.*

We feare by light, as children in the darke.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of NINVS, and of his
wife SEMIRAMIS: and of other
of her acts.

§. I.

Of the magnificent building of Ninine by NINVS: and of Babylon
by SEMIRAMIS.



Vt to come backe to *Ninus* the amplifier and finisher of *Ninine*: whether he performed it before or after the ouerthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is vncertaine. As for the Citie it selfe, it is agreed by all prophane Writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it had in compasse 440. *stadia*, or furlongs; the walls whereof were an hundred foot vpright, and had such a bredth as three Chariots might passe on the Rampire in front: these walls were garnished with 1500. Towres which gaue exceeding beautie to the rest, and a strength no lesse admirable for the nature of those times.

But this Citie (built in the Plaines of *Assyria*, and on the bankes of *Tigris*, and in the Region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus* time; and (as ancient Historians report, and more lately *Naclerus*) had the name of *Campfor*, at such time as *Ninus* amplified the same, and gaue it a wall, and called it after his owne name.

For these workes of *Babylon* and *Ninine* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldea*, and in *Assyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Ninus* finished *Ninine*, *Semiramis* *Babylon*: wherein thee sought to exceede her husband by farre. Indeed in the first Age when Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to inuade others, nor feared to be inuaded: labouring to build Townes and Villages for the vse of themelues and their people, without either Walls or Towres; and how they might discharge the earth of Woods, Bryars, Bushments, and Waters, to make it the more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* liuing in that Age, when Ambition was in strong youth: and purposing to follow the conquest which her husband had vnder-taken, gaue that beautie and strength to *Babylon* which it had.

Isid. l. 2.
Diod. l. 1.
Sabel. l. 1. c. 11.

Herod. l. 2.
Isid. l. 1.
Diod. l. 1. c. 11.

§. II.

§. I.

Of the end of NINUS: and beginning of SEMIRAMIS reigne.



His shee did after the death of her husband *Ninus*: who after he had mastered *Bactria*, and subiected vnto his Empire all those Regions betwene it and the *Mediterranean Sea* and *Hellespont* (Asia the lesse excepted) and finished the worke of *Ninus*, he left the World in the yeere thereof 2019. after he had reigned 52. yeeres. *Plutarch* reporteth that *Semiramis* desired her husband *Ninus*, that he would grant vnto her the absolute ¹⁵ soveraigne power for one day. *Diod. Siculus* out of *Athenaus*, and others, speaks of five dayes. In which time (moued either with desire of rule, or licentious libertie, or with the memorie of her husband *Menon*, who perished for her) shee caused *Ninus* her husband to be slaine. But this seemeth rather a scandall cast on her by the *Greekes*, then that it had any truth.

Howsoeuer *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* tooke on her after his death the sole rule of the *Assyrian* Empire: of which, *Ninus* was said to be the first Monarch, because he changed his seat from *Babylonia* in *Chaldea* to *Ninive* in *Assyria*. *Justin* reports, that *Semiramis* (the better to invest herselfe, and in her beginning without murmur or offence to take on her so great a charge) presented herselfe to the people ²⁰ in the person of her sonne *Ninus* or *Zameis*, who bare her externall forme and proportion without any sensible difference.

This report I take also to be fayned, for which many arguments might be made. But as the ruled long, so she performed all those memorable acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that letter which shee sent to the King of *India* (her last challenge and undertaken conquest) by her owne name. And were it true that her sonne *Ninus* had such a stature at his Fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that she could haue held the Empire from him 42. yeeres after by any such subtiltie: (for so long shee reigned after the death of her husband:) but it may be true ²⁵ that *Ninus* or *Zameis* (being wholly giuen to his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleased with his Mothers prosperous gouernement and vnder-takings.

§. III.

Of SEMIRAMIS parentage and education, and Metamorphosis of her Mother.



Some Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to haue bene of base parentage, calling her after the name of her Countrey, a *Syrian*. *Berosus* calls her after the name of her Citie wherein shee was borne, *Semiramis Ascalonitis*; of *Ascalon*, the ancient Citie and Metropolis of the *Philistims*. Others report her to be the daughter of *Derceta*, a *Churizian* of *Ascalon*, exceeding beautifull. Others say, that this *Derceta* or *Dercetis*, the Mother of *Semiramis*, was sometimes a Recluse, and had profest a holy and a religious life, to whom there was a Temple dedicated, seated on the bank of a Lake adioyning to *Ascalon*; and afterward falling in loue with a goodly yong man, she was by him made with child, which (for feare of extreme punishment) she conuayed away, and caused the same to be hidden among the high reedes which grew on the banks of the Lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wild ⁴⁰ beausts) the same was fed by certayne birds, which vied to feede vpon or neere those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupat* the Harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adioyning to this Lake, had the charge and fosteridge of this child, who being per chance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby

thereby hope the better to couer her dishonor and breach of vow; notwithstanding which shee was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adioyning, and (as the Poets haue fayned) changed by *Venus* into a Fish, all but her face, which still held the same beautie and humane shape. It is thought that from this *Derceta* the inuention of that Idoll of the *Philistims* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a mans face, and a fishes body: into whose Temple when the *Arke* of God was brought, the Idoll fell twice to the ground: and at the second fall there remayned only the Trunke of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For so *S. Hierome* hath conuerted that place. *Vatibius*, *Paginus*, and *Iunius*, write it by *Dagon* onely, ¹⁰ which signifieth a fish, and so it only appeared: the head thereof by the second fall being sundred from the body.

For my selfe I rather thinke, that this *Dagon* of the *Philistims* was an Idoll representing *Triton*, one of those imaginarie Sea-gods vnder *Neptune*. For this Citie being maritimate (as all those of the *Philistims* were, and so were the best of *Phoenicia*) vied all their deuotions to *Neptune*, and the rest of the pettie gods which attended him.

§. IIII.

Of her Expedition into India, and death after discomfiture: with a note of the improbabilitie of her vices.



Vt for her Pedigree, I leaue it to the *Assyrian* Herald: and for her vicious life, I ascribe the report thereof to the enuious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacie and ease doe more often accompanie licentiousness in men and women, then labour and hazzard doe. And if the one halfe be true which is reported of this Lady, then there neuer liued any Prince or Princesse more worthy of fame then *Semiramis* was, both for the workes shee did at *Babylon* and elsewhere, and for the warres shee made with glorious successe: ³⁰ all but her last enterprize of *India*; from whence both *Sirabo* and *Arianus* report that she neuer returned: and that of all her most powerfull Armie there suruiued but onely twentie persons: the rest being either drowned in the Riuer of *Indus*, dead of the famine, or slaine by the sword of *Staurabates*. But as the multitude which went out are more then reason hath numbred: so were those that returned lesse then could haue escaped of such an Armie, as consisted of foure millions & vpwards. For these numbers which shee leuiued by her Lieutenant *Dercetous* (saith *Suidas*) did consist of Foot-men three millions; of Horse-men one million; of Charriots armed with hookes on each side one hundred thousand; of those which fought vpon Camels as many; of Camels for burden two hundred thousand; of raw Hides for all vses ⁴⁰ three hundred thousand; of Gallies with brazen heads three thousand, by which shee might transport ouer *Indus* at once three hundred thousand Souldiers: which Gallies were furnished with *Syrians*, *Phenicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. These incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had every man and beaust but fed vpon grasse) are taken from the authority of *Ctesias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: so *Diodorus* himselfe hath nothing of certaintie, but from *Xerxes* expedition into *Greece* and afterwards: whose Armie (though the same was farre inferior to that of *Semiramis*) yet had it weight enough to ouerlode the belief of any reasonable man. For all Authors consent, that *Xerxes* transported into *Greece* an Armie of 1700000. and gathered together (therein to passe the *Hellespont*) three thousand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the severall Provinces whence those Gallies were taken hath collected the number.

But of what multitude soeuer the Armie of *Semiramis* consisted: the same being broken and ouerthrowen by *Staurabates* vpon the banks of *Indus*, *cantiones cantauit ex-
tremum*:

tremum: (hee sang her last song; and (as Antiquitie hath fayned) was changed by the gods into a Dove (the bird of Venus) whence it came that the Babylonians gave a Dove in their enignes.

¶ V.

of the Temple of BELVS built by SEMIRAMIS: and of the Pyramides of Egypt.



Among all her other memorable and more then magnificent workes (besides the wall of the Citie of Babylon) was the Temple of Bel, erected in the middle of this Citie, inuironed with a wall carryed four-square of great heighth and beautie, hauing on each square certayne brazen gates curiously engrauen. In the Core of the square he raised a Towre of a furlong high, which is halfe a quarter of a mile; and vpon it againe (taking a Basis of a lesse circuit) the set a second Towre; and so eight in all, one above another: vpon the top whereof the Chaldeans Priests made the obseruation of the starres, because this Towre ouer-topped the ordinarie cloudes.

By beholding the ruines of this Towre haue many Trauailers beene deceived; who suppose that they haue seene a part of Nimrods Towre, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of Bel: (except this of Bel were founded on that of Nimrod.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense euery yeere (saith Herodotus.) This Temple did Nabuchodonosor adorne with the spoiles of Hierusalem, and of the Temple of Salomon: all which vessels and ornaments Cyrus redeliuered. This temple Xerxes euened with the soile; which Alexander is said to haue repaired by the perswasions of the Chaldeans. I denie not that it might haue been in his desire so to doe; but he enioyed but a few yeeres after Babylon taken, and therefore could not performe any such worke. The Egyptians (saith Ptolemy) inhabiting a low and leuell ground, and giuen to the same superstition of the starres who the Chaldeans were, erected in imitation, and for the same seruice and vse, the Pyramides by Memphis, which were *conspicua undiq, nauigantibus*, saith Plinie. Of these Pyramides, Bellonius a carefull obseruer of rarities (who being in Egypt mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report: *Le meilleur archer qui seroit a la sommite, & tirant une fleche en l'air, a peine pourroit l'envoyer hors de sa base qu'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez; The best archer standing on the top of one of these Pyramides, and shooting an arrow from thence into the ayre as farre as he can, with great difficulty shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall vpon some of the degrez or steps.*

Finis Libri primi.

THE



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD: INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM The birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction of the Temple of Salomon.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the time of the birth of ABRAHAM: and of the vse of this question, for the ordering of the Storye of the Assyrian Empire.

¶ I.

Of some of the successours of SEMIRAMIS: with a brieft transition to the question, about the time of the birth of ABRAHAM.



AFTER the death of Semiramis, Ninias or Zameis succeeded her in the Empire, on whom Berossus Annianus beflowes the conquest of Bactria, and the ouerthrow of Zoroaster; contrary to Diodorus, Iustine, Orosius, and all other approved writers. For Ninias being esteemed no man of warre at all, but altogether feminine, and subiect to ease and delicacie, there is no probability in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this Ninias of any moment, other then that out of ialousie he euery yeere changed his Prouinciall Governours, and built Colledges for the Chaldean Priests, his Astronomers: nor by Arius his successor, whom Suidas calleth Thyras; but that he reduced againe the Bactrians and Caspians, revolted as it seemeth in Ninias as his time: nor of Aralus, the successor of Arius; but that he added sumptuosity, inuented iewels of gold and stone, and some engins for the warre: I will for this present passe them ouer, and a while follow Abraham, whose wayes are warrantable, (till wee meet these Assyrians againe in this story) by whom and by whose issues we shall best giue date to the Kings of Babylon: Abraham liuing at once with Ninus, Ninias,

nias, Semiramis, Arius, Aralus, and Xerxes or Balanus: For otherwise if we seeke to proue things certaine by the vncertaine, and iudge of those times, which the Scriptures set vs down without error, by the reignes of the Assyrian Princes: we shall but patch vp the story at adventure, and leaue it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures doe not helpe vs, *Misum non est in rebus antiquis Historiam non constare*, Nonmiruall if then in things very ancient, History want assurance.

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long these Assyrian Kings reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of Abrahams birth, and in what yeere the same hapned after the flood. Now since all agree, that the fortieth three yeere of Nimus was the birth-yeere of Abraham; by prouing directly out of the Scriptures, in what yeere after the flood the birth of Abraham hapned, we shall thereby let all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much iangling betweene those Chronologers, which follow the Hebrew account, and others: the most part making 291. or 293. yeeres; others 352. yeeres between Abrahams birth and the flood: a matter often disputed, but neuer concluded.

Arctiloctus de temporibus (as we finde him in *Annus*) makes but 250. yeeres from the flood to Nimus: then seeing that Abraham was borne in the fortieth three yeere of Nimus, according to *Ensebius*, and *S. Augustine*, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the yeere of Abrahams birth was in the yeere after the flood 293. or as the most part of all Chronologers gather, the yeere 292.

Now, since I doe here enter into that neuer-resolued question, and Labyrinth of times, it behoueth me to giue reason for my owne opinion: and with lo much the greater care and circumspection, because I walke aside, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those darts, which Enuie casteth at nouelty, than to goe on safely and sleepily in the easie waies of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diuersity.

§. II.

A proposall of reasons or arguments, that are brought to proue ABRAHAM was borne in the yeere 292. after the Flood, and not in the yeere 352.

THose which seeke to proue this account of 292. yeeres, betweene the generall flood and Abrahams birth, ground themselves, first on these words of the Scripture: So *TERAH* lived 70. yeeres, and begot *ABRAHAM*, *NAHOR*, and *HARAN*: secondly, vpon the opinion of *Iosephus*, *S. Augustine*, *Beza*, *Isidore*, and many of the ancient Hebrewes before them: authorities (while they are slightly lookt ouer) seeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembered, the later Chronologers gather these arguments. First out of the wordes as they lie; that *TERAH* at 70. yeeres begot *ABRAHAM*, *NAHOR*, and *HARAN*: and that *Abraham* being the first named, *Abraham* being the worthiest, *Abraham* being the sonne of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and so necessarily borne in the sevenieth yeere of his life. Secondly, it was of *Abraham* that *Moses* had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heire of the blessing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran*: for the scope of this Chapter was to set downe the Genealogy of *Christ*, so from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor*, and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldest sonne, then there can bee no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtfull. For it can not then be proued, that *Abraham* was borne more assuredly in the 130. yeere of

Terah

Terah his age, then in the 131. 132. &c. *Moses* hauing no where set downe precisely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very yeere, in which his Father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. yeere: seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. yeeres.

§. III.

The answer to one of the objections proposed, shewing that ABRAHAM made but one iourney out of Mesopotamia into Canaan: and it, after his Fathers death.

TO answer all which objections it is very easie, the way being prepared thereto by diuers learned Diuines long since, and to which I will adde somewhat of mine owne, according to the small talent which God hath giuen me. Now forasmuch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, vnlesse the time of *Abrahams* iourney into *Canaan* be first considered of; before I descend vnto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method so farre, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his trauailes, that seruet as a ground for this opinion, and a bulwarke against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceiued that *Abraham* made two iournies into *Canaan*: the latter after his Fathers death, the former presently vpon his calling, which he performed without all delay, not staying for his fathers death at *Harar*: a coniecture, drawn from a place in the Epistle to the Hebrewes, where it is written, By faith *ABRAHAM* (when hee was called) obeyed God, to goe out into a place, which he should afterward receive for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither hee went. This supposition (if it bee granted) serueth very well to vphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let vs therefore see whether we may giue credit to the supposition it selfe.

Surely, that *Abraham* first departed *Charran* or *Harar* after the death of *Terah* his Father, the same is proued, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of *S. STEPHEN*: And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where ye now dwell, that was, out of *Harar* into *Canaan*. Against which place so direct, and plaine, what force hath any mans fancie or supposition, perswading, that *Abraham* made two iournies into *Canaan*; one before *Terah*'s death, and another after: n such thing being found in the Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reason to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alleadged can picke any argument, prouing, or affording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* past into *Canaan*, and then returned vnto *Harar*, from whence he departed a second time: then I thinke it reason, that he be beleueed in the rest. But that hee performed the commandement of God after his Fathers death, leauing *Harar* and *Harar* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themselves are true. For after his Father was dead, (saith the Martyr *Stephen*) God brought him into this Land. And, as *Beza* noeth, if *Abraham* made a double iourney into *Canaan*, then must it be inferred, that *Moses* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembered the other: and whence had *Stephen*, saith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abrahams* coming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moses*? For if *Stephen* had spoken any thing of those times, differing from *Moses*, he had offered the Iewes his aduersaries too great an occasion both of scandalizing himselfe, and the Gospell of *Christ*. Indeed we shall finde small reason to make vs thinke that *Abraham* passed and repassed those wayes, more often than he was enforced so to doe, if we consider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome iourney, than the strength of his faith in Gods promise: in which if any thing would haue brought him to despair, he had more cause then euer man had to fall into it. For hee came into a Region of strong and stubborn nations: a Nation of valiant and resolute Idolaters. He was besieged with famine at his first arrival, and driuen to live into

Egypt for reliefe. His wife was olde, and he had no sonne to inherit the promise. And when God had given him *Isaac*, he commaunded him to offer him vp to himselfe for Sacrifice: all which discomforts hee patiently and constantly vnderwent.

Secondly, let vs consider the wayes themselves, which *Abraham* had to passe ouer, the length whereof was 300. English miles: and through Countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himselfe ouer the great riuer of *Euphrates*, to trauaile through the dangerous and barren Delarts of *Palmyrena*, and to climbe ouer the great and high mountaines of *Libanus*, *Herman* or *Gilead*: and whether these were easie walks for *Abraham* to march twice ouer, containing, as aforesaid, 300. miles in length, let euery reasonable man iudge. For if hee traualled twice; then was his iourney in all 1800. miles from *Haran*: and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disprove this fancie; the manner of *Abrahams* departing from *Haran* hath more prooffe, that hee had not animus reuertendi, not any thought of looking backward, than any mans bare coniecture, be he of what antiquity or authority looser. For thus it is written of him, *Then Abraham tooke Sara his wife, and Lot his brothers sonne, and all their substance that they possessed, and the soules that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the land of Canaan, and to the Land of Canaan they came.* Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was deare vnto him; his wife, and kinsmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walke it backe againe for his pleasure, in so warme, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was: or if hee could haue bene thereto moued, it is more likely that he would haue then returned, when he was yet vnsettled, and prest with extreme famine at his first arrivall. For had his Father bene then aliue, he might haue hoped from him to receiue more assured comfort and reliefe, then among the *Egyptians*, to whom hee was a meere stranger both in Religion and Nation.

What the cause might bee of *Abrahams* returne to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures haue sent him backe thither, about the time of his fathers death: so they perhaps, if they were vrged, could say little elsse, than that without such a second voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should doe well to make plaine if it be not otherwise troublefome. They say that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his Fathers death, or some time after, being then by their account 135. yeeres old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite vndone the businesse, which as wee reade, was within foure or five yeeres after that time his greatest, or (as may seeme) his onely care? Did not he binde with a very solemne oath his principall seruant, in whom hee reposed most confidence, to trauaile into those parts, and seeke out a wife for *Isaac* his sonne? and doth it not appeare by all circumstances, that neither he nor his seruant were so well acquainted in *Meopotamia*, that they could particularly designe any one woman, as a fit match for *Isaac*? Surely if *Abraham* had bene there in person so lately, as within foure or five yeeres before, hee would not haue forgotten a matter of such importance; but would haue trusted his owne iudgement, in choosing a woman, fit for her piety, vertue, and other desireable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his onely sonne, who was then 35. yeeres old; before which age most of the Patriarches after the flood had begotten children, rather than haue left all at randome to the consideration of a seruant, that neither knew any, nor was knowne of any in that Country. But let it be supposed (if it may be beleued) that either *Abraham* forgot this businesse when he was there, or that somewhat hapned which no man can deuise. What might be the reason, that *Abrahams* man, in doing his masters errand, was faine to lay open the whole story of his masters prosperity, telling it as newes, that *Sarah* had borne to him a sonne in her old age? If *Abraham* himselfe, a more certaine Author, had so lately bene among them, would not all this haue bene an idle tale? It were needlesse to stand long vpon a thing so euident Wheret,

Whether it were lawful for *Abraham* to haue returned back to *Haran*, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable: considering how auerse hee was from permitting his sonne to be carried thither: euen though a wife of his owne kindred could not haue bene obtained without his personall presence. *Isaac* indeed was sent thither by his parents, to take a wife of his owne lineage; not without Gods especial approbation, by whose blessing he prospered in that iourney: yet hee liued there as a seruant; suffered many injuries; and finally was driuen to conuey himselfe away from thence by flight. For although it bee not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be obserued, that God alloweth not in his seruants any desire of returning to the place, from whence hee hath taken, and transplanted them. That brieue laying, *Remember: Lot's wife*, contains much matter. Let vs but consider *Meopotamia* from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt*, out of which the whole nation of the *Israelites* was deliuered: wee shall finde, that no blessing issued from either of them, to the posterity of the Hebrewes. When *Ezechias* was visited with an honourable Embassie from *Babel*, it seemes that hee conceived great pleasure in his minde, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the prophecy which thereupon he heard by *Esaie*, made him to know, that the counsaile of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of *Babylon* they fate downe and wept. Concerning *Egypt* we reade, that *Seisac* and *Neco* Kings of *Egypt* brought calamitie vpon *Israell*: also that their confidence in the *Egyptian* succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to return into *Egypt* I doe not remember, nor can readily find; but it is found in *Deuteronomie*, that God had said, *They should no more returne that way*; which is giuen, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to returne to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his Horses. Whether the Lord had laied any such imprecation vpon *Abraham* of not returning to *Meopotamia*, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably; that hee neuer did returne, all circumstances do (to my vnderstanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of *Abrahams* is but an imagination: and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perwade those of iudgement or vnderstanding: I take it sufficient, that *S. Stephen* hath directly taught vs, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his Father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to prove it, I will beleuee as they doe. For all the trauailes of *Abraham* are precisely set downe in the Scriptures: as first from *Ur* or *Comerina* in *Chaldaea* to *Haran* or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his Fathers death) to *Siehem*; from *Siehem* hee remoued to a mountaine betwene *Bethel* and *Haie*: thence into *Egypt*: from *Egypt* hee returned thither againe, where *Lot* and he parted, because their flocks and herds of Cattle were more, then could bee fed in that part: from thence the second time hee remoued to *Mamre*, neere *Hebron*: and thence hauing pursued *Amraphel*, and rescued *Lot*, hee after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Iudamaa*, vnder *Abimelec*: and after neere vnto it at *Bethsabe*, at which time hee was ready to offer vp his sonne *Isaac* on the mountaine *Moriab*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran* or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one story, either diuine or humane. Now if it may be supposed, that *Abraham* had made any former iourney into *Canaan*, as *Leuitain* his *Cabala* hath fained; it should in reason bee therewithall beleueed, that he would in those his first trauailes haue provided himselfe of some certaine seat, or place of abiding: and not haue come a second time, with his wife, kinsmen, familie, goods and Cattle, not knowing whereon to rest himselfe. But *Abraham*, when he came from *Charran*, past through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Siehem*, and the Plaine of *Moriab*: where finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to *Bethel* and *Haie*: and so from Nation to Nation, to discover and finde out some fit habitation: from whence againe, as it is written in *Genesis* the eleuenth, *He went forth, going and iourning towards the South*: and alwayes vnstaid. By occasion of which wandering to and fro, some say, the *Egyptians* gaue him and his

Mons. in Calc.

his the name of *Hebrai*. Further, to proue that hee had not formerly bene in the Countrey, we may note, that ere he came to *Bethel* and *Haie*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared vnto him, saying, *Vnto thy seed will I giue this Land*, shewing it him as vnto a stranger therein, and as a land to him vnknewe. For *Abraham* without any other prouident care for himselfe, beleueed in the word of the liuing God: neither sending before, nor comming first to discover it; but being arriued, he receiued a second promise from God, that hee would giue those Countreies vnto him and his seede to inhabit and inherit.

Lastly, what should moue any man to thinke, that *Moses* would haue omitted any such double journey of *Abrahams*, seeing hee letteth downe all his passages else where, long and short: as when he moued from *Sichem*, and feated betweene *Haie* and *Bethel*: the distance being but twenty miles: and when he moued thence to the valley of *Mamre*, being but twentie foure miles: and when hee left *Mamre*, and fate downe at *Gerar*, being lesse then fixe miles; no, *Moses* past ouer all the times of the first age with the greater breuitie, to hasten him to the story of *Abraham*: shunting vp all betweene the Creation and the Flood in six chapters; which age lasted 1656. yeeres: but hee bestoweth on the story of *Abraham* fourteene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleuenth, and ending with his death in the fise and twentieth; and this time endured but 175. yeere. It hath therefore no face of truet, that *Moses* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abrahams* trauailes, or other actions: or that hee would set downe those small remooues of fise miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a journey in going and comming would haue misliued some variety of matter, or accident, worthe the inserting and adding to *Abrahams* storie.

p. IIII.

The answer to another of the obiections proposed, shewing that it was not unlikely, that TERAB should beget ABRAHAM in his hundred and thirty yeere.

NOW touching the obiection, where it is said, that it was very vnlike that *Terab* should beget *Abraham* in his 130. yeere, seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to haue a sonne at an hundred: this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed miscaft, and mistaken: *Abraham* hauing respect only to *Sarah* his wife, when he spake of their many yeeres. For when the Angell saide vnto *Abraham* in his Tent doore at *Mamre*; *Loe, SARAH thy wife shall haue a Sonne*, it followeth in the next verse, *Now ABRAHAM and SARAH were olde and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with SARAH after 40 the manner of women: therefore SARAH laughed, &c.*

So then, in that it is said, it ceased to be with *SARAH* after the manner of women, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, & not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his second wife *Keurah* had many sons after *Sarah*'s death, as *Zimron*, *Jockhsan*, *Medan*, *Adinai*, *Ischak*, and *Shuah*: and the eldest of these was borne 37. yeeres after *Isaac*: and the youngest 40. yeeres after. What strangeness then, that *Terab* being 130. yeeres old should beget *Abraham*, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed deliaise of *Abraham* at one hundred yeeres? For *Sarah* died in the yeere of the world 2145. and *Isaac* was borne in the yeere 2109: and *Abraham* did not marry *Keurah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* begat fise sonnes 36. yeeres after this supposed wonder, and when *Abraham* was 137. yeeres old: it is not strange that his Father *Terab* should beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Booz*, *Obed*, and *Iesse*, who liued so many yeeres and ages after *Abraham*, begat sons at 100. yeeres, or neere it, it cannot be mer-

Origen. h. mil. 1.
in Gen. Aug. de
Ciu. Dei. l. 1. c. 16.
34. Caetan: &
Petr. in Gen.

nailed

uailed at, that *Terab* begat *Abraham* at 130. and *Abraham* others at the same age and seuen yeeres after.

p. V.

The answer to two more of the obiections: shewing that wee may haue certaintie of *Abrahams* age from the Scripture, though we make not *Abraham* the eldest Sonne: and that there was great cause, why in the story of *Abraham* his two brethren should be expected.

IT followeth now to speake something to the obiection, which brings *Abrahams* age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest sonne of *Terab*, and borne when *Terab* was 70. yeeres old. For *Abrahams* age being made vncertaine, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That wee cannot be certaine of *Abrahams* age, vnlesse we make him the eldest sonne, is false. For it is plaine in the Scriptures, that when *Terab* was 205. which was the yeere of his death, then was *Abraham* 75. And if you aske, how I can iudge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I answer, that *S. Stephen* hath told vs, that *Abrahams* departure followed the death of his Father *Terab*: and *Terab* died at 205; so as the 75. yeere of *Abraham* was the 205. yeere of *Terab*: which knowne, there can be no error in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the obiection, where it is said, That *Moses* had no respect vnto *Nachor* and *Haran*, because they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* onely, with whom God established the Covenent, and of whom *Christ* descended according to the flesh, &c. I answer, that *Moses* for many great and necessary causes had respect of *Nachor* and *Haran*. For the succession of Gods Church is not witnessed by *Abraham* alone, but by the issues of *Nachor* and *Haran*, were they Idolaters or otherwise. For *Nachor* was the Father of *Bethuel*, & *Bethuel* of *Rebecca*, the mother of *Israel*: & *Haran* was the parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcab*: and *Sarah* was mother to *Isaac*, and grandmother to *Jacob*: *Milcab* also the wife of *Nachor*, and mother of *Bethuel*, was *Jacobs* great grandmother: and the age of *Sarah* the daughter of *Haran* is especially noted, in that it pleased God to giue her a sonne at 90. yeeres, and when by nature she could not haue concieued. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet because both *Nachor* and *Abraham* married the daughters of their brother *Haran*; and because *Isaac* married *Rebecca* the grand-child of *Nachor*; and *Jacob*, *Lea*, and *Rachel*, the daughters of *Laban*, the grand-child also of *Nachor*: It was not superfluous in *Moses* to giue light of these mens times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange Gods, as it is 49 1st. 24. 2. yet I see no cause to thinke, that they still continued Idolaters. For they beleued and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leauing their naturall Countrey, and Citie of *Ur* in *Chaldea*, as *Abraham* did, and remooued thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his Father *Terab*, ere they left *Chaldea*; but *Lot*, his sonne, followed *Abraham* into *Canaan*; and *Sarah*, the sister of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nachor* also, who remained at *Charran*, gaue his sonnes daughters to *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, his own kinsmen: he himselfe hauing also married in his owne family; not thinking it pleasing vnto God to mixe themselves with strangers and Idolaters. And that these men at length beleueed in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For when *Laban* had seene the seruant of *Abraham* standing at the Well beside *Charran*, hee inuited 50 him to his Fathers house in this manner: Come in, thou blessed of *IEHOVAH*, &c. And when this seruant of *Abrahams* demanded an answer as touching *Rebecca*, then answered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and said, This thing is proceeded of *IEHOVAH*: meaning that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein he acknowledged Gods providence. Likewise in the following verse it is written; Take, take, see that *Isaac* may be 1b7

Gen. 24. v. 31.

Gen. 24. v. 50.

thy Masters sonnes wife, euen as IEROVAH hath said. This their often vsing of the name of IEROVAH, which is the proper Name of the true God, is a signe that they had the knowledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of Saint Chrysostome, and some later writers, as Caietan, Olesaster, Anselmus, Caluin, Mercer, and others, that Laban was an Idolater, because he retained certaine Idols, or household Gods, which Rachel stole from him; yet that he believed in the true God it cannot be denied. For hee acknowledged the God of Abraham and of Nahor, and he called Abrahams servant, blessed of IEROVAH, as aforesaid. So as for my selfe I dare not auow, that these men were out of the Church, who sure I am were not out of the faith.

¶ VI.

That the naming of ABRAHAM first of the three brethren, Gen. II. v. 26. doth not prove that he was the eldest: together with diuers reasons proving that ABRAHAM was not the eldest sonne of TERAH.



O the maine obiection which I answer last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strive to shorten the times, endeavour to prove that Abraham was the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70. yeere of Terahs life: grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture, And TERAH lived 70. yeeres and begat ABRAHAM, NAHOR, and HARAN: To this I say, that although Abraham in this verse be first named, yet the same is no prooffe at all that he was the eldest & first borne sonne of Terah. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scripture was therefore eldest in blood and birth, neither doth it appeare, that it pleased God to make especiall choice of the first sonnes in nature and time: for Seth was not the first borne of Adam; nor Isaac of Abraham; nor Jacob of Isaac; nor Iuda and Joseph of Jacob: nor David the eldest of Jesse; nor Salomon of David: as is formerly remembred.

Gen. II. v. 26.

Aug. quæst. super Gen. 25.

But it is written of NOAH; NOAH was 500. yeeres old, and NOAH begat SHEM, HAM, and JAPHET: shewing that at the 500. yeere of his age he began to beget the first of those three sonnes. For according to S. Augustine, speaking generally, Nec attendenda est in his ordo natiuitatis, sed significatio future dignitatis: in qua excellit ABRAHAM. The order of natiuitie is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignitie: in which ABRAHAM was preferred. And therefore, as in the order of the sonnes of NOAH: so is it here; where it is said, that TERAH lived 70. yeeres, and begat ABRAHAM, NAHOR, and HARAN: For it was late ere Terah began to beget Sonnes, himselfe being begotten by his Father Nahor at 29. as other his Ancestors were at 30. The like also happened to NOAH: for whereas Adam begat Seth at 130; Enosh 40 Kenan at 90; Kenan Mahalaleel at 70; Mahalaleel Iered at 60: NOAH was yet 500. yeeres old when he began to beget the first of his three sonnes, as aforesaid. And S. Augustine in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that Abraham was the youngest of Terahs sonnes, then otherwise: though for his excellencie he was worthily named first. His owne words are these: Fieri enim potuit ut posterior sit generatus ABRAHAM: sed merito excellentie, quia in Scripturis valde commendatur, prior sit natus. It might be, saith he, that ABRAHAM was begotten later: but was first named in regard of his excellencie, for which in Scripture he is much commended. So as the naming first or last proveth nothing who was first or last borne: either in those of NOAH, or in these of Terah: Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spirituall blessing, for Moses nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest and first in Gods fauour. Pietas ergo vel ipsa potestas electio diuina, quæ comitem secum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dedit SEMI in liberis NOA, & ABRAHAMO in liberis THAR. Pietie, saith he, or rather diuine election

election, which doth euermore draw with it or after it pietie and the feare of God, gave place and predecence to SEM among the children of NOAH, and to ABRAHAM among those of Thare.

For the rest it is manifest, that Abraham entred Canaan in the 75. yeere of his age. And it was in Canaan that Hagar bare him Isaac, when Abraham had liued 86. yeeres. Gen. 12. 4. It was at Gerar (the South border of Canaan) that Sarah bare Isaac, when Abraham Gen. 16. 16. had consumed 100. yeeres. It was from the valley of Mamre in Canaan that Abraham role out, when he rescued Lot and ouerthrew Amraphel: and he had then but the age of 83. yeeres: and it is as manifest that he parted from Haran after his Father 10 Terah was dead. But if Terah begat Abraham at 70. yeere old, then must Abraham Gen. 11. 4. haue bene 135. yeeres when hee first let his foote in Canaan: seeing Terah must be dead ere he parted, and so 70. added to 135. made 205, the true age of Terah, which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembred. For hee entred at 75: hee rescued Lot at 83: hee had Isaac at 86: hee had Isaac at 100. proved by the former places.

Moreover, if Abraham were the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70. yeere of his age: then had Terah liued till Isaac had bene 35. yeeres old, and Isaac, 49. both which must then haue been borne in Mesopotamia, and therein fostered to that age: vnllesse we should either denie credit to S. Stephen, who saith that Abraham 10 departed from Mesopotamia after his Fathers death: or els give credit to the interpretation of Daniel Angelocurator, who in his Chronologia antiochia, saith it was about his Fathers death: because the Greeke word, εὐρημα, may bee, transported by the Latine sub, as well as by post: which though elsewhere it may bee, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about Terahs death, which were 60. yeeres before. Wherefore supposing Abraham to haue bene borne in the 70. yeere of Terah, we must giue thosetines and places of birth to Abrahams children, which no authoritie will warrant; For Abraham had no children in Vr of Chaldea, nor in Haran: nor in 10. yeeres after his arrival into Canaan. For the yeere of Terahs death, in which Abraham left Haran, was the yeere of 30 the World 2083. and the yeere of Ismaels birth was the Worlds yeere 2094: which maketh 10. yeeres difference. And that Isaac was borne in Canaan, and was to bee offered vpon the mountaine Moriah therein, 39. miles from Bersabee, where Abraham then inhabited: and that three Angels first of all appeared to Abraham in the valley of Mamre, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be that any of Abrahams sonnes were borne in Mesopotamia; nor while Terah liued; nor in lesse then 10. yeeres after Terahs death: and then consequently was not Abraham the eldest sonne of Terah, nor borne in the 70. yeere of Terahs age.

Thirdly, whereas Abraham came into Canaan at 75: if Terah had begotten him at 40 70, then had Terah liued but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which must needs haue been the full age of Terah: but Terah liued 205. yeeres: and therefore was not Abraham borne in the 70. yeere of Terah.

Fourthly, the ages of Lot and Sarah make it manifest, that Haran was the elder; if not the eldest brother of Abraham; for Sarah or Isah wanted but 10. yeeres of Abrahams age: Isaac being borne when Abraham was 100. and Sarah 90. yeeres old.

It followeth then, that if Abraham had bene the elder brother of Haran, Haran must haue begotten Sarah at 9. yeeres old: for granting that Haran was borne but one yeere after Abraham, and Sarah within 10. yeeres as old as Abraham, then of 10 necessity must Haran beget her, when hee had liued but 9. yeeres; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that Isah was Sarah, Rab. Solomon affirmeth; both names, saith he, beate the same signification; and names of principallitie. Again, to what end was the word Isah or Iphsah inserted in this place, if Sarah were not meant thereby? for to speake

thy Masters sonnes wife, even as IEROVAN hath said. This their often vsing of the name of IEROVAN, which is the proper Name of the true God, is a signe that they had the knowledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of Saint Chrysostome, and some later writers, as Caietan, Olesfinger, Musculus, Caluin, Mercer, and others, that Laban was an Idolater, because he retained certain Idols, or household Gods; which Rachel stole from him; yet that he beleued in the true God it cannot be denied. For hee acknowledgeth the God of Abraham and of Nahor, and he called Abrahams servant; blessed of IEROVAN, as aforesaid. So as for my selfe I dare not auow, that these men were out of the Church, who sure I am were not out of the faith.

¶ VI.

That the naming of ABRAHAM first of the three brethren, GEN. II. V. 26. doth not prove that hee was the eldest: together with diuers reasons proving that ABRAHAM was not the eldest sonne of TERAH.



GEN. II. V. 26.

O the maine obiection which I answered last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strive to shorten the times, endeavour to prove that Abraham was the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70. yeere of Terahs life: grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture, And TERAH liued 70. yeeres and begat ABRAHAM, NAHOR, and HARAN: To this I say, that although Abraham in this verse be first named, yet the same is no prooffe at all that he was the eldest & first born sonne of Terah. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest in blood and birth, neither doth it appeare, that it pleased God to make especiall choice of the first sonnes in nature and time: for Seth was not the first borne of Adam; nor Isaac of Abraham; nor Jacob of Isaac; nor Iuda and Joseph of Jacob: nor David the eldest of Jesse; nor Solomon of David: as is formerly remembred.

Aug. quæst. super Gen. 25.

But it is written of NOAH; NOAH was 500. yeeres old, and NOAH begat SHEM, HAM, and JAPHET: shewing that at the 500. yeere of his age he began to beget the first of those three sonnes. For according to S. Augustine, speaking generally, Nec attendendus est in his ordo natiuitatis, sed significatio future dignitatis: in qua excellit ABRAHAM. The order of natiuitie is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignitie: in which ABRAHAM was preferred. And therefore, as in the order of the sonnes of Noah: so is it here; where it is said, that TERAH liued 70. yeeres, and begat ABRAHAM, NAHOR, and HARAN: For it was late ere Terah began to beget Sonnes, himselfe being begotten by his Father Nachor at 29. as other his Ancestors were at 30. The like also happened to Noah; for whereas Adam begat Seth at 130; Enosh 40 Kenan at 90; Kenan Mahalaleel at 70; Mahalaleel Jared at 60: Noah was yet 500. yeeres old when he began to beget the first of his three sonnes, as aforesaid. And S. Augustine in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that Abraham was the youngest of Terahs sonnes, then otherwise: though for his excellencie he was worthily named first. His own words are these: Eueri enim potius vis posterior sit generatus ABRAHAM: sed merito excellencie, quæ in Scripturis valde commendatur, prior iuris nominatus. It might be said he, that ABRAHAM was begotten later: but was first named in regard of his excellencie, for which in Scripture he is much commended. So as the naming first or last proueth nothing who was first or last borne: either in those issues of Noah, or in these of Terah: Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spirituall blessing, for Moses nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest and first in Gods fauour. Pietas ergo vel ipsa potius electio diuina, quæ comitem secum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat SEMI in libertis NOA, & ABRAHAMO in libertis THAGE. Pietie, saith he, or rather diuine election

election, which doth enermore draw with it or after it pietie and the feare of God, gave place and preedencie to SEM among the children of NOAH, and to ABRAHAM among those of THAGE.

For therest it is manifest, that Abraham entred Canaan in the 75. yeere of his age. And it was in Canaan that Hagar bare him Isaac, when Abraham had liued 86. yeeres. Gen. 12. 4. It was at Gerar (the South border of Canaan) that Sarah bare Isaac, when Abraham had consumed 100. yeeres. It was from the valley of Mamre in Canaan that Abraham stole out, when he rescued Lot and ouerthrew Amraphel: and he had then but the age of 83. yeeres: and it is as manifest that he parted from Haran after his Father Terah was dead. But if Terah begat Abraham at 70. yeere old, then must Abraham haue bene 135. yeeres when hee first set his foot in Canaan: seeing Terah must be dead ere he parted, and so 70. added to 135. made 205, the true age of Terah, which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembred. For hee entred at 75: hee rescued Lot at 83: hee had Isaac at 86: hee had Isaac at 100. proued by the former places.

Moreover, if Abraham were the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70. yeere of his age: then had Terah liued till Isaac had bene 35. yeeres old, and Isaac 49. both which must then haue been borne in Mesopotamia, and therein fostered to that age: vnlesse we should either denie credit to S. Stephen, who saith that Abraham departed from Mesopotamia after his Fathers death: or else giue credit to the interpretation of Daniel Angelocrator, who in his Chronologia antoptica, saith it was about his Fathers death: because the Greeke word, may be, transported by the Latine sub, as well as by post: which though elsewhere it may be, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about Terahs death, which were 60. yeeres before. Wherefore supposing Abraham to haue bene borne in the 70. yeere of Terah, we must giue thoe times and places of birth to Abrahams children, which no authoritie will warrant; For Abraham had no children in Jr of Chaldeæ, nor in Haran: nor in 10. yeeres after his arrivall into Canaan. For the yeere of Terahs death, in which Abraham left Haran, was the yeere of the World 2083. and the yeere of Isaacs birth was the Worlds yeere 2094: which maketh 10. yeeres difference. And that Isaac was borne in Canaan, and was to be offered vpon the mountaine Moriab therein, 39. miles from Berabe, where Abraham then inhabited: and that three Angels first of all appeared to Abraham in the valley of Mamre, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be that any of Abrahams sonnes were borne in Mesopotamia; nor while Terah liued; nor in lesse then 10. yeeres after Terahs death: and therfore consequently was not Abraham the eldest sonne of Terah, nor borne in the 70. yeere of Terahs age.

Thirdly, whereas Abraham came into Canaan at 75: if Terah had begotten him at 40 70, then had Terah liued but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145, which must haue bene the full age of Terah: but Terah liued 205. yeere: and therefore was not Abraham borne in the 70. yeere of Terah.

Fourthly, the ages of Lot and Sarah make it manifest, that Haran was the eldest, if not the eldest brother of Abraham; for Sarah or Isah wanted but 10. yeeres of Abrahams age: Isaac being borne when Abraham was 100. and Sarah 90. yeeres old.

It followeth then, that if Abraham had bene the elder brother of Haran, Haran must haue begotten Sarah at 9. yeeres old: for granting that Haran was borne but one yeere after Abraham, and Sarah within 10. yeeres as old as Abraham, then of 50 necessitie must Haran beget her, when hee had liued but 9. yeeres; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that Isah was Sarah, Rab. Solomon affirmeth; both names, saith he, beate the same signification; and names of principalitie. Again, to what end was the word Isah or Israhel inserted in this place, if Sarah were not meant thereby? for to speake

speake of any thing superfluous it is not vsed in Gods Bookes: and if *Israh* had not belonged to the story, it had been but an idle name to no purpose remembered.

Now if it had been true (as those of the contrary opinion affirme) that *Moses* had no respect of *Nachor* and *Haran*, who were notwithstanding the parents of *Bethuel* and *Rebecca*, the mother of *Israel*, and of *Christ*: what regard then had *Moses* of *Israh* in this place, were he not *Israh*, but otherwise an idle name of whom there is nothing else first or last.

The age also of *Lot* disproueth the elderhip of *Abraham*: for *Lot* was called an old man when *Abraham* was but 83. yeeres: And if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham*, and *Haran* were Father to *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milchah*, *Abraham* marrying one of *Haran*'s daughters, and *Nabor* the other, *Sarah* also being within ten yeeres as old as *Abraham*: it may appeare to every reasonable man (not obdurate and preiudicate) that *Haran* was the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: who also died first and before his Father left *Ur* in *Chaldea*. Also *Lyra* reasoneth against the opinion of *Abraham*'s elderhip, vpon the same place of *Genesis*: drawing argument from the age of *Sarah*, who was but 10. yeeres younger than *Abraham* himselfe. *Lyra* his wordes are these: *Siguitur HARAN fuit iunior ipso ABRAHAM, sequitur quid non habebat decem annos quando genuit SARAH: imo nec octo, &c.* and afterward, *& idem melius videtur descendendum, quod ABRAHAM fuit ultimus natus de tribus filijs TERAH, tamen nominatur primus, propter eius dignitatem: & quia ponendus erat caput stirpis & generatio: nus sequentis: & quia primus factus est ei re promissa expressa de CHRISTO, sicut supra dictum est de SEM, &c.* If therefore (saith *Lyra*) *Haran* was younger then *Abraham* himselfe, it followeth that he was not ten yeeres old when he begot *SARAH*: And therefore it seemeth better to be said, that *Abraham* was the last borne of the three sonnes of *TERAH*, neuertheless he is named first for his dignitie, both because he was to be ordained head of the stocke and generation following, and because the promise of *CHRIST* was first made unto him, as before it is said of *SEM*.

¶ VII.

A conclusion of this dispute moving the Authors on both sides: with an admonition that they which shorten the times, make all ancient stories the more improbable.

AR 3.4.

GM 13.4.

IT therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reason, that *Haran* was the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: and that *Abraham* was borne in the 130. yeere of *Terah*'s life, and not in the 70. yeere. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after *Terah* died, according to *S. Stephen*, and that journey by *Abraham* performed when hee was 75. yeeres old, these two numbers added make 205. yeeres, the full age of *Terah*: seeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For my selfe, I haue no other end herein then to manifest the truth of the Worlds Story: I reuerence the iudgements of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in particulars: *Saint Augustine* was doubtfull, and could not determine this: controuersie. For whatsoeuer is borrowed from him out of his 16. Booke de *Ciuitate Dei* §. 15. the same may be answered out of himselfe in his fine and twentieth question vpon *Gen.* But *S. Augustine* herein followed *Iosephus*; and *Isidor*: and *Beda* followed *S. Augustine*. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanitie, that the *Hebrews* and *Iosephus* sought to make *Abraham* the first borne: as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did *Iosephus* together with *Nicholas Damascenus* (thinking thereby to glorifie the *Jewish Nation*) make *Abraham* a king, entitling *Sarah* by the name of *Queene Sarah*: and said that *Abraham* was followed with 318. Captaines of which euery one had an infinite multitude vnder him; *trecentos & octodecem praefectos habuit*.

habuit: quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat. And that *Pharao* invading him with a great armie, tooke from him his wife *Sarah*: Such fables argue that *Iosephus* is not to be beleueed, but with discreet reuerations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. yeeres from the Flood to *Abraham*, is vpheld by many of the *Hebrews*. But how should wee value the opinion of such *Chronologers*, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod*? Surely, if their iudgement in such matters were worthy to be regarded, it would haue appeared in setting downe the succession of the *Persian Kings*, vnder whom they liued, whose Historie was not so farre remote in time, as these antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good writers. Yet grossly haue they erred therein, and so familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we feldome finde their opinion rehearsed without the confutation treading on the heeles of it. They of the *Romane* religion are also generally on the same side: it being a thing vsuall among them, to maintaine whatsoever they haue beene formerly knowne to hold, and beleeue. Contrariwise, of the more ancient, *Theodoret*, and some following him: of later times *Berosus*, *Codoman*, *Pencer*, *Caluin*, *Insius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*, *Cost*, *Gibbens*, and *Moore*, with diuers of the *Protestants*, hold *Abraham* to haue been borne in the 130. yeere of his Father *Terah*. From these, (as in a case not concerning any point in Religion) diuers of the same Religion, and those neuertheless good Authours, as *Bucholcerus*, *Chiracius*, *Franciscus* and others, are very averse herein, especially *Iosephus Scalger* with his *Scithus Calistinus*, proclaiming *Berosus* an Arch-heretike in *Chronologie*, and condemning this opinion of his as poysonous. Contrariwise, *Augustinus Tornilius* a Priest of the Congregation of *S. Paul*, a iudicious, diligent and free writer, whose *Annales* are newly set forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I haue already deliuered; not alledging *Berosus*, nor any *Protestant* writer, as being perhaps vnwilling to owe thanks to heretikes. For my selfe I doe neither millike the contrary opinion, because commonly those of the *Romish* Religion labour to vphold it; Nor fauour this larger account of times, because many notable men of the *Protestant* writers haue approved it; but for the truth it selfe. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of Scripture, I will adde thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparant to all men of iudgement, that the best approved Historians; Diuine and prophane, labour to inuelligate the truth of times, thereby to approve the stories, and forepast actions of the world: and not the truth of histories to approve the times by. Let vs then make iudgement to our selues, which of these two accounts giue the best reputation to the storie of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of *Iosephus*, and those which follow him; who makes but 292. yeeres, or thereabouts, betweene the flood and birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which makes 352. yeeres betweene the one and the other: the one taking *Abraham* to be the first borne of *Thare*, in the 70. yeere of his life: the other a younger sonne of *Thare*, and borne when hee had liued 130. yeeres. And if we looke ouer all, and doe not hastily satisfie our vnderstanding with the first things offered, and thereby being fatiated doe thoughtfully and drowsily sit downe; wee shall finde it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to some editions make it about 1092. yeeres betweene the Flood and *Abraham*'s birth: then to take away any part of those 352. yeeres giuen. For if we aduisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in *Abraham*'s time, yea, before *Abraham* was borne, wee shall finde that it were very ill done of vs by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times ouer-deeply betweene *Abraham* and the Flood: because in cutting them 100. neere the quicke, the reputation of the whole storie might perhaps bleed thereby, were not the testimonie of the Scriptures supreme, so as no obiection can approach it: and that wee did not follow withall this precept of *S. Augustine*, That where soeuer any one place in the Scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation misundersstood.

For

For in *Abrahams* time all the then knowne parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent Cities: and so had *Palestina*, and all the bordering Countries: yea, all that part of the World besides, as far as *India*: and those not built with stickes, but of hewne stones, and defended with walles and rampiers: which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquitie, then those other men haue supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or drawe all things into wonders and maruailes? giuing also strength thereby to common cauellers, and to those mens apish braines, who onely bend their wits to finde impossibilities, and monsters in the storie of the World and Mankinde.

§. VIII.

A computation of the times of the *Affryans* and others, grounded upon the times noted in the storie of *ABRAHAM*.

An. mundi 2008
dil. 352. natu
Abraham, Euf.
Aug. diu. Cui.
Dei, 1364. 17.



IN this fort therefore for the reasons before alleaged, I conclude, that from the generall Flood, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. yeeres were consumed: and taking the *Affryan* History with vs, the same number 10 of yeeres were spent from the Flood to the 43. yeere of *Ninus*: in which 43. yeere of *Ninus* *Abraham* was borne: which happened in the yeere of the World, 2009.

Aug. diu. Cui.
Dei,

Gen. 11. 18.

Now of this time of 352. yeeres, we must giue one part as well to the increase of those people which came into *Shinar*, as to those that layed in the East, to wit, 30. yeere to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*: of which, though the Scriptures are silent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sonnes, we may the more safely giue the like allowance to these. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg* Regu at 30. *Regu* *Seraug* at 32. Now after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Hauila*, *Saba*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was borne, as it appeareth Gen. 10. which *S. Augustine* approueth. Giuing then 30. yeeres more to *Raama* ere hee begat *Sheba*, and fiue yeeres to the fiue elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered that 65. yeeres were consumed ere *Nimrod* himselfe was borne: and that *Raamah* had that age ere any of his sonnes were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparision: for *Peleg* the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raamah* was, begat *Regu* in the same yeere of his life.

An. a salute ha-
manu generis ab
aqua catastrophe
primo capis reg-
num babiloni-
cum sub nostro
Saturno patre
Iouis Bel, qui
imperauit annis
65. Berofus.

Let vs then allow 60. yeeres more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shal hardly find people to build *Babel*: for fiue wee are that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125. The rest of the time of 131. (in which yeere they arriued in *Shinar*, whereof there are 6. yeeres remaining) wee may giue them for their travels from the East: because they were pelted with women, children and Cattell: and as some ancient writers haue conceived, and *Bezanus* of later times, they kept alwaies the mountaines sides, for feare of a second Flood. Now, if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remains 221. of which number *Berofus* bewteth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus*, before *Abraham* borne: both which *S. Augustine* approueth: which two numbers taken againe out of 221. there remaineth 114. yeeres of the 352. from the Flood to *Abrahams* birth: which number of 114. needeth bewteth on *Nimrod*.

And if it be objected that this time giuen to *Nimrod*, is ouer-long: sure if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather appeare ouer-short. For *Nimrod*, by this account, liued in all but one hundred seuentie nine yeeres: whereof hee reigned one hundred and twelue: whereas *Sale* who was the sonne of *Arphaxad* the sonne of *Sem*, liued foure hundred thirty three yeeres:

yeeres: and of the same age of the World was *Nimrod*, the sonne of *Chus*, the sonne of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was borne, *Ninus* reigned 9. yeeres: which added to 43. make 52. *Ninus* dieth and leaueth *Semiramis* his succellor.

Semiramis gouerned the Empire of *Babylonia* and *Affrya* 42. yeeres, and died in the 52. yeere compleat of *Abrahams* life. *Ninus* or *Zameus* succceeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. yeeres, in the second yeere of whose reigne *Abraham* left *Mesopotamia*.

When *Abraham* was 85. yeeres old, he rescued his nephew *Lot*, and ouerthrew by surpris *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38. yeeres, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. yeeres after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75. yeere of his age: so that *Amraphel* may seeme to haue bene this *Ninias* the sonne of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whose 23. yeere, as aforesaid, being the 75. yeere of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might haue recieued this ouerthrow in the 85. yeere of *Abraham*, and the 33. yeere of his own reigne: after which he reigned fiue yeeres: which make in all 38. But the trueth is, that the reasons to the contrary, vrging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not easily answered. Howbeit for the times of the *Affryan* kings, that they are to be ordered as wee haue set them downe, according to the times noted by *Moses*, in the storie of *Abraham*, it is most certaine: vniuerselle we will either derogate from the trueth of *Moses* his computation, which were impietie: or account the whole Historie of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to bee a fiction; which were to condemne all ancient Historians for fablers.

§. IX.

That *AMRAPHEL*, one of the foure Kings whom *ABRAHAM* ouerthrew, Gen. 14. may probably be thought to haue bene *NINIAS* the sonne of *NINUS*.



AND now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moses* makes king of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, in the 85. yeere of *Abrahams* life, that is, in the 33. yeere of the reigne of *Ninias* *Zameus* the king of the *Affryans*, the sonne of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirme what he was, and how hee could bee at this time king of *Babylonia*: *Ninias* *Zameus* then reigning there. To this doubt the answere which first offereth it selfe as most probable, is that which hath bene already noted, that this *Ninias* or *Zameus*, was no other then our *Amraphel*: who inuaded *Traconitis* or *Bajan*, and ouerthrew those fiue kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell vs, that *Amraphel* was king of *Shinar*, which is *Babylonia*: and the times before accounted make him to be the succellor of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85. yeere of *Abrahams* life: wherein he rescued *Lot*, slew *Chedorlaomer*, and ouerthrew the rest. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest Monarke: for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chiefe, though *Amraphel* bee first named in the first verse of the 14. Chapter of *Genesis*. For the Kings of the valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or of the fiue Cities, were the vassals of *Chedor*, and not of *Amraphel*: as it is written. Twelue yeeres were they subiect to *Chedorlaomer*, but in the 13. yeere they rebelled, and in the 14. yeere came *Chedorlaomer* and the kings that were with him: and therefore was *Chedor*, the principall in this enterprise, who was then king of *Elam*, which is *Perfa*: Now *Perfa* being scared ouer *Tigris*, and to the East of *Amraphels* Countrey; and the other two kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being scared to the West of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it selfe, seemeth at this time to haue had no great scope or large dominion. For had *Amraphel* bene so great a Prince as prophane Historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* whom

Of the World
2017.
Of the Flood
761.
2019. mundi.
403. a. d. d.
2083.
427.
2093.
437.

Gen. 14. 4.

whom hee succeeded, he should not have needed the assistance of three other kings for this expedition. But though *Chedorlaomer* were the first and greatest of those four Kings, (as it is manifest that hee was: For these little kings of *Sodome, Gomora, &c.* were his vassals, and not *Amraphel*) yet this makes not the coniecture lesse probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Nimias*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Assyria*, had now (as we shall see more plainly in that which followeth) received a downe-right fall, at the time of this warre: though not long before it commanded all the kingdomes betwene *India* and the *Phenician* Sea: to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semamitis*.

10

§. X.

Of *ARIOCH* another of the four Kings, and that *ELLAS*, whereof he is said to have bene King, lies betwene Coele Syria and Arabia Petrea.

NOW the two other kings ioynd with *Amraphel*, and *Chedorlaomer* were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one King of *Ellasar*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellasar*, *Aquila* and *Therome* write *Pontus*: so *Tostatus* thinketh that it should be *Hellepont*: which opinion *Pererius* fauoureth. But this is only to deny the Latine translation. For as *Pontus*, so is *Hellepont* farre distant, and out of the way to send any armies into *Arabia Petrea*, or into *Idumea*: which Countries these four Kings chiefly invaded: Besides that, it is certain, that the *Assyrians* (when they were greatest) had neuer any dominion in *Asia* the lesse. For at such time as the *Assyrians* feared the invasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent not into *Asia* the lesse as commanders: but vied all the Arte they had to dwinie *Cresus* to their assistance: perswading him that nothing could bee more dangerous for himselfe, and the other Kings of those parts, than the successe of the *Achæans* against the *Assyrians*. But examine the enterprise what it was. These Kings (saith the Text) made warre with *Bera*, King of *Sodome*, *Birsah* King of *Gomora*, *Shinab* King of *Admath*, and *Shemeb* King of *Zebon*, and the King of *Bela* which is *Zoar*. All which five Kings had not so much ground as *Middlesex*: being such a kind of *Reguli*, as *Iosua* found in the land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and small territories adioyning; of which *Canaan* had 33. all slaine or hanged by *Iosua*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are said also to have invaded, be imagined to have bene at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus* or *Hellepont*, had manifested a great impotencie and weaknesse in the Kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*.

And though it be alledged for an example, that diuers kings farre off, came to assist *Pempey* against *Cæsar*: yet these same examples without like occasions and circumstances, doe neither lead nor reach. For there was no cause to feare the greatnesse of these pettie kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the world were fixed on *Cæsar*; and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no lesse doubtfull then fearfull: But the whole Countrey by these four Kings maltreated by the passage, was afterward giuen to the halfe tribe of *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*: a narrow valley of ground lying betwene *Jordan* and the mountaines of *Seir*: indolled by the riuer of *Arnon* on the South side, and by *Lybanus* on the North, consisting of the two small Prouinces of *Tracontia* or *Basra*, and the Region of the *Mosabites*: a conquest farre vnuaileable, and little answering the power of the *Assyrian* Empire, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semamitis*, who subiected all the great kings of that part of the World, without the assistance of any of the Kings of *Hellepont*, or any other part of *Asia* the lesse. But as the Vulgar and *Aquila* conuert *Ellasar* by *Pontus*: so *Symmachus* makes *Arioch* a King of the *Syrians*, a King indeed, as farre fetched to ioyne with the *Assyrians* in

Xenophon.

Gen. 14.

in this warre, as the World had any at that time. The *Septuagint* doe not change the word of *Ellasar* at all, but as they keep the word *drarat*, on the mountaines whereof the Arke did rest, so doe they in this place retain the Hebrew word *Ellasar*; being doubtfull to giue it a wrong interpretation. And *Pererius* himselfe remembereth other opinions farre more probable then this of *Pontus* or *Hellepont*: yet he dares not auow his liking of them, because the Latine Translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Vrbibus a Graecis Cosmographis* findeth the Citie of *Ellas* in the border of *Celestria*; and *S. Hierome* calleth *Ellas* the Citie of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now although the same be feared by *Stephanus* in *Celestria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was King: who formerly ioynd with *Ninus* in all his conquests, being of the same familie, and descended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Ariu* was by the Hebrews written *Arioch*: and afterward againe *Aretas*: as in the *Machabees*: the Kings of *Arabia* holding that name euen to the time of *S. Paul*, who was fought to be betrayed by the Lieutenant of *Aretas* commanding in *Damascus*. They were Princes for the most part confederate and depending vpon the *Assyrian* Empire. It is true that wee finde in *Daniel*, that in the time of *Nabuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was General of his armie, and the principall Commander vnder him, who was a King of Kings: which makes it plaine, that *Arioch* here spoken of, the sonne of that *Arioch* confederate of *Ninus*, was no King of *Pontus*, nor of *Syria*: regions farre remooued from the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arioch* who commanded vnder *Nabuchodonosor* is mentioned in *Isaiah*, by the name of King of the *Elymeans*: who are a Nation of *Persians* bordering *India*, by the name of King of *Arabia*, though *Plinie* sets it betwene the Sea-coast, and *Media*: and if any brother of the Arabian Kings, or other of that house (knowne by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Aretas* or *Aretas*) had the government of that Persian Prouince called *Elymais* (as it seemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Isaiah*) yet the same was in *Nabuchodonosor*'s time. But this *Arioch* here spoken of may with more reason be taken for the King of *Arabia*, the sonne of *Arius*, the confederate of *Ninus*: whose sonnes held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side towards the West to *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*: and in amitie with them from the beginning, and of their owne house, and blood: which *D. Scaudus* also confirmeth.

Apost. 2. c. 5. v. 2. Cor. 11.

Dan. 2.

Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1.

§. XI.

Of *TIDAL* another of the four Kings.

THE fourth King by *Abraham* ouerthrowne was *Tidal*, King of the Nations. The Hebrew writes it *Gogim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt people: *Caluim* of runnagates without habitation: *Pererius* out of *Sirabo*, findes that *Galilee* was inhabited by diuers Nations, which were a mixt people: namely of *Aegyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phenicians*. Nam tales sunt qui Galileam habitant; Such are the inhabitants of *Galilee*, saith *Strabo*: and therefore was *Tidal* called King of these Nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authoritie of *Strabo* is nothing in this question. For *Galilee* was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Cananite* was then in the Land, howe soeuer they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many pettie kingdomes adioyning to *Phoenicia*, and *Palastina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Leadeene*, *Apamena*, *Chalcedice*, *Cassiotis*, *Chalibonitis*, and all these doe also ioyne themselves to *Mesopotamia*, on the North, and to *Arabia* on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselves together vnder *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest coniecture.

Strabo. l. 13. c. 6. fol. 523.

Gen. 12. c.

X 2

§. XII.

§. XII.

That CHEDORLAOMER the chiefe of the 4. Kings was not of Assyria, but of Persia: and that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impaired.

LASTLY, whereas it is conceived that Chedorlaomer was the Assyrian Emperor, and that Amraphel was but a Satrape, Viceroy, or Provinciall governour of Babylon, and that the other kings named were such also, I cannot agree with *Perrinus* in this. For *Moses* too well acquainted with the names of *Assur*, and *Shinar*, to call the Assyrian a king of *Elam*: those kings being in the Scriptures evermore called by the name of *Chaldeas*, *Shinar*, *Babylonia*, or *Assyria*: but never by *Elam*; and Chedorlaomer or Kedarlaomer was so called of *Kidar*, from *Cidarim* which in the Hebrew signifieth *Regale*: for so *Q. Curtius* calleth the garment which the Persian kings wore on their heads.

Neither doe I beleue that the Assyrian or Babylonian Empire stood in any greatness at the time of this invasion, and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach vs, that those things which are set vp hastily, or forced violently, doe not long last: *Alexander* became Lord of all *Asia*, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to ouer-look what it selfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetual. For his Empire died at once with himselfe: all whose chiefe Commanders became kings after him. *Tambrlain* conquered *Asia* and *India* with a storme-like and terrible successe: but to preualent furie God hath adioined a short life: and whatsoever things Nature herselfe worketh in haste, the rasketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before him.

Ninus being the first whom the madness of boundlesse dominion transported, invaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious ouer them: a man violent, insolent, and cruell. *Semiramis* taking the opportunitie, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious, then her *Paramor*: enlarged the Babylonian Empire, and beautified many places therein with buildings vnexampled. But her sonne hauing changed Nature and condition with his Mother, proued no lesse feminine then shee was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continuall smart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, and reuenge the other: so those kings adioyning (whose subiection, and calamities incident were but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not sleepe, when the aduantage was offered by such a successe. For in regno *Babylonica hic parum resplenduit*, this King shined little (saith *Nauclerus* of *Ninias*) in the Babylonian kingdom. And likely it is that the neckes of mortall men hauing bene neuer before galled with the yoke of forraine dominion, Nor hauing euer had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of liuing in slavery: no long descent hauing as yet inuested the Assyrian with a right: nor any other title being for him to be pretended than a strong hand; the foolish and effeminate sonne of a tyrannous and bare Father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his vassals, with a powerlesse mastering, and a mind lesse industrious than his Father and Mother had viued before him. And hee that was so much giuen ouer to licentious idleness, as to suffer his Mother to raigne 42. yeeres, and thereof the greatest part after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatness, as he neither indeoured to gaine what he could not gouerne, nor to keepe what he could not without contentious perill enjoy.

These Considerations being ioyned to the storie of *Amraphel*, deliuered by *Moses*, by which we find that *Amraphel* king of *Shinar* was rather an inferiour to the king of *Persia*, than either his superiour, or equall, make it seeme probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, and restrained againt to *Babylonia*.

For

For conclusion I will adde these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at such time as it pleased God to impose that great trouble vpon *Abraham*, from *yr* in *Chaldea* to *Charan*, and then to *Canaan*, a passage of 700. miles, or little lesse, with women, children, and carriages: the Countries through which hee wandred were then settled, and in peace. For it was in the 22. yeere of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the voice of God, tooke this great iourney in hand: in which time of 23. yeeres after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recovered their libertie and former estates. For *Semiramis* armie of foure millions, with herselfe vtterly consumed in *Indis*, and all her armes and engins of war, at the same time lost, gaue an occasion and opportunitie euen to the poorest foules and weakest hearted creatures of the World, to repurchase their former libertie.

Strab. l. 15.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest Historians, that *Arius* the sonne of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Bactrian* and *Caspian*, and againe subiected them: which needed not if they had not bene reuolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus* death: And as *Arioch* recovered one part, so did *Baleus* or *Balanus*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest reuolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said that hee conquered from *Aegypt* to *India*: and therefore was called *Xerxes*, id est, *Victor* & *Triumphator*, a conquerour and triumpher, which vnder takings had bene no other then the effects of madnesse, had not those Countries freed themselves, from the Babylonian subiection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is, of the reconquest of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which liued after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, wee may as well thinke the rest of *Ninias* and *Semiramis* to be but fained: but if wee graunt this reconquest, then it is true that while *Ninus* or *Amraphel* ruled, the Assyrian Empire was torne asunder, according to that which hath bene gathered out of *Moses* as before remembered.

§. XIII.

That it is not vnprobable that the foure Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had else-where with their colonies planted themselves: and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be so, we neede not say that *AMRAPHEL* was *NINIAS*, nor trouble our selues with many other difficulties.



He consent of all writers, whose workes haue come to my perusall, agreeing as they doe, that these 4. kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and their fellowes were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are or seeme intituled: doth almost inforce vs to thinke that the Historie must so be vnderstood, as I haue deliuered. But if in this place, as often elsewhere in the Scriptures the names of Countries may be set for people of those lands, or if (as *Hierome* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was king of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was said to be of the Nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundrie regions: then may we otherwise conceiue of this Historie: remouing thereby some difficulties which men perhaps haue bene vnwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For as it had bene a strange coniecture to thinke that *Arioch* was drawn to assist the *Persian*, against the *Sedomite*; as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very vnlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was knowne, and almost impossible that the vale of *Siddim* should haue bene once named: so in true imitation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were king of *Persia* alone, should passe through so great a part of the World, as the Countries of *Assyria*, *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, and *Canaan*, to subdne those five Townes, whose very names how they should come to his care, being distioined by so many great Nations of different languages, a wise man could hardly coniecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Persia* together with the *Babylonian* himselfe, yea the kingdom of *Elasar*, & that of *Tidal*, so far off removed, were become his dependants, what reason can we finde that might haue induced him to hearken after *Sodome* and *Gomorah*: & when he should haue fought the establishment of his new-gotten Empire,

X 3

by

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Egypt from the first peopling of it after the
Floud, to the time of the deliuerie of the Israe-
lites from thence.

§. I.

A briefe of the names and times of the first Kings of Egypt: with a note of the causes
of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points.



Some after the confusion at Babel (as it seemes) Cham
with many of his issue and followers (hauing doubt-
lesse knowen the fertilitie of Egypt before the Floud)
came thither and tooke possession of the Countie:
in which they built many Cities: and beganne the
kingdome one hundred ninetie one yeeres after the
deluge. The ancient Gouvernours of this Kingdome
till such time as Israel departed Egypt are shewen in
the Table following.

An. Mundi.	An. dil.	
1847.	191.	Cham.
2008.	352.	Osiris.
		Typhon }
2269.	613.	Hercules. }
2276.	620.	Orus.
2391.	735.	Sesoftris the great.
2424.	768.	Sesoftris the blinde.
2438.	782.	Bufris or Orus the second.
2476.	820.	Ascencher or Thermutis or Meris.
2488.	832.	Rathoris or Athoris.
2497.	841.	Chenues drowned in the red Sea.

The Table and especially the Chronologie, is to be confirmed by probabilities and
coniectures, because in such obscurity manifest and relesse truth cannot be found.
For S. Augustine, a man of exceeding great iudgement, and incomparable diligence,
who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the bookes of Varro, which now
are lost, yet omitted the succession of the Egyptian Kings: which he would not have
done, if they had not been more vncertaine then the Sicyonians, whom he remem-
breth, then whom doubtlesse they were more glorious. One great occasion of this
obscurity in the Egyptian Storie, was the ambition of the Priests: who to magnifie
their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many lea-
sings, and recounted vnto strangers, the names of many Kings that neuer reigned.
What ground they had for these reports of supposed Kings, it shall appeare anon.
Sure it is that the magnificent workes and royall buildings in Egypt, such as are
 neuer found but in States that have greatly flourished, witnesseth that their Princes
were of marvellous greatnesse: and that the reports of the Priests were not altoget-
her

ther false. A second cause of our ignorance in the Egyptian History, was the too
much credit of some good Authors, who beleeuing the manifold and contrary
reports of sundry Egyptians, & publishing in their own name, such as pleased them
best; haue confirmed them, and as it were enforced them vpon vs, by their authori-
tie. A third and generall cause of more than Egyptian darknesse in all ancient Hi-
stories, is the edition of many Authors by Iohn Anniius, of whom (if to the censures
of sundry very learned I may adde mine) I thinke thus; That Anniius hauing scene
some fragments of those writers, and added vnto them what he would, may be cre-
dited, as an auoucher of true Histories, where approved writers confirme him: but
otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it commeth to passe that the account
of Authors, either in the Chronologie or Genealogie of the Egyptian Kings, runs three
altogether different wayes. The Christian writers, such as are ancient, for the most
part follow Eusebius: Many late writers follow the edition of Anniius his Authors:
The prophane Histories follow Herodotus, Diodorus, and such others.

§. II.

That by the account of the Egyptian Dynasties, and otherwise, it appeares that
Chams reigne in Egypt began in the yeeres after
the Floud, 191.

To reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient
Kings, about whom is most controuersie, the best meane is by helpe
of the Dynasties: of whose continuance there is little or no disagree-
ment. The account of the Dynasties (besides the authoritie of ap-
proved Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most
part, if not altogether with the Histories of the Assyrians, Troians, Italians, and others,
&c. The beginning of the 16. Dyn. is ioyned by generall consent, with the 43. yeere of
30 Nimus: in which Abraham was borne. The twelue first Dynasties lasted each of
them seuen yeeres, vnder the twelue, which were called the greater Gods: so that
all the yeeres of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth Dynastie indured four-
teene yeeres: the fourteenth 26: the fifteenth 37. These three last, are sayd to haue
beene vnder the three younger Gods. So the fifteene first Dynasties lasted one hundred
sixty one yeeres. As I doe not therefore beleue that the continuance of these Dyn. was
such as hath been mentioned, because Anniius in such-wise limits out their time: so
I cannot rectifie the account vpon this onely reason, that Anniius hath it so: con-
sidering that both hitherto it hath passed as current, and is greatly strengthened by
many good reasons. For, whereas Eusebius placeth the beginning of the sixteenth
40 Dynastie, in the yeere of Abrahams birth, as aforesayd: the reckoning is easily call;
by which the summe of 161. yeeres, which according to our account were spent in
the fifteene former, being subducted out of the summe of 352. yeeres, which were
betweene the Floud and Abrahams birth, sheweth that the beginning of the first Dy-
nastie, which was the beginning of Chams reigne in Egypt, was in the yeere 191.
As also by other probabilities the same may appeare. For it is generally agreed, that
the multitude of mankind which came into Shinar, arrived at Babel, Anno à diluuiio
131. In building the Tower were consumed fourtie yeeres, as Genesis recordeth:
whose report I haue elsewhere confirmed with diuers probabilities. That Cham
was long in passing with his company, their Wiues Children, Cattel, and substance,
50 through all Syria then desolate, and full of Bogges, Forrests, and Bryers (which the
Deluge and want of culture in one hundred seuentie one yeeres had brought vpon
it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of
himselfe in Egypt, wee allow twenty yeere: and these summes being added to-
gether, to wit, one hundred thirtie one yeeres after the Floud, before they arrived at
Babel,

Babel, 40. yeeres for their stay there; and 20. for Cham's passage into Egypt, and settling there, make vp the summe of 191. yeeres: at which time we said that Cham began his reigne in Egypt, in the beginning of the first Dynastie. And to this summe of 191. yeeres if we adde the 161. yeeres of the 15. first Dynasties, as they are numbered in common account, we shall fall right with the yeere of Abrahams birth, which was *Ann. Dil. 354.* And hereto omitting many other reasons; which might be brought to proue that these first Dynasties must needs haue bene very short, and not containing in the whole summe of their seuerall times about 161. yeeres: Let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must Egypt haue been peopled as soone as Babel after the Flood: or the Dynasties (as Mercator thinks) must haue bene before the Flood. That the arrivall at Babel was many yeeres before the plantation of Egypt, after the Flood, enough hath been said to proue: and that the Dynasties were not before the Flood, the number of the long-lived generations betweene Adam and the Flood, which was lesse than the number of the Dynasties, may sufficiently witness. Or if we will thinke, that one life might (perhaps) bee diuided into many Dynasties, then may this haue bene as well after the Flood, as before: considering that the finnes of Noe. did not in euery Countrey erect such forme of Policie, as had bene vsed in the same ere the Deluge: but such, as the disposition of the people, the authority and power of the Conduiter, together with many other circumstances, did induce or inforce them to.

§. III.

That these Dynasties were not diuers families of Kings, but rather successions of Regents, oft times many under one King.



He shew continuance of the Dynasties, doth shew that they were not seuerall races of Kings, as the vaunting Egyptians were wont to stile them. What they were it cannot certainly bee warranted. For in restitutions of decayed antiquities, it is more easie to denie than to affirm. But this may be said partly vpon good circumstance, partly vpon the surest proofs, That it was the manner of the Egyptian Kings, to put the gouernment of the Countrey into the hands of some trustie Counsellor, onely reseruing the Souerainty to themselves, as the old Kings of France were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the Turke doth to the chiefe Vezier. This is confirmed, first, by the number of the Dynasties, whereof many are vnder Cham, and more then one vnder Osiris or Mizraim; and must therefore haue bene successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counsellors and Regents. Secondly, by custome of such Princes borderers to Egypt, as are mentioned in the Scriptures: of whom Abimelech the Philistim in his dealing with Abraham and Isaac about confederation, did nothing without Philistim Captaine of his Hoste; though in taking Abrahams wife, and in his priuate carriage, hee followed his owne pleasure. Likewise of Abimelech the sonne of Gideon it was said: *Is not hee the sonne of IERUBBAAL? and ZEBUL his officer?* Also Ishobabeb the sonne of Saul, feared Abner the Captaine of the Hoste. Yea, Daud himselfe hating Iab for his crueltye did not punish him, in regard of his greatnesse, which was such, as was feared euen of Hadad the Edomite liuing then in Egypt. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of Cham, who was lewd, as appears by the Scriptures: therefore likely both for his owne idlenesse and pleasure, to haue layd the burden of gouernement vpon others; and vpon ielousie, the companion of vnworthinesse, to haue changed his Lieutenants often. About all other proofes is the aduancement of Ioseph by Pharaoh. For Pharaoh said to Ioseph; *Only in the Kings throne will I be about thee: behold, I haue set thee ouer all the Land of Egypt.* William, Archbishop of Tyre, who flourished about the yeere of our Lord, one thousand one hundred eightie, affirmes that like

William, Tyr. de
bell. sacro. l. 3.
ca. 17, 18, 19.
p. 20.

like or very same forme of gouernement by Viceroys, was in his time practised in Egypt, hauing there bene in vse (as he beleued) euer since the time of Ioseph. He plainly shewes, that the Soldans of Egypt were not Lords of the Countrey, how euer they haue bene so deemed; but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the dutie of subjects vnto the Caliphe: who residing in a most magnificent Palace in Cairo, did commit the charge, not onely of ciuill gouernement, but the power of making warre and peace, with the whole office and authority royally into the Soldans hands. He that shall reade in William of Tyre, the state of the Caliphe, or Mulene El-hakim, with the forme of his Court, shall plainly behold the image of the ancient Pharaoh, ruling by a Lieutenant, as great in authoritie as Ioseph was, though firre inferior in wisdome.

To thinke that many names of such Regents or Lieutenants as Ioseph was, haue crept into the List of the Egyptian Kings, were no strange imagination. For Iosephs brethren called him, *The man that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of the Countrey:* Besides, it is not vnlike that the vaneglorious Egyptian Priests would as easily report him a King to posterity, as ignorant men and strangers deeme him such, vnder whose hand all dispatches of importance, and royall managing of the State had passed, whilst that the King himselfe intending his quiet, had giuen his office to another. How strangers haue mistaken in this kinde, the example already cited of Iosephs brethren, doth sufficiently witness. The reports of Priests doe appeare in Diodorus, and Herodotus: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authoritie, say; Diodorus, that Sesostris was the nineteenth King after Menes; Herodotus, that hee was the 332. after Menes: which could not haue been, if Menes had been Adam. Therefore we may well conclude, That the Dynasties were not so many races of Kings, but successions of Regents, appointed by the kings of so many sundry lineages or sorts of men. Now by whatsoever meane a Dynastie or Regencie continued: whether in one familie, as being made an hereditary office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: sure it is that it was the Kings gift and free choyce, that gaue the office. But the Crowne royal alwaies passed by descent, & not by election: which (beside consent of Authors) the Scriptures also proue. For whereas Ioseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh, if the Crowne had passed by election, then should Pharaohs children hereby either haue bene intrahled amongst the rest of the people, to the next successeur: or inioying their Fathers land, though not his estate, haue been more mighty then the King: as Land-lords of all Egypt, and the King himselfe their Tenant. Likewise we find in Exod. 12. that God smote the first borne of PHARAOH, that was to set on his Throne. And in Esay it is said of PHARAOH: *I am the sonne of the ancient King.*

§. IIII.

Of CHAM, and his sonne MIZRAIM, or OSIRIS.

That the succession of Kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hath shewed from Cham to Chencres, now it followeth to shew. Egypt is called in the Scripture, the land of Ham. That this name is not giuen to it, because the posterity of Cham did reigne there, but for that himselfe did first plant it; we may gather by many circumstances. For I thinke it is no where found, that the Countries of Cush, Put, or Canaan, as well as Egypt, were called the Land of Ham. Further it is found in Diodorus Siculus, that Osiris calleth himselfe the eldest sonne of Cham, saying, *Mhi pater Saturnus decorem omnium minor: alio, Sum Saturni filius antiquior, german ex pulchro & generoso ortum:* which must needs be vnderstood of Cham: for this Saturnus Egyptianus was Cham: as it is said, that on the monument of Nimus was an inscription, wherein Cham was called Saturnus Egyptianus. Likewise the Temple of Hammon, not farre from Egypt, doth testifie, that Ham resided in those parts: And S. Hierome in questionibus Hebraicis,



Psal. 91.
105. 23.
27.
106. 22.
Diod. Sic. l. 1.

his faith, that the Egyptians themselves did in his dayes call their Countrey *Ham*: as in foure severall places in the *Psalmes* this Countrey is called the land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Osiride*, that in the sacrifices of the Egyptians this Countrey of *Egypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamis*: *ut puto* (saith he) *Chamo* NOES *filio*, to which also he addeth out of *Isidore*, *Egyptum* *usq;* *hodie* *Egyptiarum* lingua *KAM* vocari: that *Egypt* unto this day in the tongue of the Egyptians is called *KAM*. For the beginning and continuance of *Cham*'s reigne, the same reasons may suffice to be alleaged, which I have already given in proofe of the time spent in the 15. first Dynasties: Neither is it strange that the reigne of *Cham* should last so long as 161. yeeres: considering that *Sem* lived 600. *Arpachshad* and *Sheld* 19 each about 400. But strange it had bene, if one *Sillis* created by *Manetho*, had in those long-lived generations reigned there 19. yeeres, and with *Beon*, *Apadma*, *Apochis*, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glory of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Sesostrius*. *Reimccius* in his *Isis* placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwise called *Osiris* according to *Diodorus*: who saith hee was the sonne of *Hammon*: *Krentzheimius* saith that *Mizraim* and *Osiris* are words of neere affinitye and found in the Hebrew tongue. Howsoever it bee, we know that *Mizraim* the sonne of *Cham*, was Lord of *Egypt*, and *Reimccius* citing good authoritie in this case, affirmeth that *Egypt* is now called by the naturalls in their owne language, *Mizre*. Neither doe I see cause of doubt whether *Osiris* were the same with *Mizraim*. It is more necessarie, and hard to shew manifestly, how long *Mizraim* or *Osiris* reigned. For whereas the yeere of his death is no where precisely set downe, we must be faine to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly saide by *Annius* his *Berosus*, to have begun his reigne at the birth of *Abraham*, when the Dynastie of the *Thebes* began, it appeareth, first, by the authoritie of *Eusebius*: who auoucheth as much; next by *Diodorus*, who saith that he inhabited *Thebes*: which habitation of *Osiris* there, that it might be cause of that Dynastie. I can well beleue: assenting so farre to *Reimccius*, who thinkes the Dynasties were named only, according to the severall seates of the kings.

§. V.

Of the time when *OSIRIS* reigne ended: and that *JACOB* came into *Egypt* in the time of *ORUS* the sonne of *OSIRIS*.

THe death of *Osiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirme. The onely conjecture that I know is made thus: *Lekabim* the sonne of *Mizraim* called *Hercules* *Lybius*, made warre in *Italy*, to revenge his Fathers death, on the associates of *Typhon*, in the 41. yeere of *Baleus* King of *Affrica*: before which yeere he had made many great warres in *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Lybia*, and *Spain*: and having ended his Egyptian warres, 40 left the Kingdome to *Orus*. Thus saith *Berosus*, or authors following *Berosus*. That *Orus* last of all the Gods (as they were tiled) held the Kingdome of *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainly saith: and *Plutarch* as much to which all old Histories agree. *Krentzheimius* hereupon infers, that six yeeres may be allowed to the warres, which *Hercules* made in so many Countreies, after the Egyptian warres were ended: so should the death of *Osiris* have bene the 34. of *Baleus*, when himselfe had reigned 297. yeeres. I thinke that *Krentzheimius* was a greater Scholler than Souldier. For surely in those dayes when commerce was not such as now, but all Navigation made by coasting, a farre longer time would have been required, to the subduing of so many Countreies. An allowance of more time though it would alter his computation, yet so would it well agree with his intent: which was (doublelesse) to finde the truth. If according to his account the death of *Osiris* had bene the 34. of *Baleus*, then must *Israel* have come into *Egypt* but seven yeeres before the death of *Osiris*: and have lived there in the reigne of *Typhon*. A thing not easily beleueed. For it was the same king

Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 1.
Plut. de Isid.
de Isid.

king who advanced *Ioseph*, bad him send for his Father; and gaue him leaue to goe into *Canaan*, to the performance of his Fathers funerall: as may easily bee gathered out of the booke of *Genesis*. Whereas therefore the reigne of *Osiris* cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the seuenth yeere of *Isirah* coming into *Egypt*: wee must needs cut off 23. yeeres from that number, which *Krentzheimius* coniectures his reigne to have continued: namely seven which hee should have lived after *Iacob*'s coming into *Egypt*: nine in which *Ioseph* had there flourished, ere his fathers coming; and other seuen in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Osiris*, yet before *Ioseph*'s advancement.

Neither will this disagree with the time of *Hercules*'s wars. For the warre which *Hercules* made in *Italy*, is said to have indured 10. yeeres: After which proportion we may well giue not only sixe yeeres, as *Krentzheimius* doth, but 23. more to so many wars in so many and so far distant Countreies, as are named before: yea, by this proportion we may attribute vnto *Orus* the 13. yeeres, which passed betweene the time of *Ioseph*'s being sold into *Egypt*, vnto his advancement: considering that *Putiphar* who bought him, and whose daughter he may seeme to have married, continued all that while chiefe Steward vnto *Pharaoh*: a thing not likely to have been, if so violent alterations had hapned the while in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous usurpation of *Typhon* must needs have brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old author, I should confidently say, that *Putiphar* for his faithfulness to *Orus*, the sonne of *Osiris*, was by him in the beginning of his reigne made his chiefe Steward: at which time buying *Ioseph* and finding him a iust man, and one vnder whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into *Ioseph*'s hands, than vnto any of his Egyptian followers (many of whom he had found either false-hearted, or weak and vnlucky in the troublefom daies of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps I might proceed further & say, That when the laying of *Ioseph* pleased *Pharaoh*, and all his seruants: then *Putiphar* Priest of *On*, being chiefe Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledge in *Ioseph*, the ancient graces of God: & his iniurious imprisonment: whereupon he gaue him his daughter to wife: and being old, resigned his office of chiefe Steward vnto him: who afterward in regard of *Putiphar*, did iauour the Priests, when hee bought the lands of all other Egyptians. This might appeare to some a tale not vnlike to the frierly booke of *Athenas*, *Putiphar*'s daughter: but vnto such as consider that God workes vnuall by means: and that *Putiphar* was the Steward of that king, vnder whom *Iacob* died: it would seeme a matter not vnprobable, had it an Author of sufficient credit to auouch it. Concerning the warres of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning hee should have spent 42. yeeres after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumstance which (the length of his Italian wars considered, and his former enterprises & archieuevements proportioned to them) doth not make against vs, but for vs: or if it were against vs, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the vndisputable truth of Scripture doe confirme it. Neuertheless I freely grant that all these proofes are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscuritie, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

§. VI.

Of *TYPHON*, *HERCVLES* EGYPTVS, *ORUS*, and the two *SESOSTRES* successively reigning after *MIZRAIM*: and of diuers errors about the former *SESOSTRES*.

CONCERNING the reigne of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I finde none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giueth three yeeres to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is so peremptorie without proofe, as if his owne word were sufficient authoritie, in many points very questionable; alleading no witness, but as it were saying, *Telle me ipso*: yet herein we may thinke him to speake probably, forasmuch as the learned *Krentzheimius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very soone under-

Exod. 1.

Egyptians; to the *Israelites*: hee surely did that which to his owne people was very plausible; who (as appears in *Exodus*) were nothing slack in fulfilling the kings cruelty. Now that *Orus* the 2. or *Busiris* was the king that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (saith *Cedrenus*) lasted tenne moneths: is a common opinion of many great & most learned writers; who also thinke that hereupon grew the fable of *Busiris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Ex. 1.* that the King who knew not *Joseph*, was a king of a new family. That *Busiris* was of a new familie, *Reinaccius* doth shew: who also thinks him Author of the bloudie edict. Neuertheless, true it is, that *Busiris*, according to all mens computation, began his reigne 5. yeeres after the birth of *Moses*; before whose birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more that, the persecution began: which *Bunting* thinke to haue lasted 87. yeeres, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let vs therefore consider, besides the blindness of *Sesostrius* the second, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Viceroyes* in *Egypt* was: and how great confidence the kings did put in them: seeing *Joseph* ruled with such full power, that he bought all *Egypt*, & all the *Egyptians* for bread; giving at the same time the best of the land to his owne father & brethren, for nothing: seeing also that when the *Egyptians* cried out vnto *Pharaoh*, for bread: *Pharaoh* said to all the *Egyptians*, Go to *Joseph*: what he saith to you, do ye. If to a stranger borne lately fetcht out of prison, a king well able to haue governed himselfe, would giue such trust, and soueraine authoritie: it is not vnlike that a blind Prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often professes, not only the good (such as *Joseph* was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore perhaps the king did (as many haue done) resigne his kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to haue begun, till the death of *Sesostrius*. But whether *Busiris* did vlturpe the kingdom, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king resigned it, keeping the title: or whether *Busiris* were ouely *Regent*, whilst the king liued, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himselfe: it might well be said that *Pharaohs* daughter tooke vp *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*: seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not absurd for vs to say that the blind king & *Sesostrius* the second oppressed *Israel*: but forasmuch as it may seeme that the wicked *Tyrant* shewed his euill nature euen when he first arose: I thinke it more likely, that *Busiris* did it, vsing at first the power of a king, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the 124. yeeres which passed betwene the beginning of *Sesostrius* his reigne, and the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, 47. being spent: the 75. which remaine, are to be accounted to *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, and his children. *Busiris* himselfe reigned 30. yeeres, according to *Eusebius*: whom very many iudicious authors heerein approue. After him his daughter, who tooke *Moses* out of the water, is said by all that I haue read, to haue reigned 12. yeeres: Her name was *Thermutis* *Pheres*, or *Mulib* according to *Cedrenus*: *Euseb.* calls her *Aceneris*: and out of *Artabanus* his *Historie Metris*: *Iosephus* calls her both *Aceneris*, & *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in *Panario* saith that she was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the daughter of *Amenophis*, the son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title question might be made & much spoken: for the Scriptures call her not *Pharaohs* sonnes daughter, but *Pharaohs* daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is placed next before *Busiris* or *Orus* the second by *Eusebius* and others: but whether hee were a king or onely a *Regent* I cannot coniecture. For *Hierodotus*, *Diodorus*, and the ancient Historians name the sonne of *Sesostrius*, *Pheren*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*: and his daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the neece or grandchilde, then the daughter of *Pharaoh*, because of the glory of *Sesostrius*, and the disreputation of his sonne. If so, and if that *Busiris* or *Orus* the second marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our coniecture strengthened, and then was the both daughter, grandchild, and wife vnto *Pharaoh*: and furnishing him, *Queene* of the land, 12. yeeres. But if she were the daughter of *Orus* the 2. & sister of *Athorus*, or *Rathorus*, as many thinke, to whose coniecture I will not oppose mine, then

then may it seeme, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too yong to rule, when her Father died.

§. VIII.

of the two brethren of *Queene Thermutis*: and what king it was, under whom *Moses* was borne: and who it was that perished in the red Sea.

Hee had two brethren: the one was *Rathorus* or *Athorus*, who succeeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is onely named by *Eusebius*: but his lineage and off-spring described by *Reinaccius*. *Rathorus* after his sisters death reigned 9. yeeres: after whom *Cherres*, thought to be his sonne, reigned 10. and then perished in the red Sea. During the reign of *Cherres*, *Eusebius* saith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* vpon 10: of which *Historie* elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of *Cherres* (whom some call *Aceneres*: but all or most do stile *Cherres* a fighter against God) *Cherres* reigned 8. yeeres: and then *Cherres* 15. This descent seemes from Father to sonne. In the 11. yeere of *Cherres* it is said by *Euseb.* that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Egypt*, built 10. *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not vnlike: viz. That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laide vpon it, and the destruction of her king and armie in the red Sea: else could it not haue had two reigning in it at once; the later of whom, or his posteritie seemes to haue taken all from *Cherres* the grand-child of *Cherres*. For whereas *Armais* is said to haue reigned 4. yeeres after *Cherres*: and *Armais* one after *Armais*: these two kings are by *Eusebius* and others accounted as one; and his reigne said to haue bene 5. yeeres. His name is called *Armeus*, otherwise *Danauus*: and his pedigree thus described by *Reinaccius* in *Historia Iulia*,

Telegonus:
Epaphus:
Lybia, who had

Agenor, *Belus*, and *Busiris*.

Egyptus or *Rameses*
who gaue name to the
Countrie, hauing expelled
his brother
Danauus, reigned, and
begat *Lyneus*, married
to *Hypermetra*.

Danauus or *Armeus* expelled
by his brother *Egyptus*,
after hee had reigned
fue yeeres, became king of
Argos in Greece: was Father to
Hypermetra.

How it might come to passe that the Nephews sons of *Epaphus* should haue occupied the kingdom after *Cherres*, it is hard to say: considering that *Epaphus* himselfe is reported by *Eusebius* to haue been borne in the time of *Cherres*. But forasmuch as the *Historie* of *Epaphus* his birth, is diuersly related by *Eusebius*, it may suffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danauus* & *Egyptus*, otherwise called *Armeus* and *Rameses*, was equally distant from *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, with *Cherres* the grand-child of *Cherres*. And that the posteritie of *Telegonus* did marrie very yong, it appears by the *Historie* of these two brethren, *Danauus* & *Egyptus*: of whom the former had 50. daughters, the later 50. sons: perhaps, or rather questionlesse by diuers women: yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: How soeuer it were, the generall con-

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sent of writers is, that *Armenus* or *Danau* did succcede *Cherres*: and (according to *Eusebius* and good Authors approving him) reigned fūe yeeres. *Rameſſes* followed, who reigned 68. yeeres. This *Rameſſes* or *Aegyptius* is that *Armeſſemianum* or *Armeſſemianus*, vnder whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that folloes *Mercator*, *Moses* was borne: and the cruell *Edict* made of drowning the Hebrew children. The length of his reigne ſeemes to me the chiefe, if not the onely ground of *Mercator*'s opinion. For whereas the Lord ſaid to *Moses*, *Go, returne to Aegypt*, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee: *Mercator* heereupon conceiues, that it was one and the ſame king vnder whom *Moses* was borne, and vnder whom he ſlew the *Aegyptian* at the 40. yeere of his age: and fled into the wildeſſe, and there abode for leaſe: 10 all which Circumſtances could agree with none, but this *Rameſſes*, who reigned ſo long: wherefore deſirous rather to hold a true *Paradox*, then a common error, hee placeth one *Aliſſragmuthoſis* (whoſe name is found in the liſt of *Aegyptian* kings, but the time vncertaine wherein he reigned) in an age 112. or 113. yeeres more ancient than others left him in: and ſo continuing the Catalogue of his ſuccelſours from *Themoſis* (whom *Euf.* calls *Amoſis*) downwards with no other variation of the length of each mans reigne, than is the difference betweene *Manetho* and *Eufeb.* hee findes *Moses* borne vnder *Armeſſemianum*: and *Iſrael* deliuered in the dayes of his ſonne *Amenophis*. The very name of *Aliſſragmuthoſis* ſeemes to him with little alteration 20 to found like *Pharates*, of which name one was thought to haue flouriſhed either as a king, or a wife man about the time of *Iſaac*. For (ſaith he) from *Aliſſragmuthoſis* to *Phragmuthoſis*, *Pharmuthoſis*, *Phavetaſis*, or *Pharates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent learning and induſtrie: and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable works: yet my aſſent heerein is with-held from him, by theſe reaſons. Firſt, I ſee all other writers agree, that *Cherres* was the king who was drowned in the red Sea: Secondly, the place *Exod. 4. all are dead, &c.* may better be vnderſtood of *Buſiris* and all his children, then of one king alone: Thirdly, *S. Cyril* in his firſt booke againſt *Iulian* the *Apoſtata*, ſaith that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moses* was 120. yeeres old: *Rameſſes*, which was this *Armeſſemianum*, being 30 then king of *Aegypt*. After *Rameſſes*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. yeeres: who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that periſhed in the red Sea: of which our opinion being already laid open, I thinke it moſt expedient to referre the kings enſuing to their owne times (which a *Chronological Table* ſhall lay open) and heere to ſpeake of that great deliuerance of *Iſrael* out of *Aegypt*: which for many great conſiderations depending thereupon, wee may not lightly ouer-
paſſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the deliury of *Iſrael* out of *Aegypt*.

§. I.

Of the time of *Moses* birth, and how long the *Iſraelites* were oppressed in *Aegypt*.



Rue it is that the Hiſtorie ſelle is generally and well knowne: yet concerning the time of *Moses* his birth, who was the excellent and famous inſtrument of this and other great works of the *Higheſt*, the different opinions are very neere as many, as the men that haue written of that argument.

L. Vives in his annotations vpon *S. Auguſtine* citeth many of their coniectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moses* liued in the time of *Semiramis*: but if hee meant the firſt *Semiramis*, it was but a ſond conceit: for beſides that the ſame is contrarie to all

Stories Diuine and humane; while that *Semiramis* liued, hee commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof abſolutely: neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while hee ruled, in rerum natura.

A ſecond opinion he remembreth of *Apion*, taken from *Ptolomie* a Prielt of *Mendes*, who ſaith that *Moses* was borne while *Inachus* ruled the *Argiues*, and *Ameſis* in *Aegypt*.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his Greeke Hiſtorie the firſt booke: that *Moses* was borne while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argo*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Aſyrius*, who though hee cite ſome authorities, that *Moses* liued after the *Troian* warre, is himſelfe of opinion, that *Moses* was ſame more ancient, prouing it by many arguments.

Fiftly, he ſereth downe the teſtimonie of *Numerius* the Philoſopher, who tooke *Mufeu* and *Moses* to be one: confirming the ſame out of *Artapanus*, who confeſſeth that *Moses* was called *Mufeu*, by the *Grecians*: and who farther deliuereth that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermatis*, the daughter of *Aegypt*: the ſame which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermothos*. *Eufebius* alſo affirmeth, that by *Eupolemus* in his firſt booke de bono, *Moses* vir Deo conuictiſſimus is called *Mufeu* Iudeorum. *Eufebius* in his Chronologie, finds that *Moses* was borne while *Amenophis* ruled *Aegypt*. The ancient *Manetho* calls that *Pharaon*, which liued at *Moses* birth, *Thummoſis* or *Thmoſis*: the ſame perchaunce which *Apion* the *Grammarians* will haue to be *Amoſis*, and elſewhere *Amenophis* the Father of *Sehoſis*: to whom *Lyſimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* giue the name of *Bocchoris*. To mee it ſeemeth moſt probable, that while *Saphrus*, called alſo *Spherus* or *Ipherenus*, governed *Aſyria*; *Orthopolis* *Sicyonia*; and *Criſus* the *Argiues*; that then (*Sefoſtris* the ſecond ruling in *Aegypt*) *Moses* was borne. For if wee beleue *S. Auguſtine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moses* led *Iſrael* out of *Aegypt*. *Eduxit MOSES ex Aegypto populum Dei nouiſſimo tempore* *Cecropis Athenienſium regis*: *MOSES* (ſaith he) led the people of God out of *Aegypt*, about the end of *Cecrops* time King of the *Athenians*. In this ſort therefore is the time of *Moses* birth, and of his departure out of *Aegypt* beſt proued. *S. Auguſt.* affirms (as before remembered) that *Moses* was borne: *Saphrus* governing *Aſyria*; and that hee left *Aegypt* about the end of *Cecrops* time.

Now

Exod. 4. 19.

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Eufeb. de prep. Euang. 1. 3. c. 3.

Aug. 18. c. 11. de ciuit. Dei. 2514.

Now *Saphrus* ruled 20. yeeres; his successor *Mamelus* 30. yeeres; *Sparetus* after him 40. yeeres: in whose fourth yeere *Cecrops* began to gouerne in *Attica*: *Ascatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire 41: So as *Moses* being borne while *Saphrus* ruled *Afyrta*; *Orthopolis* *Scyonia*; and *Criafus* *Argos* (for these three kings liued at once at his birth, saith *S. Augusline*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth yeere of the *Afyrta* *Saphrus*: for take one yeere remaining of 20. (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which adde the thirtie yeeres of *Mamelus*, and the 40. yeeres of *Sparetus*, these make 71. with which there were wasted three yeeres of *Cecrops* his 50. yeeres: then take nine yeeres out of the reigne of *Ascatades*, who was *Sparetus* successeur, those nine yeeres added to 71. make 80. 13 at which age *Moses* left *Egypt*: and adde these nine yeeres to the three yeeres of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remaine but foure yeeres of *Cecrops* his 50: and lo it falleth right with *S. Auguslines* words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moses* led the people of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

Now the time in which the *Hebrewes* were oppressed in *Egypt*, seemeth to haue had beginning some eight or nine yeeres before the birth of *Moses*, and 54. yeere, or rather more, after *Ioseph*: betwene whose death and the birth of *Moses*, there were consumed 64. yeeres: some of which time, and 80. yeeres after, they liued in great seruitude and miserie. For as it is written in *Exodus*: *They set task-masters ouer them, to keepe them vnder with burdens: and they built the Cities Pithom and Ramases, &c. And by crueltie they caused the children of Israel to serue, and made them weary of their liues, by sore labour in clay and bricke, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage.* All which laid vpon them by a mastering power and strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisdom of God appointed: euen from 54. yeeres, or not much more after the death of *Ioseph*, who left the World when it had lasted 2370. yeeres, to the eightieth yeere of *Moses*, and vntill hee wrought his miracles in the field of *Zaan*, which he performed in the Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof, according to *Codeman*, or after our account, 2513. And because those things which we deliuer of *Egypt*, may the better bee vnderstood, I thinke it necessary to speake a few 30 words of the principall places therein named, in this discourse.

§. II.

Of diuers Cities and places in *Egypt*, mentioned in this Story, or else where in the Scripture.

THis Citie which the *Hebrewes* call *Zaan*, was built seuen yeeres after *Hebron*. *Ezekiel* calleth it *Taphnes*; and so doth *Hieremie*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanis*; *Iosephus*, *Protatidis*; after the name of an *Egyptian* Queene; *Antonius* giues it the name of *Thunis*; *Hegesippus*, *Thamus*; and *William Tyrrus*, *Tapius*. It adioyneth to the land of *Gosen*, and is the same, wherein *Hieremie* the Prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the *Egyptian* and *Iewish* Idolatry.

Zaan or *Talnes* was in *Moses* time the *Metropolis* of the lower *Egypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly resided; and not vnlikly to be the same Citie, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eusebius* out of *Arianus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* read *Astronomie* in *Helopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharates* King of *Egypt*. *Alex. Polyhistor*, out of *Eupolemus* hath it otherwise, saying, that *Abraham* instructed the *Egyptian* Priests, and not the King; both which authorities *Eusebius* citeth. The *Septuagint*, and the Vulgar edition, for *Zaan* write *Helopolis*. *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Iunius*, and our English call it *On*; and *Protonie*, *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Egypt*, towards the South; the other somewhat lower on the Easter-most branch of *Nilus* falling into the Sea at *Pelenusium*. And it

may

it may be that *Helopolis* to the South of the riuer *Trian*, was the same which *Vatablus* and our English call *Zaan*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certaine knowledge: the same, which *Pomp. Mela*, and *Plinie*, call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrrus* in the *Holy Warre*, *Mabec*; the *Arabians*, *Babalbeth*; and *Simcon Sethi*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Helopolis*, or *On*, was *Putiphys* Priest, or Prince, whose daughter *Ioseph* married. In the Territory adioyning *Iacob* inhabited, while he liued in *Egypt*. In the confines of this Citie, *Onias*, the high Priest of the *Iewes*, built a Temple, dedicated to the eternal God; not much inferiour to that of *Hierusalem* (*Ptolomee Philopater* then gouerning in *Egypt*) which stood to the time of *Vespasian*, 333. yeeres after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Iosephus* falsly reporteth, herein to haue fulfilled a prophecie of *Esaie*. 19. *In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terra Egypti*; In that day shall the altar of the Lord bee in the midst of the Land of *Egypt*. *Antiochus* Epiphanes at that time of the building tyrannizing ouer the *Iewes*, gaue the occasion for the erecting of this Temple in *Egypt*. Lastly, there it was that our Saviour CHRIST IESVS remained, while *Ioseph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: neere which (*Iayth Brochard*) the fountaine is still found, called *Iesus well*, whose streames doe afterward water the Gardens of *Balsamum*, no where else found in *Egypt*. And heretofore more in *Brochard*, in his description of *Egypt*.

There is also the Citie of *Noph*, remembered by *Esaie* and *Ezekiel*, the same which *Hosea* the Prophet calleth *Moph*: which latter name it tooke from a Mountaine adioyning, so called, which Mountaine *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great Citie, which was called *Memphis*; and so the *Septuagint* write it. It is knowne to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldeans* name it *Alchabur*; and *Tudalen*, *Si*, *Mazaim*.

Pelusium, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Iunius*, and our English write, *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*; is not the same with *Damata*, as *Gul Tyrus* witnesseth. In the time of *Saladin* the third, *Pelusium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (saith *Tyrrus*) *quæ olim dicta est Pelusium*; *Belbeis*, *that in times past was called Pelusium*.

The Citie of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Diopolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt*. *Hierome* conuerteth it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Bubastus, for so *Hierome* and *Zeigler* write it, is the same which the *Hebrewes* call *Pibesth*.

To make the storie the more perceivable, I haue added a description of the land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israelites* inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zaan*, *Helopolis* or *Bethlemes*, *Bissephon*, *Succoth*, and the rest; together with *Moses* passage through the Deserts of *Arabia* the *Stonie*. For all storie without the knowledge of the places, wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure; so it no way enricheth the knowledge and vnderstanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing serue to retain, what we reade, in our memories, so well as these pictures and descriptions doe. In which respect I am driuen to digresse in many places, and to interpose some such discourse, other wise seeming impertinent: taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man, *Arias Montanus*; who in his Preface to the Storie of the Holy Land, hath these words: *Si enim absq. locorum obseruatione res gestas narrentur, aut sine Topographia cognitione historia legantur, adeo confusa atq. perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex his nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit*; If narration (saith he) be made of those things which are performed, without the obseruation of the places, wherein they were done: or if Histories be read without Topographical knowledge; all things will appear so intricate and confused, as wee shall thereby vnderstand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.

§. III.

§. III.

Of the cruelty against the Israelites young children in Egypt: and of MOSES his preservation, and education.



UT to returne to the story it selfe. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and slavery, which the Israelites endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: in somuch as Pharaoh considering the danger of discontented pouvertie, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perillous they might bee to his estate, by suggestion of the Deuill 10
resolued to slaughter all the male children of the Hebrews, as soone as they should be borne. To which end he sent for Sephora and Thua, women the most famous and expert amongst them, *que praeant* (saith Commestor) *multitudini obstericum, who had com-*
mand given them ouer all mid-wiues; by whom (as it seemeth) he gaue order to all the rest for the execution of his Edict. For to haue called all the mid-wiues of Egypt together, had been a strange Parliament. Now whether these two, before named, were of the Hebrews, or of the Egyptians, it is diuersly disputed. S. Augustine calls them Hebrews, because it is written *Exodus* the first, *The King of Egypt commanded the mid-wiues of the Hebrew women &c.* But Iosephus, Abulenſis, and Pererius beleeue them to be Egyptians. Whosoeuer they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the 20
execution of that secret murder, to the end the world might witness both the wickedness of the Egyptians, and the iust cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and reuenge: Pharaoh finding those women filled with pietie, and the feare of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publicly, or howsoeuer, to destroy all the male Hebrew children borne within his dominions.

Now besides the doubts, which Pharaoh had of the multitudes of the Hebrews, the greatest part of whom he might haue assured, by affoording them the iustice, which euery King oweth to his vassals, and the rest he might haue employed or sent away at his pleasure; Iosephus giueth another cause of his rage against them, namely, That it was prophetically deliuered him by an Egyptian Priest, that among the Hebrews there should bee borne a childe; who growing to mans estate, should become a plague and terror to his whole Nation. To prevent which, (and presuming that he could resist the ordinance of God, by a meane, contrarie to the lawes of Heauen and of nature) hee stretched out his bloudie and mercilesse hand to the execution of his former intent. The same preuention lasted long after practised, when fearing the spirituall kingdome of Christ, as if it should haue bene temporall, he caused all the male children at that time borne to bee slaughtered. And that Pharaoh had some kinde of foreknowledge of the future successe, it may be gathered by these his owne words, in the tenth verse of the fifth of *Exodus*. *Come, let vs worke wisely with them, lest they multiply; and it come to passe, that if there bee warre, they toyne themselves also vnto our enemies, and fight against vs, and get them out of the Land.* But wee see, and time hath told it vs from the beginning, how God derideth the wisdom of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they relye on the inuentions of their owne most feeble, and altogether darkened vnderstanding. For euen by the hands of the dearely beloued daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and minister of Gods merauilous workes taken out of Nilus, being therein turned off, in an Arke of reedes, a sucking and powerlesse infant. And this Princesse hauing beheld the child his forme and beautie, though but yet in the blouth, so pierced her compassion, as she did not onely preserue it, and cause it to be fostered; but 50
commanded that it should bee esteemed as her owne, and with equall care to the sonne of a King nourished. And for memory that it was her deede, shee called the childe *Moses*, as it were, *extractus*, or *eruptus*, taken out, to wit, out of the water: or, after Iosephus and Glieas, *Moy*, a voice exprelling water, and *bijes*, as much to say, as that

Per. 16.
Iosephus. l. 1.
c. 5.
Abul. & Perer.
in Exod.

Per. 16.

Iosephus. l. 1. c. 5.

Exod. 10. 5.

that which is drawne out of water, or thence taken. Clemens Alexandrinus was of Stom. l. 1.
opinion, that *Moses* was circumcised, before he was put into the Arke of Reedes, and that *Amram* his father had named him *Joachim*. In his youth hee was carefully bred, by the care, and at the charge of Pharaohs Daughter, and by men of the most vnderstanding, taught and instructed: *quem regio more educant, praefectus ei sapientibus* *E-*
gyptiorum Magistris, à quibus erudiretur, saith BASIL. *Vnto whom shee gaue princely e-*
ducation, appointing ouer him wise Masters of the Egyptians for his instructors. There-
by (say Iosephus and Philo) hee became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the
Egyptians; which also the Martyr Stephen, in the tenth of the *Actes* confirmeth;
10 And *Moses* was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. Which wisdom or sapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as Six. Senecaſis hath gathered, wee haue added, betwene the death of *Moses*, and the reigne of *Iosua*.

§. IIII.

Of MOSES his flying out of Egypt; and the opinions of certaine ancient Historians of his warre in Aethiopia; and of his marriage there: PHILLO his iudgement of his Pastoral life: and that of PERERIVS of the Bookes of GENESIS and ION.

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HEN *Moses* was growne to mans estate, Iosephus and Ensebins, out of Artapanus, tell vs of ten yeeres warre that hee made against the Aethiopians: of the besieging of Siba afterward by Cambyſes, called Merops, and how he recovered that Citie by the fauour of Tharbis, a Daughter of Aethiopia, whom he tooke to wife. So hath Commestor a prettie tale of *Moses*. How after the end of that warre, Tharbis resisting his returne into Egypt, *Moses* most skilfull in *Astronomie*, caused two Images to bee ingrauen in two precious stones, whereof the one increased memorie; the other caused forgetfulness. These he set in two rings; whereof he gaue the one, to wit, that of obliuion, 30
to his wife Tharbis, reseruing the other of memorie for himselfe: which ring of forgetfulness, after shee had a while worn, shee beganne to neglect the loue hee bare her husband: and so *Moses* without danger returned into Egypt. But leauing these fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the 40. yeere of *Moses* age, when he beheld an Egyptian offering violence to one of the oppressed Hebrews, moved by compassion, in respect of his brother, and stirred vp by disdain against the other, in the contention he slew the Egyptian. Soone after which act, finding a disposition in some of his owne Nation to accuse him, for whose defence hee had thus greatly endangered his owne life: by the ordinance and aduice of God, whose chosen seruant he was, hee fled into Arabia Petrea, the next bordering Countrie to 40
Egypt; where wandering all alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a place vnkowne vnto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and who in future times were the irreconcilable enemies of the Hebrews: it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldly meanes) to make the watering of a few sheepe, and the assisting of the Daughters of Raquel the Midianite, an occasion whereby to provide him a wife of one of those, and a father in law, that fed him, and sustained him in a Countrie neereſt Egypt, fittest to returne from: necessarie to bee knowne, because interiaent betwene Egypt and Indea, through which he was to leade the Israelites; and wherein God held him, till the occasion which God presented, best serued, 50
the glorie of God, which shineth most, couered him ouer, and appeared vnto him, not finding him as a Kings sonne, or an adopted child of great Pharaohs daughter, but as a meeke and humble sheepeheard, sitting at a mountaine foote; a keeper and commander of those poore beasts onely.

In that part of Arabia, neere Madian, hee consumed 40. yeeres. And though (as Philo

Philo in the story of *Moses* life obserueth) he did not neglect the care of those flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Pastorall knowledge, yet in that solitary Desart he enioyed himselfe : and being separate from the presse of the world, and the troublesome affaires thereof, hee gaue himselfe to contemplation, and to make perfect in himselfe all those knowledges, whereof his younger yeeres had gathered the grounds and principles : the same Author also iudging, that his Pastorall life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principalltie, which heafterward obtained. *Eft enim* (saith *PHILO*) *ars Pallorali, quasi prae aludum ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansueti simi. Quemadmodum belliofa ingenua praerexcent se in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod postea in militia & bello pericula iungit, bruti praerentibus materiam exercitij, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At vnde praefectura mansueti pecoris, habet quiddam simile cum regno in subditis ; ideoq, Reges cognominantur Pastores populorum, non contumelia sed honoris gratia ;* The art of keeping sleepe is, as it were, an introductorie exercise vnto a Kingdome, namely, the rule ouer men, the most gentle flocks : Euen as warlike natures doe before-hand exercise themselves in hunting, practising on wild beasts these things, which after they will accomplish in warfare : those brute beasts affording matter, wherein to traine themselves, both in time of warre and of peace. But the gouernment of gentle castell, hath a kinde of resemblance vnto a Kingly rule ouer subjects : therefore, Kings are called shep-herds of the people, not in way of reproch, but for their honour.

That *Moses*, in this time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the Booke of *Iob*, as *Pererius* suppoeth, I cannot iudge of it, because it is thought, that *Iob* was at that time liuing. Neither dare I subscribe to *Pererius* opinion, That *Moses*, while hee liued in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the bookes of *Genesis* ; although I cannot denie the reason of *Pererius* coniecture, That by the example of *Iob*'s patience hee might strengthen the oppressed *Hebrewes* : and by the promises of God to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, put them in assurance of their deliuerie from the *Egyptian* slavery, and of the Land of rest, and plentie promised.

Of his calling backe into *Egypt* by the Angel of God, and the maruailes and wonders which hee performed, thereby to perswade *Pharaoh*, that he was the messenger of the most High, the particulars are written in the first fourteene Chapters of *Exodus* ; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needlesse. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when *Moses* desired to be taught by God, by wat name hee should make him knowne, and by whom hee was sent ; hee received from God so much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and euere-being nature. Out of which he deliuered him in the first part of his answer, a name to be considered of by the wisest ; and in his second, to bee vnderstood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it selfe, but the eternall : which truly is ; which is aboue all ; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed euery moment : their substance waltereth, and is repaired by nutriment ; neuer continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long as while one may say, Now. Likewise, whatsoever is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in euery short piece of time suffereth decay ; neither doth any thing abide in onestate. *Vna est Des & sol natura, quae uere est : id enim quod subsistit, non habet aliud, sed suum est. Cetera quae creata sunt, etiamsi uidentur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt. & potest rursus non esse, quod non fuit ;* It is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is, for hee hath his being of himselfe, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they seeme to be, yet they are not ; for sometimes they were not : and that which hath not being, may againe want being. And with this, in respect of the Diuine nature, the saying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth : *Tota rerum natura umbra est, aut inanis, aut fallax ;* The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitfull : in comparison of whom (saith *E/ay*) all Nations are as nothing, lesse then nothing, and vanitie.

Of the tenne plagues wherewith the *Egyptians* were stricken, the first was by changing

Perer. in 3. c.
Exod.

Exod. 6. 3. v. 13.
14. & 15.

Micro-ad Dam.

C. 4. v. 13.

changing the Rivers into blood : God punishing them by those waters, into which their Forefathers had throwne, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the *Hebrewes*. To which this place of the Reuelation may bee fitly applied : *And I heard the Angell of the water say, Lord, thou art iust, which art, and which wast : and he saith, woe, because thou hast iudged these things ; for they shed the blood of the Saints and Prophets, and therefore hast thou giuen them blood to drinke.*

The rest of the Plagues by Froegges, Lice, Flies, or stinging Waspes ; by the death of their Cattaile ; by leprous Scabbes, by Haile and Fire ; by Grasshoppers ; by darknesse ; after which *Pharaoh* forbade *Moses* his presence : moued the hardened heart of the vnbeleeuing King no longer, then the paine and perill lasted, till such time as his owne first-borne, and the first-borne of all his Nation perished. He then, while he feared his owne life, (a time wherein wee remember God perforce) stood vpon no condition : whereas before, hee first yielded but to the departure of the men ; then of the men, women and children, reseruing their bestiall ; but hee was now content for the present, that the *Israelites* should not only depart with all their owne, but with a part of the Siluer, Gold, and Jewels of his owne people : of which (the feare being past) hee suddainly repeated him, as his pursuit after them proved. For when euery one of the *Hebrewes* had (according to direction from *Moses* received) slaine a Lambe, without spot or blemish, for the *Passouer*, a Sacrament of the most cleane and vnspotted Saviour) and with the blood thereof coloured the poste and linterne of the doores ; the Angell of God in the dead of the night smote euery first-borne of *Egypt*, from the sonne of the King, to that of the Begger and Slave : the children of the *Israelites* excepted. At which terrible iudgement of God, *Pharaoh* being more then euer amazed, yielded, as before is sayd, to their departure. The *Egyptians* (saith *Epiphanius*) did in after-times imitate this colouring with blood, which the *Israelites* vsed after the *Passouer* ; ascribing an exceeding vertue to the Red Colour : and therefore they did not only marke their Sheepe and Cattell, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preferue them from lightning and other harmes.

Epiphanius.
cont. Heret.

¶ V.
Of *PHARAOH*'S pursuit of the *Israelites* : and of their passage towards the Red Sea, so farre as *Succoth*.

NOW, when the people were remooued, and on their way, (his heart being hardened by God) hee bethought him atwell of the Honour lost, as of the shame remaining after so many Calamities and Plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoiles of his people, and in despoight of himselfe. And hauing before this time great Companies of 40 Souldiers in readinesse, hee consulted with himselfe, what way the *Israelites* were like to take. Hee knew that the shortest and fairest passage was through the Countrey of the *Philistims*. But because these people were very strong, and a warlike Nation, and in all probability of his Allies, hee suspected that *Moses* meant to find some other outlet, to wit, through the Desart of *Eibam* ; and there, because the Countrey was exceeding Mountainous, and of hard access, and that *Moses* was pestered with multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, hee thought it impossible for the *Israelites* to escape him that way. In the meane-while hauing gathered together all the Chariots of *Egypt*, and 600. of his owne, and Captaines ouer them ; hee determined to set vpon them in the Plainses of *Gosen*, which way soeuer 50 they turned themselves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with broad and sharpe Hoores on both sides, in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kind of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Brittains* vsed against the *Romans*, while they made the Warre for the Conquest of this Land. Of this Armie of *PHARAOH*, *IOSEPHVS* affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000. 10th ant. l. c. 6.

Exod. 14. v. 7.

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Horle,

Horse, and 20000. foot, which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that Pharaoh intended long before to assault the Hebrewes at their departure, or to destroy them in Gosen; and refused them passage, till such time as hee had prepared an Armie, to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of Exodus, hee doubted two things, either that the Hebrewes might ioine themselves to his enemies within the Land, or being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his seruice, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieved him withall, enforced him at this time to give an assent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and Josephus partiall in this affaire, yet by the wordes of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of Egypt: which could not be done 10 in haile. For Moses made but three dayes march, ere Pharaoh was at his heeles; and yet the last day he went on fixteene miles: which, in so hot a Countrey, and to driue their Cattell and Sheep with them, pestered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerfull Enemy at hand. Now, as Moses well knew, that hee went out with a mightie hand, and that God guided his vnderstanding in all his Enterprizes: so he lay not still in the ditch crying for helpe, but vnto the vnderstanding which God had giuen him, hee left nothing vnperformed, becoming a naturall wiseman, a valiant and a skilfull Conducter; as by all his actions and counsailes from this day to his death well appeared.

When Moses perceived that Pharaoh was enraged against him, and commanded 10 him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence: after hee had warned Israel of the Passouer, he appointed a generall Assembly or *Rendez-vous* of all the Hebrewes at Ramases, in the Territorie of Gosen; a Citie standing indifferent to recieve from all other parts of the Countrey the dispersed Hebrewes: and gave commandement, that euery Family should bring with them such store as they had, of Dow and Palle, not staying to make it into bread: knowing then that Pharaoh was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and hauing considered the great strength of Pharaohs Horse-men and Chariots, of which kind of defence Moses was vtterly vnprovided (though as it is written, the Israelites went vp armed) hee marched from Ramases Eastward, towards the Desarts of Etham, and incamped at Succoth, which 30 he performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth Abib. Which Moneth from that time forward they were commanded to account, as the first Moneth of the yeere. Whether in former times they had beene accustomed to begin their yeere in some other Moneth, following the manner of the Egyptians, and were now recalled by Moses to the rule of their Forefathers, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politike yeere, which was not now abrogated, but rather by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in vs. Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among them, vnto the beginning, middle, or ending of the yeere; that distinction of the Sacred, and the Politike yeere is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of dayes in euery Moneth, and the whole forme of their yeere, like enough it is that Moses himselfe in fortie yeeres space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was giuen in trust: but that any rule of framing their Kalendar, was made publike, before the captiuitie of Babylon, I doe not find. Now because time and motion beginne together, it will not, I thinke, be any great breach of order, to shew here at their first setting forth, what was the forme of the Hebrew yeere: with the difference betwene them and other Nations, in ordering the accompt of time.

¶ VI.

¶ VI.

Of the Solarie and Lunarie yeeres: and how they are reconciled: with the forme of the Hebrew yeere, and their manner of intercalation.

The Hebrew Moneths are thus named.

The first Moneth, Nisan, or Abib.	1. March.
The second, Iar, or Tiar, Zio, or Zin.	2. April.
The third, Sivan, or Sinan, or Siban.	3. Maie.
The fourth, Tamuz.	4. Iune.
The fifth, Ab.	5. Iulie.
The sixth, Elul.	6. August.
The seventh, Tysri, or Ethauin, or Ethanim.	7. September.
The eighth, Marchesuan, or Mechusuan, or Bul, or with Josephus, Marisanan.	8. October. 1. Ant.
The ninth, Chisleu, or Casleu.	9. Nouember.
The tenth, Tebeth, or Thobeth.	10. December.
The eleventh, Sebeth, or Sabath.	11. Ianuarie.
The twelfth, Adar, and Ve Adar.	12. February.

THE Adar was an intercalarie Moneth, added, some yeeres, vnto the other twelue, to make the Solarie and Lunarie yeere agree; which (besides the generall inconuenience that would otherwise haue risen, by casting the Moneths of Summer into the Winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to be regarded of the Hebrewes, because of the diuine Precept. For God appointed especiall Feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a Moneth of the yeere, and withall on a set day, both of the Moone and of the Moneth: as the Feast of the first fruits; the new Moones, and the like: which could not haue so beene kept, if either the day of the Moone had 30 fallen in some other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it selfe beene found farre distant from his place in the season of the yeere.

Other Nations, the better to obserue their Solemnities in the due time, and to ascertain all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principall commoditie of time, that is the measure of endurance) were driuen in like manner to make their yeeres vnequall, by adding sometimes, and sometimes abating one or more dayes, as the error committed in foregoing yeeres required. The error grew at first, by not knowing what number of dayes made vp a compleat yeere. For though by the continuall course of the Sunne, causing Summer and Winter duly to succeed each other, it is plaine enough euen to the most sauage of all people, when a yeere hath 40 passed ouer them; yet the necessitie of ordinarie occurrences, that are to be numbered by a shorter Tally, makes this long measure of whole yeeres insufficient for the smaller sort of more daily affaires. Therefore men obserued the Monethly conspicuous reuolution of the Moone, by which they diuided the yeere into twelue parts, subdiuiding the Moneth into 29. dayes and nights, and those againe into their quarters and houres. But as the markes of time are sensible and easily discerned: so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexitie in the vnderstanding. Twelue reuolutions of the Moone, containing lesse time by eleven dayes or thereabout, than the yeerely course of the Sunne, through the Zodiacke, in the space of fixteene yeeres, euery Moneth was found in the quite contrarie part of the 50 yeere, to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to adde some daies to the yeere, making it to consist of twelue Moneths, and as many daies more, as they thought would make the courses of the Sunne and Moone to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the Sunne determine his yeerely reuolution by any set number of whole dayes; neyther did the Moone

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Exod. 14. 7.

The Territorie of Gosen was afterward called Ramases, after the name of this City, as appeareth in Gen. 47. 11. Num. 33. 2. vol. 13.

Exod. 13. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22.

Deut. 16.

30. & 29.

Philos. 34. c. 6.

changeable wayes at one houre; but the verie minutes and lesser fractions were to bee observed by him, that would seeke to reduce their motions (which motions also were not full alike) into any certaine rule. Here lay much wisdom and deepe art, which could not loone bee brought to perfection. Yet as making an estimate at random, the *Athenians* held the yeere to containe 360. dayes, wherein most of the *Greekes* concurred with them. That 360. dayes filled vp the *Gracian* yeere (besides many collateral proofes) it is manifest by that which *Plinie* directly affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in honour of *Demetrius Phalerens*, which were (sayth he) 360, whilst as yet the yeere exceeded not that number of dayes. By this account neyther did any certaintie of the Moone beginne or end their Moneths; neyther could their Moneths continue many yeeres, in their owne places: but must needs bee shifted by little and little, from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the dayes forgotten to be inserted into the Almanacke by men, but not forgotten by the superiour bodies in their courses, should occupie their owne rooms in their due turnes. Now, because the solemnities of the *Olympian* Games was to be held at the full Moone, and withall on the 15. day of the Moneth *Heatemban* (which answerein a manner to our *Iune*) they were carefull to take order, that this Moneth might euer beginne with the new Moone; which they effected by adding some two daies to the last Moneth of every yeere: those Games being held once in foure yeeres. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter euen; which caused them sometimes to omit one day in the fourth yeere, which was the second of the Moneth *Baedromian*; (agreeing neerly with our *August*) sometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to insert another for it into the fourth Lunare yeere, accounting by the Moone, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their Moneth of *Iune* would every yeere haue growne colder and colder, had they not sought to keepe all vpright, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth yeere one whole Moneth, which they called the second *Pojideon* or *December*; which was the device of *Harpalus*, who also taught them to make one Moneth of 29. dayes, another of 30. and so successiue through the whole yeere. Thus with much labour they kept their yeere as neere as they could, vnto the high way of the *Planets*; but these marks which they obserued, were found at length to bee deceitfull Guides. For it was not possible so to fashion this eighth yeeres intercalation, that it should not deceiue them in 11. houres and 18. minutes at the least, or some wayes in 34. houres and 10. minutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences would, in few Ages, haue bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good methode, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth yeeres intercalation, deuised a Cycle of 19. yeeres, wherein the Moone hauing 235. times runne her circuit, met with the Sunne in the same place, and on the same day of the yeere, as in the 19. yeere before past shee had done. This inuention of *Meton* was entertained with great applause, and passing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inserted into the Kalender in Golden Letters, being called the Golden Number, which name it retaineth vnto this day. Hereby were annoyed the great and vncertaine intercalations that formerly had bene vsed; for by the intercalation of 7. Moneths in the 19. yeeres, all was so euen, that no sensible difference could bee found. Yet that error which in one yeere could not be perceived, was very apparent in a few of those Cycles; the new Moones anticipating in one Cycle 7. houres, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore *Calippus* deuised a new Cycle containing foure of *Metons*, that is to say, 76. yeeres; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a Noble *Astrologer*, framed another, containing foure of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding some error in the former obseruations, which they diligently corrected. The last reformation of the Kalender was that which *Iulius Caesar* made, who by aduice of the best *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courses of those heauenly bodies, reduced the yeere vnto the forme which is now in vse with vs, containing 365. dayes and sixe houres, which houres in foure yeeres make

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vp one whole day, that is intercalated euery fourth yeere, the 24. of *Februarie*. The correction of the *Julian* yeere by *Pope Gregorie* the 13. *Anno Domini* 1582. is not as yet entertained by generall consent; it was indeed, but as a note added vnto the worke of *Cesar*: yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was obserued, that the Sunne, which at the time of the *Nicene Council*, *Anno Dom.* 324. entered the *Aequinoctiall* on the 21. day of *March*, was in the yeere 1582. ten dayes sooner found in that time, *Pope Gregory* strooke out of the Kalender ten dayes, following the fourth of *October*, so that in stead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which means the mouable Feasts depending on the Sunnes entrance into *Aries*, were againe celebrated in such time, as at the *Nicene Council* they had bene. And the better to preuent the like alterations, it was by the *Council of Trent* ordained, that from thence forward in euery hundreth yeere, the Leape day should be omitted, excepting till the fourth hundred: because the Sunne doth not in his yeerely course take vp full sixe houres aboue the 365. dayes; but faileth so many minutes, as in 400. yeeres make about three whole dayes.

But the Cycle of 19. yeeres, which the *Hebrewes* vsed, was such as neyther did need any nice curiosities of houres, minutes, and other lesser Fractions to helpe it; neyther did in summing vp the dayes of the whole yeere, neglect the dayes of the Moone, confounding one Moneth with another. For with them it fell out so, that 20 alwayes the *Kalends* or first day of the Moneth was at the new Moone, and because that day was festiuall, they were very carefull awfull to obserue the short yeere of the Moone, passing through all the 12. Signes in one Moneth, as that longer of the Sunne, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gaue to *Nisan* their first Moneth, which is about our *March* or *April*, 30. dayes; to *Iar* their second Moneth 29. dayes; and so successiue 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to passe, that euery two Moneths of theirs contained somewhat euenly two reuolutions of the Moone, allowing 29. dayes, 12. houres, and odde minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or Epact dayes, which made vp 7. Moneths in 19. yeeres; to 6. of which 7. 30 were commonly giuen 30. dayes; to one of them 29. dayes, or otherwise as was found requisite. Their common yeere (as appeareth by the severall dayes of each Moneth) contained 354. dayes, which faile of the yeere, wherein the Sunne finisheth his course, 11. whole dayes, with some fractions of time. But these dayes, and other broken pieces, howsoeuer they were neglected in one yeere, yet in the Cycle of 19. yeeres were so disposed of by conuenient Intercalations, that still at the end of that Cycle, both the Sunne and Moone were found on the same day of the yeere, Moneth and weeke, yea commonly on the same houre of the day, where they had bene at the beginning of it 19. yeeres before.

Diuers haue diuersly set downe the forme of the *Hebrew* yeere, with the manner 40 of their Intercalations. *SIGONIVS* tells vs, that euery second yeere they did adde a Moneth of 22. dayes; euery fourth yeere a Moneth of 23. in the regard of 11. dayes and a halfe wanting in 12. Moones to fulfill a yeere of the Sunne. But herein *SIGONIVS* was very much deceiued. For the Moone doth neuer finish her course in 22. or 23. dayes; and therefore to haue added so many dayes to the end of the yeere, had bene the way to change the fashion of all the Moneths in the yeeres following, which could not haue begunne as they ought, with the new Moone. *Genebrard* saith, that euery third yeere, or second yeere, as need required, they did intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the yeeres end vnto the other 12. This I beleeeue to haue bene true; but in which of the yeeres the intercalation was (if it bee worthy of consideration) 50 he thinks they doe not probably deliuer, who keepe all farre from euennesse vntill the very last of the 19. yeeres. For (to omit such as erre grossely) some there are who say, that after three yeeres, when besides the dayes spent in 36. courses of the Moone, 33. dayes are left remaining, that is, 11. dayes of each yeere; then did the *Hebrewes* adde a Moneth of 30. dayes; keeping three dayes, as it were in plussage

Sig. de sept. lib. 3. c. 1.

Genebr. Chron. lib. 3.

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vnto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixt yeere; at which time, besides the Intercalarie Moneth, remained fixe daies, namely, three summing that Moneth, and the Epact of three yeeres, besides the three formerly referred. Thus they goe on to the 18. yeere; at which time they haue 18. daies in hand: all which with the Epact of the 19. yeere make vp a Moneth of 29. daies, that being intercalated at the end of the Cycle makes all euen.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirme nor denie; yet surely it must needes haue bred a great confusion, if in the 18. yeere every Moneth were removed from his owne place by the distance of 48. daies, that is, halfe a quarter of the yeere and more; which inconuenience by such a reckoning was vnaoydable. Wherefore, to I preferre the common opinion, which preuenteth such dislocation of the Moneths, by setting downe a more conuenient way of Intercalation in the 8. yeere. For the 6. daies remaining after the two former Intercalations made in the third and sixth yeeres, added vnto the 22. daies, arising out of the Epacts of the seuenth and eighth yeeres, doe fitly serue to make vp a Moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the yeere following; and this borrowing of two daies is so farre from causing any disorder, that indeed it helpe to make the yeeres ensuing way the lesse from the proper season of euery Moneth. This may suffice to bee spoken of the Hebrew Moneths and Yeeres, by which they guided their accounts.

§. VII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red Sea: and of the diuers wayes leading out of Egypt.

From Succoth in the morning following, Moses led the Israelites towards the Defart of *Etham*, to recouer the Mountaine foot, by the edge of that Wildernesse, though hee intended nothing lesse then to goe out that way, of all other the nearest. But being assured of the multitude of Horien men and armed Chariots, that followed him, hee kept himselfe 30 from being incompassed, by keeping the rough and Mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* hee rested but one night, and then hee reflected backe from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance betweene it and *Succoth* being about eight mile. That hee forbore to enter *Arabia* being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceed from three respects; the first two naturall; the third diuine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and hauing received intelligence of the way which *Moses* tooke, perswaded himselfe, that the numbers which *Moses* led, consisting of about a Million, if not two Millions of foules, (for as it is written *Exod. the 12. Great multitudes of sundry sorts of people went out with them*) could not possibly passe ouer those Defart and high Mountaines with so great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, but that at the very entrance of that fastnesse he should haue ouer-taken them, and destroyed the greatest numbers of them. For these his owne wordes: *They are tangled in the Land, the Wildernesse hath shut them in*, doe shew his hopes and intents; which *Moses* by turning another way did frustrate. Secondly, *Moses* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* towards the East-side of the Land of *Gosen*, or *Rameses*: from whence (missing *Moses* there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughnesse of the way; and howeouer, yet while the Hebrewes kept the Mountaine foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the ouer-bearing violence both of the Horie and Chariots. Thirdly, *Moses* confidence in the Al-powerfull God was such, by whose spirit, only wise, he was directed, as hee rather made choice to leaue the glory of his deliuerance and victorie to Almighty God, than eyther by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000. men, to caft the successe vpon his owne vnderstanding, wise conduction, or valour: The third day

It is probable that all those Egyptian and others brought by the Hebrews to the knowledge of the true God, followed Moses at his departure.

day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Valley of *Pihacherath*, 16. mile distant; and fate downe betweene two ledges of Mountaynes adioyning to the Red Sea, to wit, the Mountaynes of *Etham* on the North, and *Baalzepon* towards the South: the same which *Orosius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there stood a Temple dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phagius* noteth, the word so compounded, is as much to say, as, *Domine specula, sine custodia*; Lord of the watch-towe. For the Egyptian beleueed, or at least made their laues beleue, that if any of them offered to escape that way into *Arabia*, this Idoll would both arrest them, and force them to returne to their Lords and Masters. For the Egyptians had gods for all turnes. *10* *Egyptij dijs sacandi*; The Egyptians were fruitfull in gods, saith Saint Hierome. But *Moses*, who incamped at the foot of this Mountayne with a million of foules, or as other conceiue, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-towe asleepe, or out of countenance.

Climax is rather so called in respect of a passage vpon downe, then that it is any proper name.

Now these two passages leading out of *Egypt* into *Arabia* vpon the firme land, *Moses* refused, as well that of *Pelusium* and *Casotis*, the sayrest and shortest of all other, in respect of *Iudea*, as the other by *Etham*, from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembred, and tooke the way by the Valley of *Pihacherath*, between the Mountaynes, which made a straight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made so great speede with his Horse-men and Chariots, as he gaue the Hebrewes no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but gate sight of them, and they of him, euen at the very brink and wath of the Sea: inlomuch as the Hebrewes being terrified with *Pharaohs* sudden approach, beganne to despaire, and to mutine, at that time when it behoued them most to haue taken courage for their owne defence; laying it to *Moses* charge, that themselves foresaw those perills in which they were wrapped. And feare, which, saith the booke of *WISDOME*, is the betraying of those succours which reason offereth, made them both despaire in Gods former promises, and to be forgetfull of their owne strength and multitudes.

Exod. 13. v. 17.

cap. 17. v. 12.

§. VIII.

Of their passage ouer the Red Sea: and of the Red Sea it selfe.

BVt *Moses* who feared nothing but God himselfe, perswaded them to be confident in his goodnesse, who hath neuer abandoned those, that assuredly trust in him; vnto this comfortable and resolute speech: *Feare not, for the Egyptians whom yee haue seene this day, yee shall neuer see them againe. The Lord shall fight for you. After which Moses calling on God for succour, received encouragement, and commandement to goe on, in these wordes: Wherefore cryest thou vnto me? speake vnto the children of Israel that they goe forward; and lift thou vp thy rod, and stretch out thy hand vpon the Sea, and divide it, and let the children of Israel goe on drie ground through the middle of the Sea.* *Moses* obeying the voice of God, in the darke of the night finding the sands vncovered, past on towards the other side and coast of *Arabia*: two parts of the night being spent ere he entred the Foord, which it pleased God by a forcible Easterne winde, and by *Moses* rod to prepare.

Exod. 14. v. 13.

Exod. 14. v. 16.

Pharaoh followed him euen at the heeles, finding the same drie ground which *Moses* trod on. Therefore, as it is written: *The Angell of God which went before the Host of Israel, remoned, and went behinde them: also the pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behinde them*; which is, that it pleased God therein either by his immediate power, or by the ministerie of his Angell, to interpose his defence betweene the Hebrewes and their Enemies; to the end that the Egyptians might hereby be blinded, in such sort, as they could not pursue *Israel* with any harmefull speede. But in the morning watch *Moses* seized the other banke of *Arabia* side: and *Pharaoh* (as the dawne of day beganne to illighten the obscure ayre) finding a beginning of the Seas

Isaia 24. v. 7.

Exod. 14. v. 27.

Seas returne, hasted himselfe towards his owne Coast: But Moses stretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force, that is, the Sea moued by the power of God, ranne backe towards the land with vnresistible furie and swiftnesse, and overwhelmed the whole Armie of Pharaoh, so as not one escaped. For it is written, that God tooke off their Chariot wheels, that is, when the waters began to couer the lands, the Egyptians being stricken with feare of death, ranne one athwart another, and missing the path by which they had past on after the Hebrewes, their wheeles stuck fast in the mudde and quick-sands, and could not be drawne out: the Sea comming against them with supernaturall violence.

Lyranus vpon Exod. 14. and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of the Hebrewes, conceived, that after Moses had by the power of God diuided the Red Sea, and that the children of Israel were fearefull to enter it, Aminadab Prince or Leader of the Tribe of Iuda first made the aduventure, and that therefore was that Tribe euer after honored aboue the rest, according to the prophetic of IACOB, Gen. 49. 8. Thy fathers sonnes shall bow downe vnto thee. But Hierome vpon the 11. of Hossee condemnes this opinion. And though it be true, that Iuda had the first place in all their marches in the Desart, and as we now call it, led the Vanguard; (wherevpon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the Red Sea), yet that Moses himselfe was the Conductor of Israel at that time, it is generally received. For, as it is written in the 77. P. SALME: Thou didst leade thy people like sheepe by the hand of MOSES and AARON.

The Hebrewes haue also another fancie, that the Red Sea was diuided into twelue parts, and that euery Tribe past ouer in a path apart, because it is written in the 135. Psalme, according to the vulgar: Diuisit mare rubrum in diuisiones; He diuided the Red Sea in diuisions. Also that the bottome of the Sea became as a Greene Field or Pasture. But Origen, Epiphanius, Abulensis, and Genebrard, fauouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not twelue Pillers, nor twelue Armies of the Egyptians. It is written in the 77. Psalme, v. 16. Thy way is in the Sea; not thy wayes; and in the last of the booke of Wisdom, vers. 7. In the Red Sea there was a way.

Now this Sea, through which Moses past, and in which Pharaoh, otherwise called Chenchres, perished in the 16. yeere of his reigne, is commonly knowne by the name of the Red Sea, though the same differ nothing at all in naturall colour from other waters. But as Philostratus in his third booke noteth, and our selues know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a narrow strait betweene Arabia the Happy and Ethiopia, or the land of the Abyssins: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which Ptolemie calleth Possodium, to the other Land of Ethiopia, hath not aboue fixe leagues in breadth, and the same also filled everywhere with Ilands, but afterwards it extendeth it selfe 58. Leagues from Coast to Coast, and it runneth vp betweene Arabia the Happy, and Arabia Petraea, on one side, and Ethiopia and Egypt on the other, as farre as Suet, the vtermoist end and indraught of that Sea: where the Turke now keepeth his fleet of Gallies. The Cosmographers commonly giue it the name of the Arabian Gulfe: but the North part towards Troy, and of later times Suet. Plinie calls it Cambisus, by which name it was knowne, such he, before it was called Hero many yeeres. The Arabians call this Sea towards the North Apocopa, Eccant, and Eant. Artemidorus writes it Eleniticum: King Iuba Lenticum, others more properly Elaniticum, of the Port and Citie Elana: which the Septuagint call Elath: Ptolemie, Elana: Plinie, Lena: Iosephus, Ilana, and Marius Niger, Aila: there is also Ilalah in Assyria, to which Salmanassar carryed the Israelites captiue, Kings 2. c. 8. v. 11. which Ilalah in Assyria, the Septuagint call Elana: and in the first of Chron. the 5. Aila. But as for this Red Sea or the parts thereof, thus diuersly named, the Moors and Arabians (Vassals to the Turke) know it by no other appellation, then the Gulfe of Mecca, after the name of Mahomets Towne Mecca. The Greekes write it the Sea Erythraeus, of a King called Erythraus, or Erythraus: and because Erythraus

Plin. l. 6. c. 29.

3. King. 9.
Isa. 48. c. 2.

ibros in the Greeke signifieth Red: hence it is, that, being denominated of this *Erythraeus*, the sonne of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, yet it tooke the name of the Red Sea, as *Quintus Curtius* coniectureth: which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirme. But it seemeth to me by the view of a discoverie of that Sea in the yeere 1544. performed by *Steen Gama*, Viceroy of the East India for the King of *Portugall*, that this Sea was so called from a reflection of rednesse, both from the banks, cliffs, and sands of many Ilands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For I finde by the report of *Cassio*, a principall Commander vnder *Gama* (which discourse I gaue Master *Richard Haklitt* to publish) that there is an Iland called *Dalagna*, sometime *Leques*, containyng in length 25 Leagues, and 12. in breadth, the earth, sands, and cliffs, of which Iland, being of a reddish colour, serue for a soile to the waters about it: and make it seeme altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Cassio* reporteth, that from 24. degrees of *Septentrionall* Latitude, to 27. (which make in length of Coast 180. mile, lying as it doth Northerly and Southerly) all the cliffs and bankes are of red earth, or stone, which by reflection of the Sunne-beames, giue a kinde of reddith lustre to the waters. Thirdly, those *Portugals* report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottome of this Sea towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of Corrall growes, which is carryed into most parts of *Europe*, and elsewhere. There are also on the Ilands of this Sea many red Trees, saith *Strabo*, and those growing vnder water, may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of rednesse by the shaddowes of these stones, sands, earth, and cliffs, I suppose that it first tooke the name of the Red Sea, because in so many places it seemeth to be such: which *Iohannes Barros* in his second *Decade*, eight Booke and first Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea from *Elana*, or *Ezion Gaber* adioynyng, now *Toro*, called by the ancient Cosmographers *Sinus Euaniticus*, which walcheth the banks of *Madian* or *Midian*, is for 16. or 17. Leagues together, along Northward towards *Suez*, some three Leagues or nine *English* mile ouer, and from this Port of *Toro* to *Suez*, and the end of this Sea it is in length about 28. Leagues, of which the first 26. haue nine miles breadth, as aforesaid, and afterward the lands both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thrust themselves into the Sea, and straiten it so fast, as for fixe miles together, it is not about three mile ouer; from thence vpwrd the land on *Egypt* side, falleth away and makes a kinde of Bay or *Coue* for some ten miles together, after which the land growes vpon the Sea againe, and so bindes it into the very end thereof, at foure miles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that *Moses* past it ouer, though others would haue it to be ouer-against *Elana* or *Toro*; but without iudgement: for from *Ramases* to *Pihacheroth* and *Baalcephon*, there is not about 30. miles interjacent, or 35. miles at most, which *Moses* past ouer in three dayes: and betwene the land of *Egypt* opposite to *Elana* or *Toro*, the distance is about 80. miles. For *Ramases*, to which Citie *Moses* came (being the *Metropolis* of *Gosen*), when he left *Pharao* at *Zaan*, and tooke his last leaue, standeth in 30. degrees five minutes of *Septentrionall* Latitude: and *Migdal*, or the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foot of the Mountayne *Climax*, or *Baalcephon*, in nine and twentie and a halfe, which made a difference of five and thirtie *English* mile, the way lying in effect North and South.

Arian, de gegl.
Alex. Mag. lib.
Strabo, lib.



§. IX.

That the passage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not at a low Ebbe.



He *Egyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other *Heathen* Writers, who in hatred of the *Hebrewes* haue objected that *Moses* past ouer the Red Sea at a low ebbe, vpon a great spring-tyde, and that *Pharao* conducted more by furie then discretion, pursued him so far as, before he could recouer the coast of *Egypt*, he was ouer-taken by the flood and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plaine, that the Waters were diuided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly winde, and by the hand and rod of *Moses* (which authoritie to men that beleeeue not therein perfwadeth nothing) I say, that by the same naturall reason vnto which they fasten themselves, it is made manifest, that had there beene no other working power from above, or assistance giuen from God himselfe to *Moses*, and the children of *Israel* than ordinarie and casuall, then could not *Pharao* and all his Armie haue perished in that pursuit.

For wheretoer there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there do the waters fall away from the Land, and runne downeward towards the Ocean, leauing all that part towards the Land as farre as the Sea can ebbe, or fall off, to be drie Land. Now *Moses* entering the Sea at *Migdal vnder Baalzephon* (if he had taken the aduantage and opportunitie of the tyde) must haue left all that end of the Red Sea towards *Sues*, on his left hand drie and vncouered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the water, ten or twelue mile farther into the Sea then *Sues*, much more was it made at *Sues*, and betwene it and where *Moses* past: who entred the same so farre below it, and towards the body of the same Sea. It followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleue or Strait, had beene by the ebbe of a spring-tyde discovered, when *Pharao* found the flood increasing, he needed not to haue returned so by the same way toward *Egypt* side, but might haue gone on in his returne before the tyde, on his right hand: and so taken ground againe at the end of that Sea, at *Sues* it selfe, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures doe truly witness the contrarie, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth; but that *Moses* past on betwene two Seas, and that the waters were diuided. Otherwise, *Pharao* by any returne of waters could not haue perished, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great Armes destruction, proue the cause to haue beene a power aboue nature, and the miraculous worke of God himselfe. Again, those wordes of the Scriptures, that God caused the Sea to runne backe by a strong East-winde, doe rather proue the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebbe more then ordinarie: for that Sea doth not lye East and West, but, in effect North and South. And it must haue beene a West and North-west winde, that must haue driuen those waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East-winde blew athwart the Sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell backe towards the South, and mayne body thereof the other part remayned towards *Sues*, and the North. Which being vnkowne to *Pharao*: while he was cheekt by that Sea, which vied in all times before to ebbe away, the flood prest him and ouerwhelmed him. Thirdly, seeing *Iosephus* auoweth, that *Moses* was not only of excellent iudgement generally, but also, so great a Captayne, as he ouer-threw the *Ethiopiens* in many battels, being employed by *Pharao*, and wan diuers Cities seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemne him of this grossefesse, and distraction: that rather then he would haue endured the hardnesse of a Mountaynous passage at hand (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honor which he would there winne vpon *Pharao*) he would haue trusted to the aduantage of an ebbing water.

For

For he knew not the contrarie, but that *Pharao* might haue found him, and prest him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it seemeth he did. For the people, beholding *Pharao*s approach, cryed out against *Moses*, and despaired altogether of their safetie: and when *Moses* prayed vnto God for helpe, he was answered by God: *Wherefore cryest thou vnto me? speake vnto the children of Israel that they goe forward, and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand vpon the Sea, and diuide it: which proues that there was not at the time of Pharao's approach any ebbe at all; but that God did disperse and cut through the weight of waters, by a strong East-winde, whereby the Sands discovered themselves betwene the Sea on the left hand toward Sues,*
from whence the waters moued not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, so that the waters were a wall vnto them on the right hand, and on the left hand, that is, the waters so defended them on both sides, as the *Egyptians* could onely follow them in the same path; not that the waters stood vp right as walls doe, as some of the Schoole-men haue fancied. For had *Pharao* and the *Egyptians* perceived any such buildings in the Sea, they would soone haue quitted the chace and pursuit of *Israel*. Furthermore, there is no man of iudgement, that can thinke, that *Pharao* and the *Egyptians*, who then excelled all Nations in the obseruations of heavenly Motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes, and refluxes of the Sea, in his owne Countrey, on his owne Coast, and in his owne most traded and frequented Ports and Hauens, and wherein, his people hauing had so many hundreds of yeeres experience of the tydes, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknowne or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand only; which then falleth most heauily on all men, when looking through no other spectacle but their owne prosperitie, they least discern it coming, and least feare it. Lastly, if the Armie of the *Egyptians* had beene ouer-taken by the ordinarie returne of the flood, before they could recouer their owne Coast; their bodies drowned would haue beene carryed with the flood which runneth vp to *Sues*, and to the end of that Sea, and not haue beene cast ashore on that coast of *Arabia* where *Moses* landed, to wit, vpon the Sea-banke ouer against *Baalzephon*, on *Arabia* side: where it was that the *Israelites* saw their dead bodies; and not at the end of the Red Sea, to which place the ordinarie flood would haue carryed them: Which flood doth not any where crosse the Channell, and runne athwart it, as it must haue done from *Egypt* side to *Arabia*, to haue cast the *Egyptians* bodies there; but it keeps the naturall course towards the end of that Sea: and to which their carcasses should haue beene carried, if the worke had not beene supernaturall and miraculous. *Apollonius* in the liues of the *Fathers* affirmeth, that those of the *Egyptians* which staid in the Countrey, and did not follow *Pharao* in the pursuit of *Israel*, did euer after honor those Beasts, Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were busied at the time of *Pharao*s destruction: as he that was then labouring in his Garden, made a God of that Plant or Roote, about which he was occupied: and so of the rest. But how those multitudines of gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be giuen elsewhere. *Orosius* in his first Booke and tenth Chapter against the *Pagans*, tells vs, that in his time, who liued some 400. yeeres after *Christ*, the prints of *Pharao*s Chariot wheeles were to be seene at a low water on the *Egyptian* sands: and though they were sometime defaced by winde and weather, yet soone after they appeared againe. But hereof I leaue euery man to his owne beliefe.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the iourning of the Iſraelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was giuen them: with a discourse of Lawes.

D. I.

A transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching Chronologie: with a continuance of the storie, untill the Amalekites met with the Iſraelites.



VT to goe on with the storie of *Israel*, in this sort I collect the times. *Moses* was borne in the yeere of the World 2434. *Saphrus* then governing *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis* *ſcyonia*, or *Peloponneſus*; *Criſus* the *Argiues*; 20 *Orus* *Aegypt*; and *Deucalion* *Theſſalie*. He fled into *Midian* when he had liued 40. yeeres, in the yeere of the World 2474. and two yeeres after was *Caleb* borne. He returned by the commandement and ordinance of God into *Aegypt*, and wrought his miracles in the fields of *Zoan*, in the yeere 2514. in the laſt Moneth of that yeere. On the 14. day of the firſt

Hebrew moneth *Abib*, or the 15. of that moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sunne ſetting, in the yeere of the World 2514. was the celebration of the *Paſſeouer*: and in the dead of the night of the ſame day were all the firſt-borne ſlaine through 30 *Aegypt*, or in all thoſe parts where the *Hebrewes* inhabited. The 15. day of the firſt moneth of the *Hebrewes* called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the yeere of the World 2514. *Moses* with the children of *Israel* removed from the generall aſſembly at *Ramſeſes*, and marched to *Succoth*.

And departing thence they made their third Station at *Etham*: and iourning from *Etham*, they incamped in the Valley of *Pihacherath*, or *Midgol*, vnder the Mountayne *Badzeſephon*; and in the ſamenight after mid-night, they paſt the Red Sea: *Pharaoh* and his Armie perishing in their returne, about the firſt dawne of the day. *Moses* hauing recovered the bankes of *Arabia*, gaue thanks vnto God, for the deliuerie of *Israel*; and making no lay on that coaſt, entred the Deſarts of *Arabia Petrea*, called 40 *Sur*. But finding no water in that paſſage, he incamped at *Marah*, in the Deſart of *Etham*, which in *Exod. 15. v. 22.* is alſo called *Sur*; 25. miles from the Sea: where the children of *Israel* preſt with extreme thirſt, murmured againſt *Moses* the ſecond time; firſt at *Pharaohs* approach in *Pihacherath*, and now in *Arabia*. But *Moses* taking the branches of a tree, growing neere a Lake of bitter water, and caſting the ſame thereinto, made the ſame ſweet: a playne type and figure of our Saviour; who vpon the tree of the Croſſe changed the bitterneſſe of eueralſting death into the ſweetneſſe of eternall life. *Plinie* remembers theſe bitter Fountaynes in his ſixth Booke and 39. Chapter. From whence to Delta in *Aegypt*, *Seſoſtris* firſt, *Darius* after him, and laſtly *Ptolemie* the ſecond, began to cut an artificiall Riuer, thereby by Boats and ſmall Shipping to trade and navigate the Red Sea, from the great Cities vpon *Nilus*. From *Marah* he removed to *Elim*, the ſixth Manſion, a march of eight miles: where finding twelue Fountaynes of ſweet water, and three ſcore and ten Palme trees, he reſted diuers dayes.

Whether

Whether this *Elim* were the name of a Towne or Citie in *Moses* time, I cannot affirme. And yet the ſcarcitie of waters in that Region was ſuch, as *Elim*, which had twelue Fountaines, could hardly bee left vnpeopled. *William*, Arch-Biſhop of *Tyre*, in his Hiſtorie of the *Helie Warre*, found at *Elim* the ruines of a great and ancient Citie. And at ſuch time as *Baldwine* the firſt paſt that way into *Aegypt*, *Ingreſſus* (ſaith he) *Elim*, Cuiusdam antiquiſſimam populo *Iſraelitico* aliquando familiarem; ad quam cum perueniſſet, loci illius incolae, Regis aduentu praecognito, nauiculaſque ingredientiſ in mare vicinorum ſe conſulerunt; Entering *Elim* a very ancient Citie, well knowne ſometime to the people of *Israel*; whither, when he came, the inhabitants, forewarned of the Kings approach, tooke Boate, and ſuſtained themſelves into the Sea, lying neere them. From *Elim* hee returned againe towards the South, and ſate downe by the banks of the Red Sea: the ſeuenth Manſion. For it ſeemeth that he had knowledge of *Amalech*, who prepared to reſiſt his paſſage through that part of *Arabia*. And *Moses* who had not as yet trained thoſe of the *Hebrewes*, appointed to beare armes: nor aſſured the minds of the reſt, who encountering with the leaſt miſerie, were more apt to returne to their quiet ſlauerie, than either to endure the wants and perils which euery where accompanied them in that paſſage, or at this time to vndertake or ſuſtaine ſo dangerous an enemy: he therefore made ſtay at this Manſion, untill the fifteenth of the ſecond Moneth called *Zim*, or *Iar*: and made

Will. Tyr. l. xxi. cap. 15.

the eighth Manſion in the Deſart of *Zim*; where the children of *Israel* mutined againſt *Moses* the third time, hauing want of foode. In the ſixteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moses* omitteth this retreat from *Elim* to the Red Sea, but in the collection of euery ſeueral incamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, it is ſet downe. Here it pleaſed God to ſend ſo many flights of *Quailes*, as all the Countrie about their incamping was covered with them. The morning following it alſo rained *Manna*, being the ſixteenth of their Moneth, which ſerued them in ſtead of bread. For now was the ſtore conſumed which the people carried with them out of *Aegypt*. And though they had great numbers of Cattell, and Sheepe among them, yet it ſeemeth that they durſt not feede themſelves with many of thoſe: but referred them both for the milke to releue the children withall: and for breede to ſtore themſelves when they came to the Land promiſed.

Exod. 16.

From hence towards *Raphidim* they made two remoues of twentie mile: the one to *Daphne*, the other to *Alus*, diſtant from *Raphidim* ſixe miles. Here being againe preſt with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Aegypt*, where they rather contented themſelves to be fed and beaten after the manner of beaſts, than to ſuffer a caſuall and ſometime neceſſarie want, and to vndergoe the hazards and trauailes which euery manly minde ſeeketh after, for the loue of God and their owne freedomes. But *Moses* with the ſame rod which hee diuided the Sea withall, in the ſight of the Elders of *Israel*, brought waters out of the

Exod. 16.

Rocke, wherewith the whole multitude were ſatiſfied.

Exod. 17.

10

Aa

S. II.

§. II.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, and Kenites, upon occasion of the battell with the Amalekites, and IETHROES coming: who being a Kenite, was Priest of Madian.

Exod. 17.

AND while Moses incamped in this place, the Amalekites who had knowledge of his approach, and ghesled that he meant to leade the children of Israel through their Countrey (which being barren of it selfe, would bee vterly waited by so great a multitude of People and Cattel) thought it most for their aduantage to set vpon them at Raphidim: where the want of water, and all other things needfull for the life of man incleebled them. On the other side Moses perceiuing their resolutions, gaue charge to Iosua, to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest Hebrewes, to encounter Amalech. Betwene whom and Israel, the victorie remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day: the Hebrewes and Amalekites contending with equall hopes and repulses for many houres. And had not the strength of Moses praier to God been of farre greater force, and more preuaient, than all resistance and attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly indangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are vnacquainted with scarcitie of food, and those minds whom a seruile education hath dulled, being beaten, & despaird to in their first attempts, will hardly, or neuer be brought again to hazard themselves.

After this victorie Iethro repaired to Moses, bringing with him Moses his wife, and his two Sonnes, which either Iethro forbare to conduct, or Moses to receive, till he had by this ouerthrow of Amalech the better assured himselfe of that part of Arabia. For it is written in the 18. of Exod. v. 1. When IETHRO the Priest of Madian, Moses Father in law, heard all that God had done for Moses, &c. Of which, the last deed, to wit, the ouerthrow of Amalech, gaue Iethro courage and assurance, he then repaired to his sonne in law Moses, at Sinai; where amongst other things, he aduised Moses to appoint Iudges, and other Officers, ouer Israel; being himselfe vnable to giue order in all causes and controuersies, among so many thousands of people, full of discontentment and priuate controuersie.

C. 15. v. 16.

Num. 24. v. 21.

SOM. 1. c. 15. GEN. 35.

This Iethro, although he dwelt amongst the Midianites, yet he was by Nation a Kenite, as in the fourth of Iudges v. 11. & 17. it is made manifest; where it is written; Now HEBER the Kenite, which was of the children of HOBAB, to wit, the sonne of IETHRO, the father in law of MOSES, was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his Tents vntill the Plaine of Zaanaim, which is by Kedesh. Likewise in the first of Samuel, Saul commanded the Kenites to depart from among the Amalekites, lest hee should destroy the with the Amalekites. For the Kenites inhabited the mountaines of Sin Kedesh; and the Amalekites dwelt in the Plaines, according to the saying of Balaam, speaking of the Kenites; Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the Rocks. And that Saul spared this Nation, he giueth for cause, that they shewed mercie to all the children of Israel, when they came vp from Egypt. For these Kenites were a Nation of the Madianites, and the Madianites were of the issues of Madian, one of the fixe sonnes which Abraham begat on Kethura: and might also take that name of Kenites from Kethura, of whom they descended by the Mother, who as it seemeth kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their parent Abraham. For Moses, when he fled out of Egypt into Midian, and married the daughter of Iethro, would not (had he found them Idolaters) haue made Iethros Daughter the Mother of his children. And although the Kenites are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seede of Abraham should roote out, and inherite their lands; yet it cannot bee meant by these; who are descended from Abraham himselfe: but by some other Nation, bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of Chus. For in the fifteenth of Genes. vers. nineteenth these Kenites or Chusites are listed with the

the Hittites and Perizzites, with the Amorites, Canaanites, Gergesites, and Iebusites, which were indeede afterwards rooted out. But these Kenites, descended from Abraham, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as is before remembred, Iether the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab, was departed from the Kenites, that is to say, from those Kenites of Canaan, and inhabited in Zaanaim, which is by Kedesh or Kadesh. Again, Moses nameth that Nation of the Kenites, before Madian, or any of Abrahams other sonnes were borne: which he did (referring my selfe to better iudgement) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

And as of the Kenites, so we may consider of the Madianites, parted by Moses into sixe Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as those of Madian by the River Zared, afterwards destroyed by Moses. But the Madianites neere the banks of the Red Sea, where Moses married his wife Zippora, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the ouerthrow of Amalech, seeme likewise not to haue beene corrupted. For these Madianites with the Kenites assisted Israel, and guided them in the Desarts. But the Madianites in Moab, and to the North of the Metropolis of Arabia, called Petra, were by Israel rooted out, when those adioyning to the Red Sea were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of Madian, of whom Iethro was Priest, and the other Cities in Moab were the same, yet the contrarie is more probable. For Moses would not haue sent 12000. Israelites, as farre backe as the Red Sea, from the Plaines of Moab, to haue destroyed that Madian, where his wintes kindred inhabited: seeing himselfe coming with 60000. able men, was encountered by Amalech, in that passage. Neither could Moses forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Desarts, wherein himselfe and Israel had wandered 40. yeare.

That Iethro, or Iothor, Raguel, or Reuel, and Hobab, were but one person, the Scriptures teach vs. For the Vulgar and Septuagint, which call him Raguel; and our English Reuel; Exod. 2. 18. calls him Iethro, or Iothor. Exod. 3. & v. 1. c. 4. v. 18. & c. 18. 1. & 6. 9. 10. & 12. and in Numbers c. 10. v. 29. Hobab. Others take Iethro and Hobab to be the same, but not Raguel.

§. III.

Of the time when the Law was giuen: with diuers commendations of the inuention of Lawes.

THE rest of the moneths of this yeare 2515. were spent in the Desart of Sinai, neere the mountaine of Sinai or Horeb, the twelfth Mansion. Eusebius thought that Sinai or Horeb were distinct mountaines: Hierome, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For in Exod. 3. v. 1. it is called Horeb: and in Exod. 24. v. 16. it is written Sinai. In the 100. Psalm v. 19. Horeb: in Exod. 19. 11. Sinai. And so it is called, Galatians 4. 24. and againe, Dent. 4. 10. & 15. & Dent. 5. 2. Horeb. And so it is the first of Kings 8. 6. and the 2. of Chron. 5. 10. and in Malachie 4. 4. Finally, in Ecclesiasticus the 48. 7. they are named as one. Which hearest (saith Ecclesiasticus) the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the iudgement of the vengeance. Somewhat they are disioyned at the top by the report of Peter Belonius: who in the yeare 1588. past out of Egypt into Arabia, with Monsieur de Fumet of France, and trauailed to the top both of Sinai and Horeb: Sinai being by farre the higher hill. From the side of Horeb (saith he) there falleth a very faire spring of water into the Valley adioyning: where he found two Monasteries of Christian Maronites, containing some 100. Religious persons of diuers Nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate

Per. Bel. lib. a.
c. 62.

fruits, and excellent wine. These (saith the same Author) giue entertainment to all strangers, which passe that way.

Now, that there was some such Torrent of water neere *Sinai* in *Moses* time, it is very probable: First, because he incamped thereabout almost a yeare, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: secondly, because it is written *Exod. 32. 20.* that when *Moses* had broken the golden Calfe to powder, which *Aaron* set vp in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Israel* to drinke thereof.

On this mountain, the Law by the Angell of God was giuen to *Moses*, where he staid a whole yeare, wanting some ten or twelue daies: for he remoued not till the 20. day of the second month of the second yeare; and he arrived about the 45. day after the egression: the Law being giuen the 50. day.

At this Mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that booke; all in *Leuiticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no storie nor other passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speake somewhat of the Law, and the kinds and vse thereof: whereby, if the Reader finde the storie any way disioyned, he may turne ouer a few leaues, and, omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, keuell, and square of Lawes: so it pleased God to giue thereby vnto *Moses* the powerfulllest meane (his miraculose grace excepted) to gouerne that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the North starre is the most fixed directour of the Sea-man to his desired Port: so is the Law of God the guide & conductor of all in general, to the haue of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternall law deduced, the rule of all his Creatures: the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very spirit, and the very finewes of euery estate in the world, by which they liue and moue: the Law, to wit, a iust law, being resembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eie without lust, and to a Mind 30 without passion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for euery man what he hath, and distributeth to euery man what he ought to haue.

This benefit the *Ancient*, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those which were taken for the first makers of Lawes, were honoured as Gods, or as the sonnes of Gods: and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posteritie for men of no lesse vertue, and no lesse liberally beneficial to their Countries, than the greatest & most prosperous Conquerours that euer gouerned them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedaemonians*, and the *Athenians*, receiued their Lawes from one: as the *Israelites* from *Moses*; the *Lacedaemonians* from *Lycargus*; the *Athenians* from *Solon*; the *Romanes* sometime from 40 their first Kings, from their *Decemviri*, from their *Senatours*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themselves: others from the Prince, Nobilitie, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Christian Monarchies* and *Estates*.

§. IIII.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law, and Right.



The word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not alwaies taken alike, but is diuersly, and so in an indifferent sense vsed. For if we consider it at large, it may be vnderstood for any rule prescribing a necessarie meane, order, and methode, for the attaining of an end. And so the rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Lawes. Or it is taken for any private ordinance

nance of Superiours to Inferiours: for the commandements of Tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their decrees doe also vsurpe that title, according to the generall acceptation of the word *Law*: of which *Esay*, *Wee vnto them that decree wicked decrees, and write grieuous things*. Likewise, the word is vsed for the tumultuarie resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth *Aristotle* also call lawes, though euill and vsufficient. *Mala lex est, quæ tumultuarie posita est; It is an ill law that is made tumultuously*. So as all ordinances, good or euill, are called by the name of lawes.

The word *Law* is also taken for the morall habit of our minde, which doth (as 10 it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it selfe, as to their patterne and platforme. And thus the law of the flesh which the Diuines call *legem sensitiuam*, is to be vnderstood. For euery law is a kind of patterne of that which is done according vnto it: in which sense as * elsewhere, this morall habit or disposition of the heart is called the frame or signment of the heart: so in *St. Paul* to the *Romanes* it is called a Law. But I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my minde, and leading me captive vnto the law of sinne. Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are sometime called * lawes, so farre as they agree with the reason of the law eternall; as the law of a Lyon, to be fierce or valiant.

Also private contracts among Merchants and other Tradersmen, doe often put 20 to the name of lawes. But law commonly and properly is taken, for a right rule, prescribing a necessarie meane, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Ciuill community. The rest, to wit, the commandements of Tyrants, &c, which haue not the common good for their end, but being *leges inique*, are by *Thomas* called *violenta magis quam leges*; rather compulsions then lawes: And whatsoever is not iust, *St. Auguſtine* doth not allow for lawes, howsoeuer established: for he calls them *iniqua hominum constituta, quæ nec iura dicenda, nec putanda sunt*. The vniuersall constitutions of men which are neither to be termed nor thought lawes. For saith *ARISTOTLE*, *Legalia iusta sunt factiua, & conseruatiua felicitatis*; Iust lawes are the workers and preseruers of happinesse: because by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam, to a quiet 30 life*, according to *Cicero*. Yea, *to life euerglasting*, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the law, saith *Plato*, is God and his worship. *Finis legis Deus & cultus eius*. *Lex*, or the Law is so called by the *Latines* à *legendo*, or à *ligando*, of reading or binding: *Leges quia læta & ad populum lita*, saith *Farro*; For after Lawes were written and published, all men might read them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other *Etymologie*, à *ligando*, is no lesse agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band: as *confringerunt iugum, diruperunt vincula*: they haue broken the yoke, they haue broken the bands. And in the second *Psalme*, *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & projiciamus à nobis funes* 40 *ipsorum*; Let vs breake their bands in iunder, and cast away their cords from vs.

The *Covenant* it is called, because of the conditional promises of God: and because of Gods peoples voluntarie submission of themselves vnto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the *Epistle* to the *Hebrewes*, vse the word *Antitheta Testament* or *last will*: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectuell for our saluation, but in respect of the death of the Testator, for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force: as *Hebr. 9. 17.* it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est*.

The *Hebrewes* call the law *Thorah* of teaching, because euery man is thereby taught his dutie, both to God and Men. The *Greekes* call it *Nemosis* of distributing, 50 because it distributeth to euery man his owne due; the power of the law is the power of God: Iustice being an attribute proper vnto God himselfe. *Imperium legi imperium Dei est; The raigne of the law, is the raigne of God*.

Law in general is thus defined by the *Philosophers*: *Lex est vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ sunt sequenda, & quæ fugienda; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow,*

Esay 10.

Ethic. 4. c. 1.

* Gen. 6. v.
11m 8. 2.

So *Virgil*,
continens has
leges æternas, flo-
rida cœcis im-
positæ certum lo-
cus. Where al-
so it is be-
noted that hee
joynes *leges &
fœdera* toge-
ther: as in the
Scripture the
law is oft times
called the co-
uenant.
*Arist. Ethic. 5.
cap. 4.*

*Plato in Dial. 1.
de Leg.*

Hierem. 5. 9.

Psalm.

and what to shunne, or *Lex est omnium diuinum & humanum rerum Regina; Law is the Queene or Princesse of things both humane and diuine.* But this description is grounded vpon the opinion of ineuitable fate. Law is the very wisdom of Nature: the reason and vnderstanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called *index sui & curui*, the demonstration of it selfe, and of the crooked: so is the law, the Iudge and measure of right and wrong.

Mr. Hooker calls the Law a directiue rule to goodnesse of operation; and though law as touching the substance and essence, consist in vnderstanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis; Yet it comprehends the act of our will.* The word *Ius* is also diuerly taken, as sometime for the matter of the law and for common right: sometime for the law it selfe: as *Ius Civile*, or *Ius gentium*. *Isidore* distinguisheth the two generall words *Ius* and *Lex*: whereof *Ius*, saith he, hath reference to men, *Lex* to God. *Lex est diuina, Ius est humana.* To goe ouer another mans field, is permitted, by Gods law, not by mans; and therefore in a thing out of controuersie, *Virgii* vied both those words: as *Lex & iura sinunt*, God and men permit.

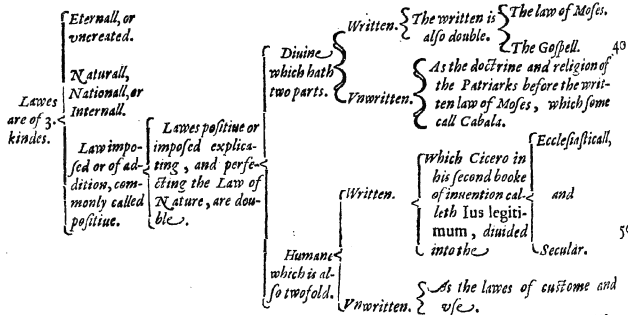
The word *Ius* or Right, is deriued or taken from the old substantiue *Nowme iustus*, a bidding or commandement: or perhaps from the Greeke *ἰός*, which is the name of *Iupiter*, or of the *Latine* genitiue case *Iouis*, because as the Scripture speaks, the iudgement is Gods. For as it is certaine that *Ius-iniurandum* came of *Iouis-iniurandum*, (for so we finde it written in *Nomius* out of the ancient, in which sense the Scripture calls it *inamentum Iehoua*) so also we may say, that *Ius* came of *Iouis*, quia *Iouis est*: because as God is the Author, and Patterne, and Maintainer of right, so also in his *Vicergerents* the *Magistrates*, he is the pronouncer and exequutor of right. Of this *Ius* the iust are denominated, *in Ius à iure*, and *iustitia à iusto*; The right giues name to the righteous: and *in iustice* takes her name from the iust.

§. V.

Of the definition of Lawes, and of the law eternal.



But because lawes are manifold, and that every kinde hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to diuide and distinguish them. I meane those sorts of lawes, from whence all other particulars are drawne: leaving the individuals of humane lawes to their infinite and horrible confusion.



The

The law eternal is thus defined by THOMAS. *Lex aeterna est aeternum diuina sapientiae conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso praecognitarum; The eternal law is the eternal concept of Gods wisdom, as it is referred to the gouernment of things foreknowne by himselfe.* Or *Lex aeterna est summa atque aeterna ratio diuinae sapientiae: quatenus res omnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigat, ut his iuxta conditionem ipsorum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat; It is the high and eternal reason of diuine sapience: as it directeth all things in such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kinde of necessitie according to their severall natures, or conditions.* Now the difference lieth in this: That as the same diuine vnderstanding directeth all these to their proper ends; so it is called prouidence; but as it imposeth a necessitie according to the natures of all things which it directeth, so it is called a law.

Of this eternall law *Cicero* tooke knowledge, when in his booke of Lawes, hee wrote in this manner. *Erat ratio per se ipsa, per naturam, & ad recte faciendum impellens & à delicto auocans: quae non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est: sed tum cum orta est.* Orta autem simul est cum mente diuina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad iubendum & ad seruandum ratio est rectae iustitiae; That perfect reason and nature of things incouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling vs backe from euill, did not (saith he) then begin to be a law when it was written: but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with diuine vnderstanding, and therefore a true law and a fit Princeps to command and forbid, is the right reason of the most high God. This eternall law, (if we consider it in God, or as God,) is alwaies one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to diuers objects, so the reason of man finds it diuers and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessarye as the motions of the heauens; stabilitie of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent: another law to men: another to other creatures, having life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternall law all things are directed, as by the counsaile and prouidence of God: from this law all lawes are deriued, as from the rule vniuersall: and therefore referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

The eternall, and the diuine Law, differ only in consideration; the eternall directing more largely, as well euery creature, to their proper and naturall ends, as it doth man to his supernaturall: but the diuine law to a supernaturall end only: the Naturall law is thence deriued, but an effect of the eternall, as it were a streame from this fountaine.

The Law humane or temporall is also thence drawne: in that it hath the forme of right reason: from which if it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua*, a wicked imposition: and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternall law all things are subiected, as well *Angels* and *Men*, as all other creatures, or things created; whether necessarye or contingent, naturall, or morall, and humane. For the law eternall runneth through all the vniuersall, and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, naturall, and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creator and Director: as *Praise ye him all ye his Angels: praise ye him Sunne and Moone, all bright Starrs: beuens of beuens, for he hath established them for ever and euer. He hath made an ordinance which shall not passe: Praise ye the Lord from the earth ye Dragons and all depths: Fire and boile, snow and vapours, stormie winds, which execute his Word: mountains, and hills: fruitfull trees and all Cedars: Beasts, and all Cattel, &c.* Now as the reasonable Creatures are by this eternall law bound, by the glorie and felicitie propofed vnto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) so all other naturall things and creatures, haue in them felices, and in their owne natures, an obedience formall to it, without any proper intention, knowne cause, or end propofed. For beasts are led by sense, and naturall instinct: things without life by their created forme, or formall appetites, as that which is heauie to fall downward: things light to mount vpward, &c. and fire to hence whatsoeuer is appofed. This kinde

kinde of working the *Aristotelians* ascribe to common nature: others to fate; a difference vsed in termes only; it being no other then Gods generall providence: for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnia super omnia*: so are all things which appear in themselves thence deriued: there vnder subiected: thence from by his eternall law and providence directed, euen from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heauen and in earth.

The *Schoolemen* are very curious and ample in the consideration of these lawes: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternall law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who haue thence from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetite, to conduct them: so is the object and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to Saint *Augustine*, *Lex aeterna est, quia inuitum est ut omnia sint ordinatissima*; The law eternall is that, whereby it is *infit*, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternall law be immutable, yea or no? But the resolution is, that it chargeth not; for which *St. Augustine* vseth a sufficient argument in his first Booke of *Free-will* the sixth Chapter. For the law of *Moses* which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last vntill the time of the *Pedagogia* of Gods people, or introduction to *Christ* should be expired; which time of expiration some thinke our Saviour noted to be come, when on the Crosse he said, *Consummatum est*. But I rather thinke these words of our Saviour to haue no other signification, then that now the prophetic of their giuing him Vinegar to drinke was fulfilled. For so *St. John* expounds it, when he saith *v. 28. That Christ seeing all (other) things to be fulfilled, vt consummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture in this also might be fulfilled, said, I thirst*: though I denie not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremoniall, and of so much of the iudicial, as appertained peculiarly to the *Jewes*, and agreeth not with the law of the new Testament and Gospell of *Christ*. For the immutable law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it selfe; but the things prescribed change according to this eternall ordinance, of which the *Wisedome of Solomon*, And being one she can doe all things, and remaining in her selfe reneweth all.

§. VI.

Of the Law of Nature.

*Aug. in Epist. ad
Hil. 89. c. 10. B.
nong. 106. tract.
45.
¶ De iustitia
& iure. l. i. tit.*



F the law of Nature as it is taken in generall, I finde no definition among the *Schoolemen*: only as it is considered in man, it is called the impression of diuine light, and a participation of the eternall law in the reasonable creature. *Lex naturalis est impressio diuini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis aeternae in rationali creatura*. *VLEBIAN* defines the natural law to be the same which nature hath taught all liuing creatures; *Lex naturalis est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit*: and he afterward addeth, *Lex ista non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium quae terra maris, nascuntur, animam quoque communem est*; The law of nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all liuing creatures, as well to birds, as to those which the Land and Sea produceth. But this definition is not generall, but of the naturall law in things of life.

The law of nature in generall, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formall qualitie, which God in his eternall providence hath giuen & imprinted in the nature of euery creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *diuinum lumen* in men, enlightning our formal reason; so is it more then sense in beasts; and more then vegetation in plants. For it is not sense alone in beasts, which teacheth them at first sight, & without experience or instruction, to flie from the enemies of their liues: seeing that Bulls & Horses appear vnto the sense more fearefull and terrible, then the least kinde of Dogs; and yet the Hare and Deere feedeth by the one, and flieh from

from the other, yea though by them neuer scene before, and that as soone as they fall from their Dammes. Neither is it sense which hath taught other Beasts to provide for Winter, Birds to build their nests, high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons: or the Birds of *India* to make their nests on the smallest twigs which hang ouer Rivers, & not on any other part of the tree, or elsewhere: to saue their eggs and yong ones from the Monkeys, and other beasts, whose weight such a twig will not beare: and which would feare to fall into the water. The instances in this kinde are exceeding many which may bee giuen. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that some trees, as the female of the *Palm-tree*, will not beare any fruit except the male grow in sight. But this they doe by that law, which the infinite and vnsearchable wisedome of God had in all eternitie provided for them, and for euery nature created. In man this law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt; corrupt, where the reason of man hath made it selfe subiect, and a Vassal to passions, and affections brutall: and incorrupt, where time and custom hath bred in men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kinde of Law. For it was not by the law of Nature incorrupt, which *St. Augustine* calleth the law of reason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did anciently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by law constrained to become Idolaters; that by the lawes of *Lycorgus* it was permitted to men to vse one anothers wife, and to the woman to chooſe them others besides their husbands, to beget their with child: which law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

The *Seythians*, and the people of both *Indies*, hold it lawfull to burie with them the best beloued wiues: as also they haue many other customes remembered by *G. Valentia*, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authoritie it is that these lawes some men auow to be naturall: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guilt with guile: to become faithlesse among the faithlesse: to provide for our selues by another mans destruction: that iniurie is not done to him that is willing: to destroy those whom we feare, and the like. For taking the definition of naturall lawes, either out of *St. Augustine* or *Aquinas*, (the one calling it the impression of diuine light, the other, the dictate or sentence of *practique reason*;) the same can reach vs, or incline vs to no other thing, then to the exercise of Iustice & vprightnesse: and not to offer or performe any thing toward others, saue that which we would be content should be offered or performed toward our selues. For such is the law of nature to the mind, as the cie is to the bodie; and that which according to *David* sheweth vs good, that is, the obseruation of those things which lead vs thereby to our last end; which is eternall life: though of themselves not sufficient without faith and grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of Gods diuine light in men, and a participation of the law increased and eternall. For without any law written the right reason and vnderstanding, which God hath giuen vs, are abilities within our selues, sufficient to giue vs knowledge of the good and euill, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrarie, wee prepare and purchase for our selues. For when the *Gentiles* (saith *S. PAVL*) which haue not the Law, doe by nature those things contained in the law: they hauiug not the law, are a law vnto themselves. Now, to loue God by whom we are, and to doe the same right to all men, which we desire should be done vnto vs, is an effect of the purest reason: in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of conscience hath made her resting place, and habitation. In aree altissima rationis quiet habitat; Therefore, the *Gentiles* (saith *S. PAVL*) which shew the effects of the law written in their hearts, haue their consciences for a witness of these effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.

And it is most true, that who soeuer is not a law vnto him selfe (while he hopeth to abuse the world by the aduantage of hypocrisie) worketh nothing else, but the betraying

Supra §. 4. ex loco ad Rom. 7. 23.

2. ad Cor. 1. de conscientia effecti: Grotiorum. Asola.

Nono iure naturalis cum alterius detrimentum incupiscit fieri debet.

Psalm. 4.

Rom. 2. uer. 14.

Rom. 2. uer. 15.

betraying of his owne soule; by craftie vnrighteousnesse, purchasing eternall perdition. For it helpeth vs not to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds eie, seeing from him, who is an infinite eie, we cannot hide them: some Garlands wee may gather in this May-game of the world, *Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arefcit; These flowers wither while we discourse of their colours, or are in gathering them.* That wee should therefore inhabit and dwell within our selues, and become fearefull wretchednes of our secret euils, did that reuerend Philosopher Pythagoras teach in this golden precept: *Ni turpe committas, neque coram alijs, neque tecum, maxime omnium verere teipsum; Commit nothing foule or dishonest, faith he, neither to be knowne to others, nor to thine owne heart: but aboue all men reuerence thine owne conscience.* And this may be a precept of nature and right reason: by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their owne forme; as fire to giue heate. Now, as the reasonable minde is the forme of man, so is he aptly moued to those things which his proper forme presenteth vnto him: to wit, to that which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason, are the acts of vertue: and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable: as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitiue, growing, and inanimate, obey the law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

Gen. 1.

Job. c. 38.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the bud of the hearbe which seedeth seede, &c. and the Beast, which liueth thereon. He gaue a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keepe their bounds: which they obey. He made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the Sunne to moue, and to giue light, and to serue for signes and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once breake the law of their nature and formes, the whole world would then perish, and all returne to the first Chaos, darkenesse, and confusion.

By this naturall Law, or Law of humane reason, did Caine perceiue his owne wickednesse, and offence, in the murder of Abel: for he not onely feared the displeasure of God, but the reuenge of Men: it being written in his reason, that 30 whatsoeuer he performed towards others, the same by others might bee done vnto him againe. And that this iudgement of well and euill doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternall law, before the law written: *Ad os in the person of God witnesseth Gen. the fourth: If thou doe well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doe not well, sinne lieth at thy dore.*

The Schoolemen are large also in this question of the naturall Law: the same being opened amply by Reinerius, Antoninus, and Valentia. But it is not my purpose to write a volume of this subiect.

Tho. 4. 9. 4. 11. 2.

But this law which Thomas Aquinas calleth an *act of reason taken properly*, and not a habite, as it is an euident naturall iudgement of practique reason: they diuide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and euill eschewed) and demonstrable, which is euidently proued, out of higher and more vniuersall propositions. Again, as it answereth the naturall appetite, prescribing things to be desired as good, or to be auoided as euill (as of the first, to desire to liue, and to satisfie hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew paines, sorrow, and death) in this consideration they diuide it, according to the diuers kinds of appetites that are in vs. For in euery man there are 3. sorts of appetites, which answer the three degrees of naturall Law. The first is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the desire, both to liue, and to preserve our being & life, also the desire of issue, with care to provide for them: for the Father after his death liues in his children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable lawes of nature, for the most part. For it needs no prooue, that all creatures should desire to be, to liue, and to be defended, and to liue in their issue, when they cannot in themselves. And as

man

man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*: so hee doth desire good, and shunne euill. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their owne natures, which is, to desire their owne good. And so is Good defined by Aristotle, to be that which all desire. Which definition Basil vpon the 44. *Isaie* approueth: *Rectè quidem Bonum definiunt, Quod omnia expetunt; Rightly haue some men defined Good, or Goodnesse, to be that which all things desire.* *Ethic. 1. c. 2.*

The second kinde of appetite is of those things which appertaine to vs, as wee haue sense. Whence, by the law of Nature, wee desire the delights of euery sense; but with such moderation, as may neither glut vs with satietie, nor hurt vs with excess. For as Sense it selfe is for the preservation of life and being: so is it meete, even by the law of nature, that the sensitive appetite should not carrie vs to the destruction, either of our life or being. And although (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in beasts) we may well say, that Nature hath giuen diuers lawes vnto them: In which sense the *Ciuitians* define *Naturall right*, or *Ius naturale*, to be the same which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures; Yet the *Schoolemen* admit not, that the instincts of beasts can be properly called a Law, but only a *Law*, or *Right*, which is the matter, & aime of euery Law. For so they distinguish it; where *Vipian* affirmeth, that *Ius naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures. In this place (saith *Valentia*) *Ius* is not to be taken for a Law, but for the 20 matter of the Law. And yet where *Vipian* also distinguisheth the right belonging to liuing creatures in general, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *Ius nature*, the other *Ius gentium*: the Diuines vnderstand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all euident dictates, precepts, or biddings of diuine reason: both in beasts and men; and restraints the law of Nations to a kinde of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertaine properly to man, as he is a liuing creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selues: and the lawes of this appetite are the Commandements of our religion.

Now although there are many other branches and diuisions of this law of nature answering the diuision of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the morall actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the law of nature but one law, according to *Aquinas*: first, because it hath one fountaine or roote in the naturall or motiue facultie, which is but one, stirring vp to good, and declining the contrarie: secondly, because all is contained in that generally naturall precept, That good is to be followed, and ill auoided: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest: and chiefly man; because he is indued with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of obseruing the law of nature increaseth, *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit Basil.*

40 *quod scriptum est, Adueniente mandato, peccatum remisit; When reason grew to perfection, then it came to passe, which was written by S. PAVL. When the Commandement came, sinne remitted.* Neither is it a small warrant for this law of nature, when those which breake the same, are said by S. PAVL, *To be deliuered ouer into a reprobate sense* (or minde) *to doe those things which are not comendment: and againe, that their consciences beare witness, and their thoughts accuse them.* For, though this law of nature stretch not to euery particular: as to command fasting and the like: yet, it commandeth in general all good, and whatsoeuer is agreeable to right reason. And therefore, said DAMASCENE; *homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est; Men* (saith he) *are made euill, by declining vnto that which is contrarie to nature: and* 50 *S. AUGUSTINE, Omne vitium natura nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est; Euery vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrarie vnto it.* *Rom. 2. 28. Rom. 2. 15. L. 2. Fid. 18. 6. 30.*

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature so streight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are borne Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to vnequal merit: by

by taking from the euill, and giuing to the good; and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enioy the fruits of their labours to themselves: according to the rules of iustice and equitie.

And though the law of nature command, that all things bee restored which are left in trust, yet in some causes this her law the suffereth to be broken: as to denie a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while hee was sober. But the vniuersall principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who according to St. PAVL, *abideth faithfull, and cannot denie himselfe.*

1 Tim. 2.

p. VII.

Of the written Law of God.

AFTER the eternal, and naturall, the law *Positiue* or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explanation of the former, hath two kinds: Diuine, and Humane. Again, the diuine positiue law is double; the old and new: The old was giuen vnto *Moses* in Mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at such time as the world had flood 2513 whole yeeres: and in the 67. day of this yeere when as *Asfates* or *Afades* gouerned the *Assyrians*, *Marathus* the *Syconians*, *Triopu* the *Argiues*, &c. 10 crops *Attica*, and *Acherres* *Egypt*: to wit, after the promise to *Araham* 430. yeeres. And this, it seemes, was the first written law which the world receiued. For the very word *Nomos*, signifying a law, was not then, nor long after inuented by the *Gracians*: no not in *Homer*'s time: who liued after the fall of *Troy* 80. yeeres at least: and *Troy* it selfe was cast downe 335. yeeres, after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This law, it pleased God to ingraue in stone, that it might remaine a lasting booke of his expreſt will in the Church; and that the Priests and people might haue, whereof to meditate, till the coming of *Christ*: and that so these children of *Israel*, though bred among an Idolatrous people in *Egypt*, might be without excuse: the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason knowne to vs why this law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their liues long, the *Elders* of families might easily without any written law instruct their owne children: and yet as they increased, so doubtlesse they had, besides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the law written. But now at length, forasmuch as the law of nature did not define all kinds of good, and euil; nor condemne euery sinne in particular: nor sufficiently terrifie the consciences of offenders: nor so expound diuine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gaue euery day lesse authoritie than other to the naturall law; in these respects it was necessarie, that the law should be written, and set before the eyes of all men: which before, they might, but would not read; in 40 their owne consciences. The *Schoolemen*, and the Fathers before them, enlarge the causes and necessitie, why the law was written, whereof these are the chiefeſt.

The first, for restraining of sinne, directly grounded vpon this place of *DAVID*, *The law of the Lord is vndefiled, conuerting soules: The testimonies of the Lord are faithfull, giuing wisdom to children.* For the humane law, saith St. *Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessarie, and hinder common profit: but the diuine law written, forbiddeth euery euill, and therefore by *David* it is called vndefiled.

Secondly, it serueth for the direction of our minds. For the lawes of men can only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our disposition and wil: and yet it is required, that we be no lesse cleane in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *conuerting our soules*, added by *David*: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*. *Actiōes hominum*

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. l. 1.

hominum nulla essent, nisi prius in mente dicerentur: The actions of men (say they) would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the minde.

Thirdly, it leadeth vs to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diuersitie of opinion, and difference of peculiar lawes among sundrie Nations, we cannot bee assured of; but the law of God bindeth all men, and is without error: and therefore also said *DAVID*, *That the testimony of the law of God is faithfull: giuing wisdom to children.*

p. VIII.

Of the vnwritten law of God, giuen to the Patriarks by Tradition.

NOW, that in all this long tract of time, betwene the creation and the written law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reason and nature, it doth not appeare. For the Patriarks of the first age receiued many precepts from God himselfe, and whatsoeuer was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was obliued by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos*: from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Ioseph*, and *Moses*. Yea many particular Commandements afterward written, were formerly imposed and deliuered ouer by Tradition, which kinde of teaching the *Iewes* afterward called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*: precepts receiued from the mouth of their Priests and Elders: to which the *Iewes* after the law written, added the interpretation of secret myteries, referred in the bosomes of their Priests, and vnaw full to be vterred to the people. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeede the diuine law reuealed to the Patriarks, and from them deliuered to the posteritie, when as yet it was vnwritten. The Commandements which God gaue vnto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of vnderstanding they were sufficiently knowne. For finding the reason of his owne name *Adam* of *Adams*, Earth, or 30 red clay, hee gaue other names significant, not only to beasts, but to his Children and Nephewes, which after ward his issues imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather, one giuen in recompence for *Abel* that was slain: and *Enosh* significant man or miserable, &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the ground, and to liue by the labour thereof: God also gaue him the choise of all fruits, but the forbidden, and in *Adam* also was marriage first instituted: all men thence after being commanded to cohabite with their Wiues, rather than with their Father and Mother.

That murder and crueltie was also forbidden, both before the law written, and 40 before the flood it selfe, it is manifest. God himselfe making it appeare, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankind by the generall flood. For God said vnto *Noah*, *An end of all flesh is come before mee: for the earth is filled with crueltie through them: and behold, I will destroy them* from the earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be vknowne to all that perished: Gods mercie and iustice interpoling betwene the vntaught, and reuenge. This commandement God repeated to *Noah*, after the waters were dried vp from the earth. *Whoſo ſheddeth mans blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed: for in the Image of God hath he made man.*

Also the law of honouring and reuerencing our parents, was obserued among the 50 faithful, and the contrary punished by the fathers curse: as, *Cursed be Canaan, ſeruant of ſeruants ſhall he be vnto his brethren.* Again, we finde that the vnnatural liue of the *Sodomites* was punished in the highest degree; as with fire from Heauen. The sinne of Adulterie and Raniſement, was before the law no lesse detested than the rest, as appeareth by that reuenge, taken for *Dina*'s forcing: and by the

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*The common reading is *cum terra*: but God did not destroy the earth; and why may not this preposition in this place haue the same force, which it hath according to *Genesis*, *Gen. 4.1. Item. 4.4. and Deut. 32.1. especially, seeing these words are but a repetition of that which is said, Gen. 7. Delicta hominum de superſicie terra.* GEN. 9. 26.

Gen. 9. 25.

Gen. 34. 25.

Gen. 38. 14.

iudgement which *Inda* gave against *Tamar*, That she should be burnt: and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* and *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the Woman which thou hast taken: for she is a mans Wife*: To these we may add the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of cleane and vncleane beasts, of Circumcision, of the Brother to raise vp seed to his brother that left a Widow childlesse, and diuers other constitutions, partly Morall, and partly Ceremoniall, which being deliuered before the written law, were alter by it confirmed. So that this *Diuine Law* imposed, of which the Law of *Moses* containeth that which is called *The old Testament*, may be said, not only to haue been written in the hearts of men, before it was ingrauen in stone, but also in substance to haue bene giuen in precept to the *Patriarks*. For as *S. Paul* witnesseth of himselfe, *I knew not sinne, but by the Law*: so euen the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed.

It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kind of vwritten law; the *Angels* intuitiue; Men by Reason; Beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; plants by their vegetatiue powers; and things inanimate by their necessary motions, without sense or preception.

§. IX.

Of the Morall, Iudiciall, and Ceremoniall Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sense, when it nameth the Law of MOSES.

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Rom. 3. v. 19.



OW as the word (Law) in generall, as is aforesaid, hath diuers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and re- strain: so this Law, called the Law of *Moses* in particular, is taken by *S. Paul* diuerly; as sometime for all the old Testament, as, *Now we know what soeuer the Law saith, it saith to them which are vnder the Law*.

Luc. 24. 44.

When it is opposed, or differenced from the *Prophets* and *Psalmes*, it is there taken for the five Bookes of *Moses*. For so *Saint Luke* hath distinguished them; as, *All must be fulfilled which are written of mee in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Psalmes*.

Rom. 3. 28.

When it is opposed to the *Gospell*, then it is taken for the Law Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is iustified by faith without the works of the Law*.

Rom. 6. 4. Gal. 3. 18.

When it is opposed to *Grace*, it signifyeth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the law, and *summum ius*: as, *For ye are not vnder the Law, but vnder grace*.

1 John 1. 17.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or signes are taken for the things signified; as the Sacrifice for *Christ*, and the like: then it signifyeth but shadowes and figures; as, *The Law was giuen by MOSES, but grace and truth came by IESVS CHRIST*.

Gal. 3. 23.

Luc. 16. 6.

Heb. 7. 12.

Ch. 10. 1.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of *Christs* coming, it signifyeth the whole policie of the *Iewes* Common-wealth; as, *Before faith came, wee were kept vnder the Law, &c.* or the Law of the order and institution of the *Aaronical Priesthood*; as, *All the Prophets and the Law, or the Priests, prophesied vnto Iohn*. And if the *Priesthood* bee changed, the Law also, to wit, of the *Priesthood*, must needs bee changed.

Rom. 8. 2.

Rom. 7. 23.

The word (Law) is sometime also taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Interest, Authority, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, *The Law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of sinne and death, the enforcements of conscience, &c.*

But the *Written Law* of *Moses*, or the Law of the Old Testament, of which we now speake, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was first put into

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the mides of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moses*, or by him repeated, commanding Holinesse and Iustice, promising eternall life conditionally, that is, to the obseruers of the law, and threatening death to those which breake the law in the least. For according to *Saint James*, *Who soeuer shall keepe the whole, and faileth in one point, is guilty of all*. The definition vied by the *Schoolemen*, in which both the Old and New law are comprehended, is thus giuen. *Lex diuina est diuinum decretum, hominibus prescribens modum necessarium ut apte peruenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quae est ultimus humanae vitae finis*; The diuine law (say they) is the decree of God, prescribing vnto men a necessary meane, whereby they may aptly attaine finally to eternall beatitude, which is the last end of mans life.

Lect. 2. 10.

The law of *Moses* hath three parts: Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall. The Morall part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that euill to be avoided, in particular; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as *Doe this, for I am the Lord*, whereas the law of nature commands it but in generall. Again, the Morall law entreateth of vertue and goodnesse; The Ceremoniall of diuine seruice, and of holines; (for external worship, and the order of hallowing our selues vnto God is called Ceremony) and the Iudiciall teacheth the particular gouernment, fit for the Common-wealth of the *Iewes*, and prescribeth orders for iustice and equity. And therefore was it said of *Saint Paul*, *The commandment is iust, holy, and good*: iust, or iustice being referred to the Iudiciall: holy, or holinesse to the Ceremoniall; good, or honest to the Morall. The Iudiciall is touching the gouernment of the commonwealth of the *Iewes*, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

Rom. 7. 12.

The Ceremoniall is diuided into foure parts, according to the foure kindes of things of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holy things, Sacraments, and Obseruances. To Sacrifices belong beafts, and the fruits of the earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments, Circumcision, the Passouer, & such like. For the Obseruances, they consisted either in prohibition of certaine meats, as not to cate the bloud and fat of beafts; or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyings, anointings, and attire, as not to wear mixt garments of Linnen and Woollen; as also it prohibiteth other vnnatural and vnproper commixtions, as *Thou shalt not yoke together in a plough an Oxe and an Asse*, or cast mingled seed in one field. It also exhorteth natural compassion, and forbideth cruelty euen to beafts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so some referre these precepts, *Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest; nor beate downe the first buddes of the tree, nor muzzle the labouring Oxe*, and the like, to the Ceremoniall Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the Law of *Moses*, but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the coming of *Christ*. For the Morall lieth still, and is not abrogated or taken away: sauing in the ability of iustifying or condemning; for therein are wee commanded to loue and worship God; and to vse charitie one towards another: which for euer shall be required at our hands. T herein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done: which power of directing by speciall rules and precepts of life, it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be obserued, though principally for the feare of God in the one, and for the loue of God in the other.

The Ceremoniall also lieth in the things which it fore-signified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body it selfe is represented to vs. Besides, it still lieth, in that it giueth both instruction and testimony of *Christ*, and in that it giueth direction to the Church, for some Ceremonies and Types of holy signification, which are still expedient, though in a farre fewer number than before *Christs* coming, and in a farre lesse degree of necessity.

Lastly, the Iudiciall lieth in substance, and concerning the end, and the naturall and vniuersall equity thereof.

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But the Morall faileth in the point of iustification, the Ceremoniall as touching the vfe and externall obseruation (because *Christ* himselfe is come, of whom the ceremonies were signes and shadowes) and the Iudiciall is taken away, as farre forth as it was peculiar to the *Jewes* Common-weale, and policie.

§. X.

A proposall of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.

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S for that which remaineth in the generall consideration of the diuine written Lawe, it may in effect bee reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignitie and worth of the law.
2. The Maiestie of the law-giuer.
3. The proprietie and peculiaritie of the people receiuing it.
4. The conueniencie of the time in which it was giuen.
5. The efficacie and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.
7. The end and vfe of the Law.
8. The sense and vnderstanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

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1. The dignitie of the Law is sufficiently prooued by *S. Paul*, in these wordes: *Wherefore the Lawe is holy, and the Commandement is holy, and iust, and good*: which three attributes are referred, as aforesaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall.

2. The Maiestie of the Law-giuer is approved in all his creatures: who as he hath giuen all things their liues, and beings, so he onely gaue the law, who could so onely giue the end and reward promised, to wit, the saluation of mankind: but he gaue it not to *Moses* immediatly, but by the ministry of *Angels*: as it is said. *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediatour*: and in the Acts, *Hee gaue the Law by the ordinance of Angels*.

Gal. 3. v. 19.

3. The proprietie and peculiaritie of the people, receiuing this Law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared: Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and disaffected: Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promise made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were idolaters. A Nation apart and seuered they were, because of Gods choice and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promise was made by God vnto *Abraham*, and his seed: not vnto his seedes, as to *Elsa* and *Jacob*, but to his seede, as to *Jacob*, or *Israel* singularly, of whom *Christ*. Now to *Abraham* and his seede were the promises made: he saith not to the seedes, as speaking of many, but to thy seede, as of one, which is *Christ*.

Gal. 3. v. 6.

4. The conueniencie of the time, in which it was giuen, is noted by *S. Augustine*: that it was about the middle time, betwene the Law of Nature, and Grace: the law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moses*: the law written in the Commandements receiued by *Moses* in the worlds yere 2514. continued to the Baptisme of *Iohn*: from which time begun the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the conueniencie are formerly giuen.

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5. The fifth consideration is of the efficacie of this law, the same being a disposition to, or signe of our iustification: but not by it selfe sufficient, but as a figure of *Christ* in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousness in morall precepts. For through the passion of *Christ* were sinnes forgiven, who taketh away the sinnes of the

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the world: and therefore *S. Paul* calleth the rudiments of the law *beggerly and weak*, *Gal. 4.* beggerly as containing no grace, weak as not able to forgiue and iustifie. The blood of Goates and Bulles, and the ashes of an Heiter could only cleanse the body; but they were figures of *Christ*s blood, which doth cleanse the inward soule. For if the law could iustifie, then *Christ* died in vaine.

Heb. 9.

Gal. 4.

§. XI.

Of the sixth point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.

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He Old and New Testament differ in name, and in the meane and way proposed for attaining to saluation; as the Old by works, the New by grace: but in the thing it selfe, or obiect and remote end, they agree: which is mans happinesse and saluation.

The Old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witnesse of Gods will, was called the Old, because it preceded the New Testament, which is an explanation of the Old: from which the New taketh witnesse. Yet the new of more excellencie, in that it doth more liuely expresse, and openly and directly delineate the wayes of our redemption. It is also called the Old, to shew that in part it was to bee abrogated: in that be saith the New Testament, he hath abrogated the Old. For the old law, though greatly extolled by the Prophets, and deliuered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it constituted in a policie perishable: but the New was giuen in a promise of an euertlasting Kingdome, and therefore called in the *Apocalypse*, a Testament and Gospel for euer during.

Heb. 8. v. 13.

The Old Testament is called the Law, because the first and chiefe part is the Law of *Moses*, of which the *Prophets* and *Psalmes* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The New Testament is called the Gospel, because the first and chiefe part thereof is the glad tidings of our Redemption: the other Bookes, as the Epistles, or Letters of the *Apostles*, and the Acts or Story of the *Apostles*, are plentifull interpreters thereof: The word *Euangelion* signifying a ioyfull, happie and prosperous message, or (as *Homer* vsed it) the reward giuen to the Messenger, bringing ioyfull newes. It is also sometime taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing successe, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three significations; First, for glad tidings in general, as in *Esa* the 52. v. 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellencie it is restrained, to signifie that most ioyfull message of saluation, as in *Luc* 2. 10. whence also by figure it is taken for the History of *Christ*: and so wee vnderstand the foure *Acts* Gospels.

Lastly, for the preaching and diuulging the doctrine of *Christ*, as *Cor* 1. 9. v. 14. and *Cor* 2. 8. v. 18.

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I thinke, as they are diuided in volumes) is by *Daneus* comprised in these foure.

In their Author.

In the substance of the Couenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, *Christ*.

In the effects, that is, in righteousness and iustification.

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was euer one Church, so was there one Couenant, one Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old Law doth point at *Christ*, so doth the new Law teach *Christ*: the old proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one, and the same end: euen the saluation of our soules: which according to *S. Peter* is the end of our faith. For although it bee said, that *Moses* did promise

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by obseruing the law an earthly Kingdome, a land flowing with milke and honic, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings: yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the Fathers of those spiritual blessings by *Christ*; for by the earthly he raised their mindes to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselves strangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Hierusalem*: according to this place of the *Hebrewes*: *All these died in faith, and received not the promises, but saw them as afar off, and beleueed them: confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.* To which purpose also Saint *AUGUSTINE*: *Omnia panni veterem legem intelligent, non attendentes per promissa terrena eterna promitti: Few (saith hee) doe understand the old law: not attending that by things earthly eternall are promised.* And *S. HIEROME*: *Noluit Deus pascere Iudeos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, ut Iudei seminant: God would not feede the Iewes as beasts with corporall gifts and riches, as themselves decree. And this may be gathered out of Gods owne words, Ego sum Deus tuus, & ero vobis in Deum; I am thy God, and I will be your God.* For the words, *I will be your God*, prooueth that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gaue them this promise; but in respect of the future: to wit, the safetie of their soules. For as God created both body and soule, so hath he of his goodnesse, not left the better part vn-cared for, which liueth euer.

The agreement betweene the Old and New Testament in substance, inferresal-²⁰ so for the agreement in foundation. For *Christ* is called the foundation of the law, laid both by the *Apostles* and *Prophets*: in whom all the promises of God in the Old and New, are assured: the fathers having eaten the same spiritual food, which wee eate in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our sinne and miserie, which is taught vs by the law, maketh way, and as it were, serueth in subordination to the Gospel, the proper effects whereof are mercie and saluation: to which the Law seru-³⁰ ing as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their sinne and miserie, God sheweth his mercie and saluation) may be said to agree with the Gospel in the effect. For otherwise if we seuer the law from subordination to the Gospel, the ef-⁴⁰ fects are very different: the one sheweth the way of righteousnesse by works, the other by faith; the Law woundeth, the Gospel healeth: the Law terrifieth, the Gospel allureth; *Moses* acculeth, *Christ* defendeth: *Moses* condemneth, *Christ* pardoneth. The Old restraineth the hand, the New the minde. *Data est lex quoniam sanaret* (saith *S. AUGUSTINE*) *sed quia agrotantes probaret; The Law was giuen, not to helpe but to discouer sicknesses; and S. CHRYSOSTOME*, *Data est lex, ut se homo inueniret, non ut moribus sanaretur, sed ut medicus quareretur; The law was giuen that men might finde and know his owne imperfection: not that his disease was thereby holpen: but that he might then seeke out the Physician.* For *Christ* came to saue the world, which the law had condemned. And as *Moses* was but a seruant, and *Christ* a Sonne, so the⁴⁰ greatest benefit was referred to bee brought, as by the worthiest person, sayth *Cyril*: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

¶ XII.

Of the rest of the points proposed.

THe seuenth consideration is of the end, and vse of the law: which is to bring vs to *Christ*: for finding no righteousnesse in our owne workes, we must seeke it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and vtmost⁵⁰ end: the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteousnesse, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. *Cnfessio* is he which continueth not in all the things of this ley.

The second end of the law, is to render vs inexcusable before God: who know-^{ing}

ing to perfect a law, doe not keepe it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or halfe obedience: but both inward and outward righteousnesse, and performance of dutie to God and Men.

The third and chiefe end of the law is, as hath beene said, to send vs to *Christ*, and his grace, being in our selues condemned and lost. For the law was deliuered with thunder, and with a most violent and fearefull tempest, threatening eternall death.

The fourth end of the law was to designe, and prescribe, the place of the Church and true people of God: and to hold them in one Discipline, and awe, till the coming of *Christ*: after whom the Church was to be dispersed ouer the whole world.

These be the ends of the Morall law. The end and vse of the Ceremoniall law, is to confirme the truth of *Christ*, and the new Testament. The vse of the Iudiciall, to reach vs natural equitie, and right, whereto we must conforme our selues.

The sense and vnderstanding of the law is double, literall and spirituall: by the literall we are taught the worship and seruice of God: by the spirituall, the figures and mysticall fore-speakings of *Christ*.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the law, the same hath being vntill the passion of *Christ*: before which time, and while *Christ* taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true sacrifice was offered vpon the Altar of the Crosse, then the *Iewish* sacrifices and ceremonies, which were *Types* and figures of *Christ* (*Christ* being the body of those shadows) ceased to binde the consciences any longer: the mylerie of our redemption being now by *Christ* and in him finished. In token whereof the vail of the Temple rent asunder; noting that the ceremoniall vailles and shadows were now to be removed, not that the morall law of the Commandments was hereby abolished, or weakened at all: otherwise then that it had not power to condemne according to the *Iewish* doctrine, as afore said. For the obseruing of the law was by *Christ* himselfe severely commanded: our loue to-³⁰ wards God being thereby to be winced, And herein *Dauid* so much reioyced, as he preferred the obseruation of the law, before all that the world could yeeld. *In via testimonium tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus diuitijs; I haue bene delighted in thy law as in all manner of riches:* And againe, *The law of thy mouth is good for me aboue*

thousands of gold and silver. This is the loue of God (saith S. Iohn) *that wee keepe his Commandment.* And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himselfe in *Deuteronomie* witnesseth. *This Commandment* (saith hee) *which I command thee this day, is not hidde from thee, neither is it farre off. It is not in heauen that thou shouldest say, Who shall goe up for vs to heauen, and bring it vs, and*

*conferre vs to heare it that we may doe it? neither is it beyond the Sea, that then shouldest say, Who shall goe over the Sea for vs, and bring it vs? &c. but the word is very nether unto thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart for to doe it. Behold (saith *Moses*) I haue set before thee this day, life and death, good and euill, in that I command thee this day to loue the Lord thy God, to walke in his wayes, and to keepe his Commandments, and his Ordinances, and his Lawes, that thou maist liue, &c. Neither is it said in vaine in *S. MATTHEW*. *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serua mandata; If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the Commandments:* and in *S. Iohn*. *Scio quia mandatum eius vita eterna est; I know that his Commandment is life everlasting.* And if this be the charitie of God, or of Men towards God, as *S. Iohn* hath taught, to wit, that we keepe his Commandments: certainly he is but a liar, that professeth to loue God, and neglecteth to obserue the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confesse it is not in mans abilitie, without the speciall grace of God, to fulfill the law (*Christ* onely as man excepted) yet if we rightly consider the mercitull care which God had of his people in those his Com-⁵⁰ mandments, we shall finde in our selues, how we borrow libertie, and rather let slip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them from the chaines of obedience, to which the word of God and diuine reason hath fastened them, than that we are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our minde (greedie of libertie) propoeth to it selfe. For this is the loue of God, that wee keepe his Commandments,*

Gen. 49. 10. The Scepter shall not depart from Iuda, nor a Law-giver from between his feet: vntill shile come.

Iohn 1. 5.

Deut. 30. 11. 12. 13. & 14. Rom. 6. 10. v. 6.

Cap. 9. v. 17.

C. 12. v. 50.

C. 12. v. 13.

Lib. de Ciuit. Dei 18. & 25.

In Saphon. c. 3. v. 9.

Homil. ad Rom.

Heb. 9.

Leuit. 23. 1.

ments, and his Commandments are not grievous, 1. ION 3. verse 12. and if wee examine euery precept apart, and then weigh them each alter other, in the balance of our consciences, it is not hard for any man to iudge, by what easie persuasions, wee steale away from our owne power, as vnwilling to vse it against our pleasing desires.

§. XIII.

Of the severall Commandments of the Decalogue: and that the difficultie is not in respect of the Commandments, but by our default.



Or by the first wee are commanded to acknowledge, serue, and loue one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept? seeing euery reasonable man may conceiue and know, that infinite power cannot be diuided into many infinites: and that it is of necessity, that by this almightie Vnitie, all things haue beene caused, and are continued. And if brute beasts had this knowledge of their Creatour, and how in his prouidence he hath also provided for euery of them, which giueth to beasts their foods, &c. there is no doubt but that they would also serue and loue him only.

¶ Al. 147. 10. 9.

Glossa in verb. Caluin.

The second precept is the forbidding of Idolatrie, and worship of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning, seeing this is generally true. *Omnia mala exempla bonis initijs orta sunt*; All ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings. For their first erection was to keepe the memorie of men famous for their vertue: vntill (saith *Lactantius*) the Deuill crept into them, and (hauing blotted out the first intent) working in weake and ignorant soules, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serue himselfe thereby. For what reasonable man, if he be not forsaken of God, will call on those blinde, deafe, dumbe, and dead stocks, more worthlesse then the most worthlesse of those, that hauing life and reason, implore their helpe, which haue 30 neither: yea, of more vilde prize and baser, then the basest of beasts, who haue sense and estimation? for what doe wee thereby (saith the Wisedome of *SALOMON*) but call to the weeke for helpe, pray to the dead for life, require aide of him that hath no experience, assistance in our iournies of him that cannot goe, and successe in our affaires of him that hath no power? And whether the Idolater, or the blocke, to which hee prayeth, be more senselesse: *Dauid* maketh a doubt. For (saith he) they that make them are like vnto them, and so are all the rest that trust in them.

¶ Psal. 13. 19.

¶ Psal. 35. 18.

The breach of the third Commandment is neither perswaded by worldly pleasure, nor worldly profit: the two greatest inchanters of mortall men. No, wee are no way allured to this horrible disdaine of God, vnlesse the hate of good men, and Gods curse, bee accounted an advantage. For as our corruptest nature giues vs nothing towards it, so can it satisfie no one appetite, except euerclasting sorrow, and Hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange custome hath the Deuill brought vp among men, without all subtiltie of argument, or cunning perswasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornfull advantage ouer vs. For slaughter satisfieth hatred, Theft giues satisfaction to neede, Adulterie to lust, Oppression to couetousnesse: but this contemptuous offence of blasphemie, and the irreuerent abuse of Gods name, as it giueth no helpe to any of our worldly affections, so the most salvage Nations of the world doe not vse it.

The fourth Commandment, to keepe the Sabbath day holy, hath neither paine, 50 burden, nor inconuenience. For it giueth rest to the labourer, and consolation to their Masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, *Moses* teacheth in the reason of the law: as in *Exod. 23. 12.* And in the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine Ox and thine Ass may rest, and the sonne of thy maide, and the stranger may be refreshed.

The

The first of the second Table to honour our Parents, with whom we are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature it selfe hath taught vs towards them, who after God gaue vs life and being, haue begotten vs, and borne vs, cherished vs in our weak and helpelesse infancie, and bestowed on vs the harvest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporal and Iudiciall ordinances, cursing of parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou shalt not Murther, that is, thou shalt not doe the acts following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our owne lawes, and in effect the law of all Nations, haue made difference between slaughter casual, 10 all, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (saith *BRACTON*) *imponit nomen operis tui*; It is the affection and will that makes the worke such as it is. And certainly whosoever cannot forbear to commit murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any vse of his owne will.

The third of the second Table, commands vs from adulterie. Now, if the preservation of Virginitie haue been possible, for thousands of Men and Women, who in all ages haue mastered their fleshly desires, and haue returned chaste to the graue: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the dishonour and iniurie, which we offer to others by such a violation, seeing marriage is permitted by the lawes of God, and Men, to all that affect it. And there is no man liuing whom the desire of beautie and forme hath so constrained, but he might with ease forbear the prosequiti- 20 on of this ill: did not himselfe giue sucke to this Infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to strong heate, heate till it turne to fire, and fire to flame.

¶ Super repleti-
terum Virgini-
tas Paradysum.

The fourth of the second Table, is, that we shall not steale. And if that kind of violent robberie had been vsed in *Moses* time, which many *Russians* practise now-a-daies in *England*, and to the dishonour of our Nation more in *England*, than in any Region of the world among *Christians*, out of doubt, he would haue censured them by death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For I speake not of the poore and miserable soules, whom hunger and extreme necessity inforceth, but of those detested Theeues, who to maintaine themselves Lord-like, assault, robbe, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring man, or breake by violence into o- 30 ther mens houses, and spend in Brauerie, Drunkennesse, and vpon Harlots, in one day, what other men sometime haue laboured for all their liues: impoverishing whole families: and taking the bread and food from the mouths of their children. And that this Commandment might easily be obserued; it would soone appeare, if Princes would resolute, but for a few yeeres to pardon none. For it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that encourageth these Hell-hounds. And if euery man may presume to be pardoned once, there is no state or Common-wealth, but these men would in a short time impoverish or destroy it.

The fifth Commandment of this second Table, is, the prohibition of false witness: from which if men could not forbear, all surety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witness, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminall, that the law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by falsehood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten Commandments forbiddeth vs to couet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wiues for concupiscence, or their goods for desire of gain. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to obserue; so esteemed by reason of our fraile affections: and yet if wee iudge hereof tightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies and vaine thoughts. For although it be not easie to master all our sudden passions, yet 50 we may restraîne and hinder the growing, and farther increase, if we please to intend our strength, and seeke for grace. How the word *Coueting* reacheth to all those it is to be considered. For *Concupiscentia*, according to some, *Est effrenatus habendus appetitus*; An vbrideled, or vnrestrained appetite of hauiug: And as touching such an appetite, we canot excuse our selues by any our natural frailty, or vnadvised error;

But

But, as I suppose, the word *Concupiscence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled euill intent, or for some vrging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the later sort: which is, *Actus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione, quæ est principium proprium actus boni aut mali*; Such passions, or inclinations are *concupiscit actus*, that is, not deliberated vpon by reason, which is the proper principle of a good or vicious action. And sure, it may seeme, that so long as we resist such motions, they harme vs not: as they say, *Quamdiu res fragatur nihil nocent: nocent autem comes dominari permittimus*; As long as wee giue no assent vnto them, it is thought by some that they hurt vs not: and that then only they hurt, when we suffer them to beare sway. But these men, as it seemes, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what hath been forbidden in the other: for in euery Commandement, not only the outward act, but also the inward assent vnto euill, though it breake not out into act, is forbidden: therefore, that wee may know the difference betweene this Commandement and the rest, the distinction of desires is to be held: that some are with assent, and vnbridled; others bridled, and without assent. For so euen the Morall Philosopher can tell vs, that the Continent man hath euill desires, but without assent (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason) as on the other side the Incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppressed by contrarie passions. The euill desires when they are accompanied with assent, are in euery Commandement forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if wee will haue any thing proper to this Commandement, we must needs say, that the euill desires of the Continent man (that is, euen those which we resist and bridle) are heere forbidden. For though he that bridleth his euill desires, be much better than he that yeeldeth vnto them: yet such a man, euen according to the Heathen Philosopher, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For Aristotle himselfe makes *continentia*, not to be vertue, but only a degree vnto it: confessing, that though the Continent man do well in bridling his euill affections, yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not so much as to haue them at all. Neither is it much more, that true diuinitie deliuereth touching this matter. For, as he saith, that in the Continent man the hauing of these euill desires, though he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a vertuous man: so we, that the hauing of them is a sinne. Only in this we excell him heere: that we are able out of diuinitie to giue the true reason of this doctrine: which is, that euery one sinneth, that doth not loue God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth that the euill desires of the Continent man; that is, of him which bridleth them, must needs be sinne: seeing such desires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make vs know, that by our faithfull induements to keepe his commandements, we witnesse our loue toward himselfe: wee may not safely giue libertie to our vanities, by calling backe vpon God (who is iustice it selfe) that he hath giuen vs precepts altogether beyond our power, and commandements impossible for vs to keepe. For as hee is assured (saith St. Hierome) that auowes that the law is in all things possible to be obserued: so hee hath made this addition: *Male dictus qui dicit impossibilia Deum præcepisse*; Accursed is hee that saith that God hath commanded things (in themselves, and not through our fault) impossible. Now, as the places are many which command vs to keepe the law: so is our weakenesse also in the Scriptures laid before vs, and therefore it is thus safely to be vnderstood, that we should without euasion, or without betraying of our selues, do our faithfull induements to obferue them: which if we doe vnfaidly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man iust, *Daniel* witnesseeth. Enter not into iudgement with thy servant, for in thy sight no flesh that liueth shall be iustified. And in the first of Kings, There is no man that sinneth not: And againe, who can say, I haue made my heart cleane? But seeing there is no sinne grievous without deliberation; let euery mans conscience iudge him, whether he giue way willingly, or restrain himselfe in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King giues to his sub-

Plal. 143.
C. 8. v. 46.
Pro. 20. 9. 9.

iect a commandement vpon paine of losse of his loue, to performe some seruice: if the subject neglecting the same, seeke to satisfie his *Soueraigne* with shifting excuses, out of doubt such a Prince will take himselfe to be derided therein.

¶ XIII.

If there were not any Religion nor Iudgement to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessarie to be obserued.



And if we consider aduisedly and soberly, of the Morall law, or ten Commandements, which God by the hand of *Moses* gaue vnto his people, it will appeare that such was his mercifull prouidence in the choise of them, as were there neither paine, nor profit adioyned to the obseruing, or not obseruing of them, were there no diuine power at all, nor any Religion among men, yet if we did not for our owne sakes struue to obserue these lawes: all societie of men, and all induements, all happinesse and contentment in this life would bee taken away: and euery state and common-weale in the world fall to the ground and dissolue. Therefore, these lawes were not imposed as a burthen, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might bee defended, that euery man might enioy the fruits of his owne trauails, that right might be done to all men from all men: that by iustice, order, and peace, wee might liue the liues of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of free-men, and not of slaves; of ciuill men, and not of saluages. And hereof making our humane reason only Iudge, Let vs see the inconueniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these lawes.

As first, what would the issue be if wee acknowledged many Gods? would not a farre greater hatred, war, and blood-shed follow, than that which the difference of ceremonie, and diuersitie of interpretation, hath already brought into the world, euen among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one *Christ*? And what could it profit mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, metall, dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the losse of time, and an impossibilitie to receiue thence from, either helpe or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandement bringeth there-with this disadvantage, and ill to man, that whosoever taketh the name of God in vaine, shall not at any time benefit himselfe by calling God to witnesse for him, when hee may iustly vse his holy name.

The obseruing the *Sabbath* holy, giueth rest to men and beasts, and nature herselfe requireth intermission of labour.

If we despise our Parents, who haue giuen vs being, we thereby teach our owne children to scorne and neglect vs, when our aged yeeres require comfort and helpe at their hands.

If murder were not forbidden, and severely punished, the races of mankind would bee extingished: and whosoever would take the libertie to destroy others, giueth libertie to others to destroy himselfe.

If adulterie were lawfull and permitted, no man could say vnto himselfe, This is my sonne: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posteritie, no induement by vertue and vnder-taking to raise families: murders and poisonings betweene man and wife would be daily committed: and euery man subiect to most filthie and vncleane diseases.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all mankind would shortly after perish, or liue as the saluages, by rootes and acornes. For no man laboureth but to enioy the fruits thereof. And such is the mischiefe of robbrie, as where *Moses* for lesser crimes appointed restitution foure-fold, policie of State and necessitie hath made it death.

To permit false witnesses, is to take all mens liues and estates from them by corruption: the wicked would sweare against the virtuous: the waster against the wealthie: the idle begger and loiterer, against the careful and painefull labourer: all triall of right were taken away, and iustice thereby banished out of the world.

The coucing of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while wee couet what appertaines to others, we neglect our owne: our appetites are therein fed with vaine and fruitlesse hopes, so long as we doe but couet; and if we doe attaine to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wifes or goods of our neighbours, wee can looke for no other, but that our selues shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be depriued of our owne.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandements, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all liuing? Surely, for our owne good, and not in respect of himselfe, did the most mercifull and prouident God ordaine them; without the obseruation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertilitie of the earth, with all the blessings given vs in this life, would be vnto vs altogether vnprofitable, and of no vse. For we should remaine but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a farre more vnhappie condition.

§. XV.

Of humane Law, written and vnwritten.



Humane Law, of which now it followeth to speake, is first diuided into two, viz. Written, and Vnwritten. The vnwritten consists of vsage, approved by time: which *Isidore* calls *Mores*; and he defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines vetustate probate*, to be customes approved by antiquitie or vnwritten lawes. Now custome differeth from vse, as the cause from the effect: in that custome is by vse and continuance established into a law: but yet so there where the law is defective, saith *Isidore*.

And of customes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particulars, the first are written customes, received and exercised by Nations, as the customes of *Burgundie*, and *Normandie*: the ancient generall custome of *England*, and the customes of *Castile*, and other *Prouinces*.

The second are these pettie customes, vsed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The generall or National customes are some written, others vnwritten.

The particular or pettie customes are seldome written, but witnessed by testimonie of the inhabitants. The customes of the *Duchie of Cornwall* comprehending also the *Stannerie of Devon*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* causes, are written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornwall*. But howsoeuer vse and time hath made these customes as lawes, yet ought every custome to be *rationabilis*, as well as *prescripta*. *Non firmatur tractu temporis quoad de iure ab initio non subsistit*; That which at first was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time. And (saith *VLIAN*) *quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis conualescere*; Course of time amends not that which was naught from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessarie in all lawes of custome; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law diuine, and naturall: the other, that the cause and reason be strong, proving a right birth, and necessarie continuance: it being manifest that every custome, which is against the law, had his beginning from cuill deedes, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customes of this nature were but tolerated for a time, by the law-makers, though they haue beene since continued, because posteritie is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moued.

In Reg. l. i. c. 1. s. 1.

V. p. 1. a.

ued. For non sufficit simplex toleratio. And it is in this sort ouer-ruled in the law; *Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui nouam legem, & nouam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus princeps est*; The people cannot bring a new custome against law: saue by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is onely the Prince.

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doome of practique reason: by which humane actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the Law a common precept, the aduisement of Wifemen, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Isidore* calls the Law a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for Governance and common profit: And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione consistit, illud standi with reason*.

Lastly, and more precisely it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the Law naturall, and eternall: made by the rationall discourse of those, that exercise publique authoritie: prescribing necessarie obseruances to the subiect. That every law ought to be a righteous decree, S. *Augustine* teacheth, saying: *Nihil lex esse non videtur, quae iusta non fuerit*; It seemes to be no law at all to me, which is not iust: and iust it cannot be, except it agree with the law naturall and eternall. For there is no law iust and legitimate (saith S. *Augustine*) which the Law-makers haue not deriued from the eternall. *Nihil iustum atque legitimum est, quod non ab aeterna lege sibi homines deriuauerint*.

Greg. de Val. ex Tit. 9. p. 1. art. 1. s. 1. & 9. p. 1. art. 1. s. 1.

L. 1. de lib. Arb. cap. 6.

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the law naturall, to wit, the naturall, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authorized Magistracie, it cannot bee doubted, be the Government of what kinde soeuer. For it falleth otherwise vnder the Title of those decrees called *Volentia*, or *iniqua constitutiones*; *Violentia*, or *wicked constitutiones*.

Of humane Law there are foure properties, especially answering these foure conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawne out of the law of nature: so every particular of the humane law may be resolved into some principle or rule of the naturall.

4. Parts:

Thom. 2. 2. 2. art. 1. s. 1.

Secondly, it is to be considered as it is referred vnto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publique authoritie.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the law, it prescribeth, and directeth, all humane actions. And so is the Law as large and diuers, as all humane actions are diuers, which may fall vnder it. For according to *THOMAS*, *Alia lex IVLIA de Adulterijs, alia CORNELIA de Scaerijs*; The law of *IVLIAN* against *Adulterie* is one, the *CORNELIAN* against *Ruffians*, is another. Now the humane law, generally taken, is in respect of the first of these considerations, diuided into the law of Nations, and the Ciuill.

The Law of Nations is taken lesse or more properly, lesse properly for every law which is not of it selfe, but from other higher principles deduced: and so it seemeth that *Vipian* vnderstands it: for he defineth *Ius gentium*, or the law of Nations, to be that which is onely common amongst Men, as Religion, and the worship of God: which is not in the very nature of this law of Nations: but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other diuine Reuelations. But the law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *sentence*, which is drawne from a very probable, though not from an euident principle, yet so probable, that all Nations doe assent vnto the conclusion, as that the free passage of *Ambassadors* be graunted betwene enemies, &c. which National law, according to diuers acceptations, and diuers considerations had of the Humane law, may be sometime taken for a *Species* of the Naturall, sometime of the Humane.

Cc

Ius

Ius Civile, or the Ciuill Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in diuers estates it is also diuers and peculiar, and this Law is not so immediately deriued from the Law of Nature, as the Law of Nations is: For it is partly deduced out of such principles as all Nations doe not agree in, or easily assent vnto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are diuers, and doe not fit all estates. Hereof V. P. I. A. N. *Ius civile, neque in totum à naturali & gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei seruit: itaq; cum aliquod addimus vel detrahimus Iuri communi, Ius proprium, id est, Civile offerimus*; The Ciuill Law (saith he) doth neither wholly differ from the Law of Nature, and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it: therefore when wee adde ought to, or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Ciuill Law.

The law now commonly called the Ciuill Law, had its birth in Rome; and was first written by the *Decem-viri*, 303. yeeres after the foundation of the Citie. It was compounded as well out of the *Athenian*, and other *Grecian* lawes, as out of the ancient *Romane* customes and lawes *Regall*. The *Regall* lawes were deuised by the first Kings, and called *Leges Regie*, or *Papirianæ*, because they were gathered by *Papirius*, *Tarquinius* then reigning. For though so many of the former lawes as maintained Kingly authoritie were abolished, with the name; yet those of *Seruius Tullius*, for Commerce and Contracts, and all that appertained to Religion, and common viltie, were continued, and were a part of the lawes of the twelve Tables. To these lawes of the twelve Tables were added (as the times gaue occasion) those made by the Senate, called *Senatus-consulta*: those of the common people, called *Plebiscita*: those of the Lawyers, called *responsa prudentum*: and the Edicts of the *Annual Magistrate*: which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Iulian*, and presented to *Adrian* the Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetuall lawes; and the Volume stiled *Edictum perpetuum*; as those and the like Collections of *Iulianian* after ward were.

The difference anciently between Lawes and Edicts, which the French call *Reglements*, consisted in this, that lawes are the Constitutions made or confirmed by soveraigne authoritie (bee the soveraigntie in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withall generall and permanent; but an Edict (which is but *Iussum Magistratus*, vnlesse by authoritie it be made a law) hath end with the Officer, who made the same, saith V. A. R. R. O. *Qui plurimum Edicta tribuunt, legem annuam esse dicunt*; They who ascribe the most vnto an Edict, say that it is a law for one yeere: Though *Isidore* doth also expresse by the word *Constitutiones* or *Edictis*, those Ordinances called *Acts* of Prerogatives; as *Constitutio vel Edictum est quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit*; An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth ordaine or proclaim.

Lastly, the *Humane* law is diuided into the *Secular*, and into the *Ecclesiasticall*, or *Canon*. The *Secular* commanding temporall good, to wit, the peace and tranquillitie of the Common-wealth: the *Ecclesiasticall* the spirituall good, and right Government of the *Ecclesiasticall* Common-wealth, or Church, *illud nature legem, hoc diuinum à spectat*; That respecteth the Law of Nature, this the Law of God. And so may *Ius Civile* be taken two waies; first, as distinguished from the law of Nations, as in the first diuision; Secondly, as it is the same with the *Secular*, and diuers from the *Ecclesiasticall*. But this diuision of the *Schoolemen* is obscure. For although the *Ciuill* be the same with the *Secular*, as the *Ciuill* is a law, yet the *Secular* is more generall, & comprehendeth both the *Ciuill*, and all other lawes not *Ecclesiasticall*. For of *Secular* lawes, in vse among *Christian* Princes, & in *Christian* Common-wealths, there are three kinds; the *Ciuill* which hath euerywhere a voyce; and in all *Christian* estates (*England* excepted) most powerful; the Lawes of *England* called *Common*, and the Lawes of custome or *Provinciall*. In *Spain* besides the Law *Ciuill*, they haue the customes of *Castill*, and other *Provinces*. In *France* besides the *Ciuill*, the customes of *Burgundie*, *Blois*, *Berri*, *Niemois*, and *Lodunois*, &c. *Tous lieux situes & assis en Lodunois, seront gouvernez selon les costumes du dit pays*; All places lying within the precincts of *Lodunois*, shall bee governed according to the customes of that place. There

In Leg. 6. cap. de iustitia iure.

Diui. Hal.

C. Sigon. l. out of Pomponian.

Art. 3. tit. 5. G. C. 11.

There are also in *France* the customes of *Normandie*, and these of two kindes; General, and Local; and all purged and reformed by diuers Acts of the three estates. The *Charters* of confirmation of these ancient customes, before and since their reformation haue these words; *Nos autem, registum prædictum, visus laudabiles, & consuetudines antiquas, &c. Laudamus, approbamus, & auctoritate Regia confirmamus*; The Register afore said, laudable use, and ancient customes wee praise, approve, and by our Kingly authoritie confirme. The common law of *England* is also compounded of the ancient customes of the same, and of certain *Maximes* by those customes of the Realme approoued. Vpon which customes also are grounded those Courts of Record, of the *Chancery*, *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other small Courts.

These ancient customes of *England* haue beene approoued by the Kings thereof, from age to age: as that custome by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, diseised, nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the law of the Land, was confirmed by the *Statute of Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient custome of *England*, that the eldest Sonne should inherite without partition. In *Germanie*, *France*, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In *Ireland* it is the custome for all Lands (that haue not beene resigned into the Kings hands) that the eldest of the house shall enioy the inheritance during his owne life: and so the second and third eldest (if there bee so many brothers) before the Heire in lineall descent: this is called the custome of *Tanistrie*. For example, if a Lord of Land haue foure sonnes, and the eldest of those foure haue also a sonne, the three brothers of the eldest sonne, shall after the death of their brother, enioy their Fathers lands before the Grand-child: the custome being grounded vpon the reason of necessity. For the *tribus* in former times hauing alwaies liued in a subdiuided *Ciuill* warre, not onely the greatest against the greatest, but euery *Baron* and *Gentleman* one against another, were inforced to leaue successors of age and abilitie to defend their owne Territories. Now as in *Normandie*, *Burgundie*, and other *Provinces* of *France*, there are certaine peculiar, and pettie customes, besides the great and generall custome of the Land, so are there in *England*, and in euery part thereof. But the greatest bulke of our lawes, as I take it, are the *Acts of Parliament*: lawes propounded and approoued by the three estates of the Realme, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, because they are *Acts* of choise, and selfe-desire. *Leges nulla alia causa noventur quam quod iudicio populi recepte sunt*; The lawes doe therefore binde the subject, because they are receiued by the iudgement of the subject. *Tum demum humane leges habent vim suam, cum fuerint non modo institutæ, sed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis*; It is then that humane lawes haue their strenght, when they shall not onely be deuised, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.

Isidore fasteneth these properties to euery *Christian* law, that the same be honest, that it be possible, that it bee according to Nature, and according to the custome of the Countrey; also for the time and place conuenient, profitable, and manifest, and without respect of priuate profit, that it be written for the generall good. Hee also giues foure effects of the law, which *Modestinus* comprehends in two; to wit, obligation, and instigation: the former binds vs by feare, to auoide vice; the later incourageth with hope, to follow vertue. For according to *Cicero*; *Legem oportet esse vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemq; virtutum*; It becometh the law to be a mender of vices, and a commender of vertues. The part obligatorie or binding vs to the obseruation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all lawes; and it is two-fold, the one constraineth vs by feare of our consciences, the other by feare of externall punishment. These two effects the law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, *Coactiue*, and *Directiue*.

The second of these two effects remembered by *Modestinus*, is *Instigation*, or incouragement to vertue, as *Aristotle* makes it the end of the law, to make men vertuous. For lawes being such as they ought to bee, doe both by prescribing and forbidding,

bidding, urge vs to well-doing; laying before vs the good and the euill, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmatiue, commanding good, and power negatiue, for bidding euill, are those into which the law is diuided, as touching the matter: and in which *Dauid* comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof: laying, *Declina à malo, & fac bonum; Decline from euill, and doe good.*

Plat. 36.

p. XVI.

That only the Prince is exempt from humane lawes, and in what sort.

NOW whether the power of the humane Law bee without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that haue written of this subiect, as well *Diuines* as *Lawyers*: and namely, whether Soueraigne Princes bee compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforesaid; the one *Directiue*, the other *Coactiue*: to the power *Directiue*, they ought to be subiect, but not to that which constraineth. For as touching violence or punishments, no man is bound to giue a pre-
judiciall judgement against himselfe; and it equalls haue not any power ouer each other, much lesse haue inferiours ouer their superiours, from whom they receiue their authoritie and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of lawes, simply then is the Prince so much about the lawes, as the soule and body vnited, is about a dead and senselesse carcasse. For the King is truly called, *ius vniū & lex animata. An animate and liuing law.* But this is true, that by giuing authoritie to lawes, Princes both adde great ease to themselves, and conferre it; and therefore was it said of *Bracton* out of *IUSTINIAN*: *Merito debet Rex tribuere legi quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex fasit ut ipse sit Rex; Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the law, which the Law first attributeth to the King; for it is the law that doth make Kings.*

Bract. l. 2.

But whereas *Bracton* ascribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein mistaken. For Kings are made by God, and lawes diuine; and by humane lawes onely declared to bee Kings. As for the places remembred by the Diuines and Lawyers, which inferre a kinde of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to giue an account of their actions to God onely.

Plat. 50.
§. de Leg.

Thi soli peccant, faith DAVID; Against thee onely haue I sinned: therefore, the Prince cannot be said to be subiect to the law; *Principes non subijctur legi.* For seeing according to the *Schoolemen*, the law humane is but quoddam organum & instrumentum potestatis gubernatiue: non videtur posse eius obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vni potestatis humane non pertinet; sed vni potestatis humane non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo nec lex comittit per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorum. Omnis enim potentia actiua, est principium transfundendi alius; Seeing humane law (say they) is but a kinde of organ, or instrument, of the power that governeth, it seemes that it cannot extend it selfe to binde any one whom no humane power can contrall, or lay hold of: but the Governour himselfe, in whom the governing power doth reside, is a person that cannot by himselfe, or by his owne power be controlled. And therefore the law which is made by such a power, cannot binde the law maker himselfe: for every actiue abilitie is a cause or principle of alteration in another body, not in the body in which it selfe resides. And seeing Princes haue power to deliuer others from the obligation of the law: Ergo etiam potest ipsi Princeps sine legislator sua se voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare; Therefore also may a Prince or law-maker at his owne will and pleasure deliuer himselfe from the bond of the law. Therefore in the rules of the law it is thus

Greg. de Pales.
tia de Leg.

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concluded. *Subditi tenentur leges obseruare necessitate coactionis, Principes vero sola voluntate sua, & intuitu boni communis; The subjects are bound to fulfill the law by necessity of compulsion, but the Prince onely by his owne will, and regard of the common good.*

Now concerning the politike lawes, giuen by *Moses* to the Nation of the *Israelites*, whether they ought to be a President, from which no ciuill institutions of other people should presume to digresse, I will not presume to determine, but leaue it as a question for such men to decide, whose professions giue them greater abilitie. It thus much I may be bold to affirme, that we ought not to seeme wiser than God himselfe, who hath told vs that there are no lawes so righteous, as those which it pleased him to giue to his Elect people to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations haue their severall qualities, wherein they differ, euen from their next borderers, no lesse than in their peculiar languages: which disagreeable conditions to governe apply, one and the same law very hardly were able. The *Roman* ciuill lawes did indeede containe in order a great part of the then knowne world, without any notable inconuenience, after such time as once it was receiued and become familiar: yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much vnto the naturall customes of the sundrie people, which it gouerned. For whether it bee through a long continued perswasion, or (as *Astrangers* more willingly graunt) some influence of the Heauens; or peraduenture some temper of the soile and climate, affording matter of prouocation to vice (as plenty made the *Sybarites* luxurious: want and opportunitie to steale, makes the *Arabians* to bee Thieues) very hard it wereto forbid by law an offence so common, with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from iust and honest. By such rigour was the Kingdome of *Congo* vnhappy diuerted from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first embraced, but after with great furie reiected, because pluralitie of Wiues was denyed vnto them, I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than seasonably. In such cases, me thinks, it were not amisse to consider that the high God himselfe permitted some things to the *Israelites*, rather in regard of their
natural disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant vnto the ancient rules of the first perfection. So, where euen the generall nature of man doth condemne (as many things it doth) for wicked and vniuit; there may the law, giuen by *Moses*, worthily bee deemed the most exact reformer of the euill, which forceth man, as neere as may be, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custome hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habite, with so long and so publike approbation, that the vertue opposing it would seeme as vn-couth, as it were to walke naked in *England*, or to weare the *English* fashion of apparel in *Turkie*: there may a wise and vpriht Law-giuer, without presumption, omit somewhat that the rigour of *Moses* his law required; euen as the good King *Hezekiah* did, in a matter merely Ecclesiasticall, and therefore the lesse capable of dispensation, praying for the people; The good Lord be mercifull vnto him, that prepareth his whole heart to seeke the Lord God, the God of his Fathers, though he bee not
cleansed according to the purification of the Sanctuarie: which praiser the Lord heard and granted.

2 Chron. cap. 30.

21. 19.

To this effect it is well obserued by Maister Doctor *Willet*, that the morall Iudicialls of *Moses* doe partly binde, and partly are let free. They doe not hold affirmatiuely that we are tyed to the same seueritie of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatiuely they doe hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adiudged, where sentence of death is not giuen by *Moses*: Christian Magistrates ruling vnder *Christ* the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemencie and Mercy, may abate of the seueritie of *Moses* law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot adde vnto it to make the burden more heauie: for to shew more rigour than *Moses*, becommeth not the Gospel.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath beene the subiect of

Cc 3

many

many learned discourses, neither will I take vpon mee, to speake any thing definitively in a case which dependeth, still in some controuersie among worthie Diuines. Thus much (as in honour of the Iudiciall Law, or rather of him that gaue it) I may well and truly say, that the defence of it hath alwaies bene very plausible. And surely howsoeuer they bee not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a generall and onely law; yet shall wee hardly finde any other ground, whereon the conscience of a Iudge may rest, with equall satisfaction, in making interpretation, or giuing sentence vpon doubts, arising out of any Law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Iudge could haue bene witnesse, of whom *Fortescue* that notable Bulwarke of our lawes doth speake, complaining of a judgement giuen against a Gentle-woman at *Salisbury*, who being accused by her owne Man, without any other prooff, for murdering her Husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the man who accused her, within a yeere after being Conuict for the same offence, confest that his Mistris was altogether innocent of that cruell fact, whose terrible death hee then (though ouer-late) grievously lamented: but this Iudge, saith the same Authour, *Sapius ipse mihi fassus est, quod nunquam in vita sua animam eius de hoc facto ipse purgaret; Hee himselfe often confessed vnto mee, that hee should neuer during his life, be able to cleare his conscience of that fact.* Wherefore that acknowledgement which other Sciences yeeld vnto the *Metaphysiques*, that from thence are drawne propositions, able to prooue the principles of Sciences, which out of the Sciences themselves cannot be proued, may iustly be granted by all other politike institutions, to that of *Moses*; and so much the more iustly, by how much the subject of the *Metaphysiques*, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens; Being as it is being*, is infinitely inferior to the *Ens Entium; The being of beings*, the only good, the fountaine of truth, whose feare is the beginning of wisdom. To which purpose well saith Saint AUGUSTINE, *Conditor legum temporalium se vir bonus est & sapiens; illam ipsam consilii aeternam de qua nulli anima iudicare datum est; The Author of temporall lawes if hee bee good and wise, doth therein consult the law eternall, to determine of which there is no power giuen to any soule.* And as well Prince Edward, in *Fortescue* his discourse, *Nemo potest melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus; No man can lay a better or another foundation, than the Lord hath laid.*

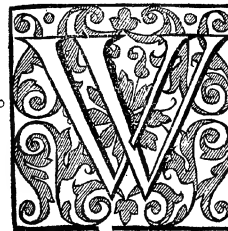
CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Storie of the Israelites from the receiuing of the Law to the death of MOSES.

§. I.

Of the numbering and disposing of the Hosts of Israel, for their marches through the Wildernesse; with a note of the reuerence giuen to the worship of God, in this ordering of their troupes.



HEN *Moses* had receiued the Law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the tabernacle of the *Arke* and *Sanctuarie*; hee mustered all the Tribes and Families of *Israel*; and hauing scene what numbers of men fit to beare armes, were found in euery Tribe, from 20. yeeres of age vpwards; hee appointed vnto them, by direction from the Lord, such Princes and Leaders, as in worth and reputation were in euery Tribe most eminent. The number of the whole Armie was 603550. able men for the warres, besides women and children; also, besides the strangers which

followed them out of *Aegypt*. This great Armie was diuided by *Moses* into foure 30 grosse and mightie Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able men, consisted of three Regiments; which may well, in respect of their numbers, bee called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Judah*, *Issachar*, and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Judah* were 74600 fighting men, led by *Nasfon*; in *Issachar* 54400. led by *Nathaniel*; in *Zabulon* 57400. led by *Eliab*. All these marched vnder the Standard of the Tribe of *Judah*, who held the Vauntguard, and was the first that mooued and marched, being lodged and quartered at their generall incamping on the East side of the Armie, which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second Battalion or Armie, called in the Scriptures the Host of *Reuben*, had 151450. able men, in number 151450. All which marched vnder the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. vnder *Elizur*; in *Simcon* 59300. vnder *Shelumiel*; in *Gad* 45650. vnder *Elisaph*. These had the second place, and incamped on the South side of the Tabernacle.

The third Armie marched vnder the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were ioyned the Regiments of *Manasse* and *Beniamin*, who ioyned together, made in number 108100. able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. vnder *Elisbana*; *Manasse* 32200. vnder *Gamil*; *Beniamin* 35400. vnder *Abidan*.

The fourth and last Armie, or Squadron, of the generall Armie, containing 157600. able men, marched vnder the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were ioyned the two Tribes of *Nephthali* and *Asher*. And these had the Rearward, and moued last, incamping on the North side. *Dan* had 62700. vnder *Abiezzer*; *Asher* 41500. vnder *Pegiel*; *Nephthali* 53400. vnder *Abira*.

Besides

Besides these Princes of the severall Tribes, there were ordained Captaines over Thousands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and over Tens; as it may appear by that mutinie and insurrection against *Moses*, *Num. 16. v. 1. & 2.* For there arose vp against *Moses* 250. Captaines of the *Assembly*, famous in the Congregation, and men of renowne: of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principle Mutiners, with those 250. Captaines that followed them, were not any of the twelve Princes of the Tribes, or Generall Colonells before spoken of, as by their names *Num. 1.* is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gave to his children, tooke place not onely in the division of the Land of promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but even in forcing them vnder their severall Standards in the wilderness it was observed. For *Isaiah* had the precedence and the greatest Armie, which also was wholly compounded of the sonnes of *Lea*, *Jacobs* wife. *Ruben* having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simion*, who had undergone his Fathers curse; and with *Gad*, the sonne of his Mothers Hand-maide. *Joseph*, who in temporall blessings had the prerogative of the first borne a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and divided vnto two Regiments: the younger (according to *Jacobs* propheticie) taking place before the Elder. He was assisted by *Beniamin*, his best beloved brother, the other sonne of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest sonne of *Jacobs* Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Armie, according to *Jacobs* propheticie. Hee had with him vnder his Standard none of the children of *Lea*, or *Rachel*, but onely the sonnes of the Hand-maides.

In the middle of these foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, surrounded by the *Leuites*. Neere vnto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approach, by reason of these foure powerfull Armies which guarded the same: so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come nere it, who were not of the *Leuites*, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the moveable Temple of God, and with such reverence guarded and transported, as 22000. persons were dedicated to the service and attendance thereof: of which 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their severall offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the people observed the former order in their incampings: so did the *Leuites* quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on every side of the Tabernacle; the *Gisburites* on the West, within the Armie, and Standard of *Ephraim*, over whom *Elisaph* commanded, in number 7500. The familie of *Cobath* on the South side, guided by *Elizaphan*, within the Armie of *Reuben*, and betwene him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third companie were of the familie of *Merari*, over whom *Zurriel* commaunded, in number 6200. and these were lodged on the North side within the Armie of *Dan*; On the East side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which *Isaiah* did, *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, 40 who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies and of the People; vnder whom, as the chiefe of all the other *Leuiticall* families, was *Elesazar* the sonne of *Aaron*, his successeur in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Armie of *Israel*, and of their incamping and marching; the Tabernacle of God being alway set in the middle and center thereof. The reverend care, which *Moses* the Prophet, and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, *Arke* and *Sanctuarie*, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeale borne towards God himselfe. The industrie vsed in the framing thereof, and every, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the provisions; the dutifull observance in the laying vp and preserving the holic Vessels; the solemne removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the proud defence of the same, which all Ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the Familie, by the

Anabaptist

Anabaptist, *Brownist*, and other *Selfaries*, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kinde of *Peperie*, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: inso much as Time would soone bring to passe (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barnes, and from thence againe into the Fields and Mountaines; and vnder the Hedges; and the Offices of the *Ministerie* (robbed of all dignitie and respect) bee as contemptible as these places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-governement, left to newnesse of opinion, and mens fancies: yea, and soone after, as many Kindes of Religions would spring vp, as there are Parish Churches within *England*: every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancie with the Spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of *Renelation*; inso much, as when the Truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude, no lesse variable than contarie to it selfe, the Faith of men will soone after dye away by degrees, and all Religion bee held in scorne and contempt. Which distraction gave a great Prince of *Germanie* cause of this answer to those that perswaded him to become a *Lutheran*, *Si me adiungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab alijs: si me alijs adiungo, à vobis condemnor: quid fugiam videro, sed quid sciam, non habeo: si I adiecyne my selfe to you, I am condemned by others; if I ioyne with others, I am condemned by you; What I should avoide I see, but I know not what I should follow.*

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p. 11.

The offerings of the twelve Princes: the Passover of the second yeare: The departing of IETHRO.



OW when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessarie, provided for the service of God, written the Lawes, numbered his Armie, and divided them into the battailes and troupes before remembered, and appointed them Leaders of all forts, The twelve Princes or Commanders of the Tribes brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, *Num. 8.* like covered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged therunto: the *Sanctuarie* excepted, which for reverence was carryed vpon the shoulders of the sonnes of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots in which was continued the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Leuites* for that service, namely to the sonnes of *Gershon* and *Merari*. Besides these Chariots, each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered vnto God, and for his service in the Temple, a charger of fine silver, weighing 130. sheekles; a silver Boll of 70. sheekles; after the shekle of the *Sanctuarie*; and an incense-Cup of gold, of ten sheekles, which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated vnto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards their conquest, besides the bealls which they offered for sacrifice, according to the law Ceremoniall, the weight of all the twelve silver chargers, and twelve silver Bolles, amounted vnto 2400. sheekles of silver; and the weight of gold in the incense-Cups, to 120. sheekles of gold; which makes of sheekles of silver 1200. every shekle of gold valuing ten of silver, so that the whole of gold & silver which they offered at this time, was about foure hundredth and twentie pound sterling. This done, *Moses*, as in all the rest by the Spirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the *Passover*, which they performed on the fourteenth day of the second moneth of the second yeare: and on the 20. day of the same, the cloude was lifted vp from above the Tabernacle, as a signe of going forward; *Moses* beginning his march with this invocation to God; *Rise vp, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee, flee before thee.* Then all the people of *Israel* removed from their incamping at the foote of the Mountaine *Sinai*, towards *Paran* the

The Hebrew *Gersh* weighed each sixe hundred sheekles: so a *Gersh* of silver is about three halfpence sterling: the Sicle of the Sanctuarie (as it is expounded *Exod. 20.33*) conceiveth 20. *Gersals* so a *Sanctuarie* Sicle of silver is about 7. groats the common Sicle is but halfe so much, to wit ten *Gersals*: as it is visually expounded *1. Thos. 2. 11.* *Exod. 20.33* *Num. 10. 11.* *Exod. 20.33* *Num. 9. 17.*

the Armie, or great Squadron of *Juda*, led by *Nashon*, taking the Vauanguard, followed by *Nethaneel* and *Eliab*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Issachar* and *Zabulon*: after whom the rest marched, as in the figure exprest. And because the passage through so many Desarts and Mountaines, was exceeding difficult: *Moses* leaving nothing unforethought which might serue for the advancement of his enterprize, he instantly intreated his Father-in-law, whom in the tenth of *Numbers* hee calleth *Hobab*, to accompanie them in their journey towards *Canaan*; promising him such part and profit of the enterprize, as God should bestow on them: for this man, as hee was of great vnderstanding and iudgement (as appeared by the Counsaile he gaue to *Moses* for the appointing of Iudges ouer the people) so was hee a perfect guide in all those parts, himselfe inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian*, or *Madian*: and (as it seemeth) a man of great yeeres and experience; for he was then the Priest or Prince of *Midian*, when *Moses* fled first out of *Egypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42. yeeres before this request made. And though *Moses* himselfe had liued 40. yeeres in these parts of *Arabia*, through which hee was now to trauell: yet the better to assure his passage, and so great a multitude of soules, which could not bee so few as a Million, it was necessarie to vse many guides, and many conductors. To this request of *Moses*, it may seeme by the places, *Exod. 18. 2. 7.* and *Num. 10. 30.* that *Hobab*, otherwise called *Hobab*, yielded not: for it is euident, that he went backe from *Moses* into his owne Countrie. But because it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the posteritie of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Israelites*, it is most likely that this his returne to his owne Countrie was rather to fetch away his familie, and to take his leaue of his owne Countrie, by setting things in order, than to abide there.

Judic. 1. 16. & 4.
1. 1. Allo. 1. Sam.
15. 6. And 2.
Reg. 10. 15.
1. Chron. 1. 55.
1er. 35.

§. III.

The voiage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cause of their turning backe to the red Sea.



FTER this dismissal of *Hobab*, *Israel* beganne to march towards the *Desarts of Paran*: and after three daies wandring, they sate downe at the *Sepalehers* of Iust, afterward called *Tabera*, or *Incenso*: by reason that God consumed with fire those Mutiners and Murmurers which rose vp in this remoue, which happened about the 23. day of the same Moneth. And from this 23. day of the second moneth, of the second yeere, they rested and fed themselves with Quailles (which it pleased God by a Sea-winde to cast vpon them) to the 24. day of the third moneth, to wit, all the moneth of *Sinan* or *Iane*: whereof surfaiting there died great numbers: from whence in the following moneth, called *Thamus*, answering to our *Iuly*, they went on to *Hazereth*, where *Miriam* 40 the sister of *Moses* was stricken with the leprosie, which continued vpon her seuen daies, after whose recovery *Israel* remoued toward the border of *Idumaea*; and incamped at *Rithma*, neere *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moses* sent the twelue discoverers into the Territorie of *Canaan*, both to informe themselves of the fertilitie and strength of the Countrie; as also to take knowledge of the Waies, Passages, Riuers, Fords, and Mountaines. For *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* surprised diuers companies of the *Israelites*, by lying in ambush neere those waies, through which the discoverers and searchers of the Land had formerly past. Now, after the returne of the discoverers of *Cades*, the wrath of God was turned against *Israel*: whose ingratitude and rebellion after His so many benefits, so many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliuerance from the *Egyptian* sla- 50 uerie, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible wilderness (for so *Moses* calleth it) with the victorie which hee gaue them against the powerfull *Amalekites*, to be no other then the effects of his hatred, thinking that hee led

Num. 11. & 33.
Num. 12.

Num. 21.

Deut. 1. v. 19.

Deut. 1. v. 27.

led them on and preserved them, but to bring them, their wiues, and children to be slaughtered, and giuen for a prey and spoile to the *Amorites* or *Canaanites*. For it was reported vnto them, by the searchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong Towers and Castles; that many of the people were *Giantlike* (for they confest that they saw the sonnes of *Anac*: there who were men of fearefull stature, and so farre ouer-topped the *Israelites*, as they appeared to them, and to themselves, but as *Grashoppers* in their respect. Now, as this mutinie exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to chooe them a Captaine (or as they call it now-a-daies, an *Electio*) to carry them 10 backe againe into *Egypt*; so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguisht euery soule of the whole multitude (*Iosua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promises, perswaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then neere it; and at the mountaine foote of *Idumaea*; which is but narrow, laying before them the fertilitie thereof; and assuring them of victorie. But as men, whom the passion of feare had bereaued both of reason and common sense, they threatened to stone these encouragers to death; accounting them as 20 men either desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the liues, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interpoling the feare of his bright glory betweene the vnadvised furie of the multitude, and the innocencie and constancie of his seruants, preserved them thereby from their violence; threatening an intire destruction of the whole Nation, by sending among them a consuming and mercilesse pestilence. For this was the tenth in- 30 surrection and rebellion, which they had made, since God deliuered them from the slaerie of the *Egyptians*. But *Moses* (the mildest or meekest of all men) praied vnto God to remember his infinite mercies; alledging, that this so seuer a iudgement, how deseruedly soeuer afflicted, would increase the pride of the Heathen Nations, and giue them occasion to vaunt, that the God of *Israel*, failing in power to performe his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitlesse Desarts. Yet as God is no lesse iust than merciful, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consu- 30 ming fire; the same being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude; & therefore, as with a hand lesse heauy than hoped for, he scourged this iniquitie, so by the measure of his glory (euermore iealous of neglect and desicion) he suffered not the wicked to passe vnpunished; reseruing his compassion for the innocent: whom, because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleased to preserve, and in them to performe his promises, which haue neuer bene frustrated.

Num. 14. 10.

Num. 14. v. 21.

Num. 12. v. 3.

§. IIII.

Of their unwillingnesse to returne: with the punishment thereof, and of diuers accidents in the returne.



OW when *Moses* had reuealed the purposes of God to the people, and made them know his heauie displeasure towards them, they beganne to bewaile themselves, though ouer-late: the times of grace and mens repentance, hauing also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselves, and was no more among them, after they had so often plaid and dallied with his mercifull sufferings, they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt: and make offer to enter the Land contrarie againe to the aduice of *Moses*, who assured them, 50 that God was not now among them; and that the Arke of his couenant should not moue, but by His direction, who could not erre; and that the enemies sword which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no lesse sharpe than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites*, and *Canaanites* no lesse cruel. But as men from whom God hath with-drawne his grace, doe alwaies follow those counsells which carrie them

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them to their own destructions: so the *Hebrewes*, after they had forsaken the opportunity by God and their Conductors offered: and might then have entered *India* before their enemies were prepared and joyned; did afterward, contrarie to Gods commaundement, vnder take the enterprise of themselves; and ranne headlong and without aduice into the mountaines of *Idumaea*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being joyned and attending their aduantage, set on them, brake them: and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part: and following their victorie and pursuite, consumed them all the way of their flight even vnto *Hormab*: the *Amalekites* in reuenge of their former losse, and ouerthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to prevent their displantation and destruction threatned. Of which power, full assemblie of those two Nations (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings joyned together for their common safetie) it pleased God to forwarne *Moses*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commaunded him to returne by those painefull passages of the Desarts, through which they had formerly trauelled, till they found the banks of the red Sea againe: in which retraite before they came backe to passe ouer *Jordan*, there were consumed 38. yeeres; and the whole number of the sixe hundredth and odde thousand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moses*, *Ioshua* and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wilderness, the stubborne and carelesse generations were wholly worne out, and the promised Land bestowed on their children; which were increased to 600000. and 20 more. For besides the double fault both of refusing to enter the Land vpon the returne of the discouersers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatrie of worshipping *Moloch*, and the Host of heauen. For although *Moses* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and so doth the Martyr *Stephen*, as also that the *Isra.* elites worshipped the Sunne and Moone in after-times; it is proued out of sundry other places.

Now after the broken companies were returned to the Campe at *Cades*, *Moses*, according to the commaundement received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recover the shoares of the Red Sea. And so from *Cades* or *Rithma* he remooued to *Remmanparez*, so called of abundance of Pomegranates there found and diuided among them. From thence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frankincense there found. From *Libnah* hee crost the valley, and fate downe at *Reffa*, neere the foote of the mountaine. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the West, and incamped at *Ceclata*; where one of the *Hebrewes*, for gathering broken wood on the Sabbath, was stoned to death. After which, *Moses* alwaies keeping the valley, between two great ledges of mountaines (those which bound the Desart of *Sin*, and those of *Pharan*) crost the same from *Ceclata*, and marched Eastward to the mountaine of *Saffer*, or *Sepher*: this making the Twentieth mansion. From thence he passed on to *Harada*; then to *Maeloth*; 40 and then to *Thabab*; & so to *Thara* or *Thare*: the foure & twentieth mansion. Where while *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutinie of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; who for their contempt of God and his Ministers, were some of them swallowed vp alive, and by the earth opening her mouth deuoured; others, euen two hundred and fiftie which offered incense with *Korah*, were consumed with fire from heauen; & 14700. of their partie, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest maruailes and iudgements of God, that hath bene shewed in all the time of *Moses* his gouernment, or before. For among so great a multitude, those lay-men who would haue vsurped Ecclesiasticall authoritie, were suddenly swallowed vp alive into the earth with their families and goods; euen while they sought to ouerthrow the Order, Discipline, and power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the High Priest and Magistrate, to whom God had committed the gouernment both of his Church and Common-weale of his people. And the bet-

Amos. 5. v. 15.
Ab. 1. 7. v. 40.
1. Kings. 17.
v. 16. & cap. 22.
v. 3. & cap. 24.
v. 22.
2. Chron. 33. v. 3.
Hierom. 6. 19.
v. 13. & c.

Num. 33.

ter to assure the people, and out of his great mercie to confirme them, it pleased him in this place also to approue by miracle the former election of his seruant *Aaron*, by the twelue rods giuen in by the Heads of the twelue Tribes; of which *Moses* receiued one of euerie Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and drie Wands, and on euerie rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aarons* on that of *Leui*; it pleased God, that the rod of *Aaron* receiued by his power a vegetable Spirit, and hauing laine in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before the Ark one night, had on it both Buddes, Bloffomes, and ripe Almonds.

10 From *Tharab* the whole Armie remoued to *Meibra*; and thence to *Ejmona*; and thence to *Moseroth*, (or *Masurit* after *S. Hierome*) and from *Moseroth* to *Lenecianan*; and so to *Gadgad*, which *Hierome* calleth *Gadgad*; thence to *Jetabata*, the thirtieth Mansion; where from certaine fountaines of water gathered in one, *Adrichomius* maketh a Riuer, which falleth into the Red Sea, betwene *Madian* and *Ajsongaber*.

Now although it be very probable, that at *Ajsongaber*, where *Salomon* furnished his Fleetes for the East India: there was store of fresh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great Riuer in Arabia the *sunne*, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (saith hee) the inhabitants conueigh water in pipes of leather to other places, by which device the King of Arabia relieved the Armie of *Cambyses*: yet is *Adrichomius* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding these springs at *Gadgad*, or *Jetabata*, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Mansion. For it was at *Punon*, that those Springs are spoken of, which in *Deut.* the 10. v. 7. is also called *Jetabata*, or *Isibath*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the Riuer *Zared*, the next adioyning. And that these Springs should fall into the Red Sea, at *Ajsongaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot beleue, for the way is very long. And this I finde in *Belonius*, that there are diuers Torrents of fresh water in those sandie parts of Arabia: which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunke vp by the hot and thirstie sand, before they can recover the banks of the Red Sea.

From *Jetabata*, *Moses* directed his journey towards the Red Sea, and incamped at *Hebronan*, and from thence to *Ejsongaber*: which Citie in *Iosephus* time had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hierom*s *Ejsia*. From thence keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as he was by God commanded: *Ejsongaber* being the farthest place towards the South-East, that *Moses* traauelled in that passage.

It seemeth that *Ejsongaber* or *Ajsongaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian* were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is said, That the Lord spake vnto *Moses* and *Aaron* in the Mount *Hore*; neere the coast of the Land of *Edom*; so as the Mount *Hore* was at this time in the South border of *Idumaea*. And if *Ejsongaber*, and the other places neere the Red Sea, had at this present been subiect to the *Idumaeans*, *Moses* would also haue demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumaeans* obtained those places: for it is said, And they arose out of *Midian*, and came to *Pharan*, and tooke men with them; which were those companies that followed yong *Aad* of *Idumaea*, into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Isab*. Likewise it is said of *Salomon*, that he made a Nautie of ships in *Ejsongaber* besides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*.

¶ V.

Of *Moses* arrivall at *Zim Kades*: and the accidents while they abode there.

10 From *Ejsongaber* he turned againe towards the North, and pitched in the Wilderness of *Zim*, which is *Kadesh*: or in *Beroth*, of the children of *Isaac*; where they fate downe in the first Moneth of the fortieth yeere after they left *Egypt*. For at the next Mansion *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeere: the nine and thir-

ty

tieth

Num. 20. 1.

Num. 20. 3.

Num. 20. 9.

2553.

Num. 33.

tieth yeere taking end at *Ezionabab*. And at this Citie of *Cades* (for so it was thought to be) or nere it, died *Miriam* or *Mary*, *Moses* sister, whose Sepulchre was to be seen in Saint *Ethermes* time, as himselfe auoweth. From hence ere they departed to the Mountaine *Hor*, all the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scaritie of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heauen; by being deuoured and swallowed vp by the earth; by the fudden pestilence, which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the loue or wrath of God, could preuaile with this Nation any longer, than while they were filled and satisfied in euery of their appetites: but in stead of seeking for helpe and reliefe at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and calling vngratefully on *Moses* all their misaduentures; yea, though they well knew that their owne Fathers had left their bodies in the Desarts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth yeere, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in the light of the Land promised, they againe as oblatinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded *Moses* to strike a Rocke adioyning with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattell were satisfied. Neuertheless, because God perceived a kinde of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron*, at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might inuite them. But it pleased Him to end the troubles of *Aaron* at the Mountaine *Hor*, being the next, and foure and thirtieth Station. At which Mountaine of *Hor*, *Aaron* was depouled of the Garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on *Eleazar* his Sonne, as God had commanded. Which done, *Moses* and *Eleazar* descended the Mountaine; but God receiued *Aaron* on the top thereof, and hee was no more seene.

Of this Mountaine called *Hor*, otherwile *Mosera*, as in *Deuter. 10. vers. 6.* those *Horites* tooke name, which the *Idumeans* had formerly vanquished. Some there are, which make *Mosera*, which was the seuen and twentieth Mansion; and *Mosera* which they write *Moseroth* for difference, which was the foure and thirtieth Mansion, and is also called *Hor*, to betwo distinct places: because *Moses* in passing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Ezionabab*, incamped at *Mosera*, after he departed from *Hefmona*, and before hee came to *Beniacan*. And this *Mosera*, which is also called *Hor*, he came vnto after hee left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moses* sister died; the first being the seuen and twentieth, and the second being the foure and thirtieth Mansion. But for *Hor*, which is also called *Mosera*, it should haue beene written, *Hor iuxta Mosera*; *Hor* neere *Mosera*: for it is but one roote of a Mountaine, diuided into diuers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horib* are: Whereof the West part *Moses* calleth *Mosera*, and the East part *Horib*. By the West part *Moses* encamped, as he past towards the *Red Sea*, on his left hand; by the East part, as hee went backe againe North-wards towards *Moab*: as in the description of *Moses* his passage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceiue.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moses* sent Messengers to the Prince of *Idumaea*, praying him that hee might passe with the people of *Israel* through his Territorie into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the neereist way of all other from the Citie of *Kadesh*, where *Moses* then encamped; whereas otherwile taking his iourney by the Riuers of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and *Iordan*, hee might haue runne into many bazzards in the passage of those Riuers, the farre way about, and the many powerfull Kings, which commaunded in those Regions. Now the better to perswade the Prince of *Idumaea* hereunto, *Moses* remembered him, that hee was of the same race and familie with *Israel*: calling him by the name of Brother, because both the

Edomites

Edomites and *Israelites* were the Sonnes of one Father, to wit, *Isaac*; inferring thereby, that hee had more reason to fauour and respect them, than hee had to assault the *Canaanites*; against whom *Esaus* his Ancestor had made warre, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient races descended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Scir*, calling it by his owne name *Edom*, or *Edumaea*. Hee also making a short repetition of Gods blessings bestowed on them, and of his purposes and promises; assured *Edom*, or the King thereof, that hee would not way offend his people, or waste his Countrey, but that hee would retrain his Armie within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high wayes, paying money for whatsoever hee vsed, yea, euen for the water, which themselves or their Cattell should drinke. For *Moses* was commaunded by God, not to provoke the children of *Esaus*. But the King of *Edumaea* knowing the strength of his owne Countrey, the same being neere *Canaan*, rampard with high and sharpe mountaines: and without susppecting, as a naturall wise man, that 600000. strangers being once entred his Countrey, it would rest in their wills to giue him law, resolutely refused them passage, and deliuered this answer to the Messengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, hee would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible meane. And not knowing whether such a deniall might satisfie or exasperate, hee gathered the strength of his Countrey together, and shewed himselfe prepared to defend their passage. For, as it is written; Then *Edom* came out against him (to wit, *Moses*) with much people, and with a mighty power. Whereupon *Moses* considering, that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of *Seir* or *Edumaea*, and that the Land promised was that of *Canaan*: like vnto himselfe who was of a naturall vnderstanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of warre that the world had, hee refused to aduenture the Armie of *Israel* against a Nation, which being ouer-come, gaue but a passage to invade others; and which by reason of the seate of their mountainous Countrey, could not but haue endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of *Israel*, and rendred them lesse able, if not altogether powerlesse, to haue conquered the rest.

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p. VI.

Of their compassing *Idumaea*, and trauielling to *Arnon*, the border of *Moab*.



Et therefore leauing the way of *Idumaea*, turned himselfe towards the East, and marched towards the Desarts of *Moab*. Which when *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* vnderstood, and that *Moses* had blanced the way of *Edumaea*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Israel* aimed at, hee thought it safest, rather to finde his enemies in his neighbours Countrey, than to be found by them in his owne: which he might haue done with a farre greater hope of victorie, had *Moses* bene enforst first to haue made his way by the sword through *Idumaea*, and thereby though victorious, greatly haue lessened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwile than *Arad* hoped for, yet being resolute to make triall, what courage the *Israelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came neerer his owne home, leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Desert, hee set vpon some part of the Armie; which, for the multitude occupied a great space, and for the many herds of Cattell that they draue with them, could not encampe so neere together, but that some quarter or other was cuer-more subiect to surpris. By which aduantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance vnexpected, he slew some few of the *Israelites*, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predecessour, which

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NUM. 14. 45.

ioyned his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gaue an ouerthrow to those mutinous *Israelites*, which without direction from God by *Moses* would haue entred *Canaan* from *Cadesbarne*. For it seemeth that the greatit number of that Armie were of the *Canaanites*, becaufe in the first of *Deuteron. 44.* the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are said to haue beaten the *Israelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if hee were the same that had a victory ouer *Israel*, neere *Cadesbarne*, or if it were his Predecessour that then preuailed, this man finding that *Moses* was returned from the *Red Sea*, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was first to bee inuaded, and in danger of beeing conquered, not knowing of *Moses* purpose to compass *Moab*, determined while he was yet in the Desert to trie the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the third verse of the twelfth Chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Israelites* vterly destroyed the *Canaanites* and their Cities, they are much mistaken that thinke, that this destruction was presently performed by the *Israelites*. But it is to be vnderstood, to haue bene done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Iosua*. For had *Moses* at this time entred *Canaan* in the pursuit of *Arad*, hee would not haue fallen backe againe into the Desarts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and haue fetcht a wearisome and needelesse compasse, by the Riuer of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

NUM. 33. 40.

Neither is their coniecture to bee valued at any thing, which affirme, that *Arad* did not inhabit any part of *Canaan* it selfe, but that his Territorie lay without, and neere the Mountain *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin* Cades were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt: which South part of *Canaan* was the North part of *Edom*.

Again, *Horma* (for so farre the *Israelites* after their victory pursued the *Canaanites*) is located in the South of *Iudaea*. There is also a Citie of that name in *Simen*. But there is no such place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutinie which followed presently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to prooue, that the same was obtained in the future, and in *Iosua* his time, and not at the instant of *Arads* assault. For had the *Israelites* at this time sackt the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day haue complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also water, and bread. But it was in the time of *Iosua*, that the *Israelites* tooke their reuenge, and after they had past *Jordan*: *Iosua* then gouerning them; who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verse, nameth this *Arad* by the name of his Citie so called; and with him the King of *Horma*: to which place the *Israelites* pursued the *Canaanites*. And hee nameth them amongst those Kings, which hee vanquished, and put to death.

Now after this assault and surpris by *Arad*, *Moses* finding that all entrance on that side was defended, heeled the people Eastward to compass *Idumaea* and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the Plaines of *Moab*, at that time in the possession of the *Amorites*. But the *Israelites*, to whom the very name of a Desert was terrible, began againe to rebell against their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents, (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whose venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentifull grace cured them againe by their beholding an artificiall Serpent, by his Commandement set vp.

From the Mount *Hor*, *Moses* leauing the ordinarie way which lyeth betweene the *Red Sea*, and *Callosyria*, encamped at *Zalmone*: and thence hee remooued to *Phunon*, where hee erected the Brazen Serpent; making theie journeyes by the edge of *Edumaea*, but without it. For *Phunon* was sometime a principall Citie of the *Edumites*. Now where it is written in *Numbers 21. Verse 4.* That from Mount *Hor* they departed by the way of the *Red Sea*, which grieved the people, it was not thereby meant that the *Israelites* turned backe towards the *Red Sea*; neither

neither did they march (according to *Fonseca*) *per viam, qua habet à l'extremite rubrum*; By the way that sided the *Red Sea*, but in decde they croit, and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Trachonitis*, and the Countries of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is, to *Ejiongaber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*: which way, as it lay North and South, so *Israel* to flunne the border of *Edom*, and to take the vtmost East part of *Moab*, croit the common way towards the East, and then they turned againe towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*; where they entred the Territory of *Moab*, adioyning to the Land of *Sapha*, a Countrey bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Manzion, that is, where the Mountaines so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mountures of Hills, on the East border of *Moab*; From thence they recouered *Dibon Gad*, or the Riuer of *Zared*, which riseth in the mountaines of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not farre from *Petra* the Metropolis thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And hauing past that Riuer, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblahaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Hieremie* the Prophet *e. 48. v. 22.* calleth the House of *Diblahaim*, the same which afterward was destroyed among the rest by *Nabuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the Riuer of *Arnon*, and encamped in the mountaines of *Abarim*: though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moses* doth not remember *Heimen diblahaim*, but speaketh of his remooue from the Riuer of *Zared*, immediately to the other side of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, betweene them and the *Amorites*: speaking, as hee found the state of the Countrie at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Moabites*, by *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*: euen from the Predecessour of *Salas Peor* then reigning. From *Diblahaim*, *Moses* sent Messengers to *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, to desire a passage through his Countrie: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to giue a reason to the neighbour Nations, of the warre hee vnderooke. And though *Edom* had refused him as *Sehon* did, yet hee had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moses* also in sending messengers to *Sehon*, obserued the same precept, which he left to his posteritie, and successors, for a law of the war, namely in *Deut. 20. v. 10.* in these words, *When thou comest neere vnto a Citie to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace, which if it doe accept of and open vnto thee, then let all the people found therein bee tributaries vnto thee, and serue thee; but if it refuse, &c. thou shalt smite all the males thereof with the edge of the sword.* Which ordinance all Commanders of Armies haue obserued to this day, or ought to haue done.

§. VII.

Of the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this storie, and of other Bookes mentioned in Scripture which are lost.



Now concerning the Warre betweene *Israel* and *Sehon*, *Moses* seemeth to referre a great part of this storie to that Booke, entituled, *Liber bellorum Domini*, The booke of Gods battailes: and therefore passeth ouer many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater breuitie in this place. His wordes after the *Geneus* translation are these. *Wherefore it shall be spoken in the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, what things hee did in the Red Sea, and in the Riuer of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* copie differeth not in sense from this: But the *Greeke Septuagint* varie. For the *Greeke* writes it to this effect; *For thus it is said* Of the countie of *Sapha* see more Chap. 10 §. 4. 1. 2. of * *Sapha*, a Countrey bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the East, as hee coniectureth, The Text hee readeth thus. *Idcirco dici solet in recensione bellorum Iehoua, contra VAREBIM in Regione SVPH: & contra flumina, flumina Arnonis; Therefore it is spoken*

spoken in repeating of the battailes of *IEMOAH*, against *VAMEB* in the Countrey of *SYPH*: and against the *Riuers*, the *Riuers* of *Arnon*. In which words he vnderstands, that amongst the Warres which the Lord disposed for the good of the *Israelites*, there was in those times a famous memory in the mouth of most men, concerning the Warre of *Sehon* against *Vahab*, the King of the *Moabites*, and of his winning the Countrey neere *Arnon*, out of the possession of the *Moabites*. For this *Vahab* was the immediate Predecessour of *Balac*, who liued with *Moses*: though it be written that this *Balac* was the sonne of *Zippor*, and not of *Vahab*. For it seemes (as it is plain in the succession of the *Edemites*) that these Kingdomes were electiue, and not successiue. And as *Iustus* in this translation vnderstandeth no special Booke of the battailes of the Lord: so others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any special Booke bee meant; and if any; whether it bee not a prediction of Warres in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the booke of *Judges*. *Siracides* c. 46. tells vs plainly, that those battailes of the Lord were fought by *IOVA*. Who was there (saith he) before him like to him? for he fought the battailes of the Lord. But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often passe ouer matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other Bookes, written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable, that such a booke as this there was; wherein the seuerall victories by *Israel* obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the *Israelites*, were particularly and largely so written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with diuine discourse, haue perished in the long race of time, or haue been destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrate. For the bookes of *Hierome*, howsoever they haue been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembered in an Epistle of *Thaddeus*, and cited by *Origen* and *Ambrose*, and by *Tertullian*.

That worke also of the Patriarch *Abraham*, of *Formation*, which others bestow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The bookes remembered by *Iosua* c. 10. v. 13. and in the second of *Samuel* c. 1. v. 18. called the Booke of *Iasher*, or *Iustorum*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sunne and Moone in the midst of the Heauens is recorded, and how they stood still till *Israel* had augmented themselves of their enemies: out of which also *David* tooke the precept, of teaching the children of *Juda*, to exercise their bowes against their enemies.

Some thinke this to be the booke of eternall Predestination, in which the iust are written, according to the 69. *Psalm*, v. 28. where it is said, *Let them be put out of the booke of life, neither let them bee written with the righteous*. *Hierome* thinks, that *David* by this booke vnderstood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Salomon*, that the bookes of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the iust *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moses*, are written; others, that it was the booke of *Exodus*; others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a Commentary vpon *Iosua*, by an vknowne Author.

The booke of *Chozai*, concerning *Manasse*, remembered in the second of *Chron.* 33. v. 18. & 16. Of this booke, also lost, *Hierome* conceiues that the Prophet *Isey* was the Author.

The same mischance came aswell to the Story of *Salomon*, written by *Abia Silonites*, who met with *Jeroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdome of *Israel* from the sonne of *Salomon*: as to the bookes of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Ieda* the Seer, remembered in the second of *Chron.* c. 9. v. 29. with these haue the bookes of *Sherataiah* and of *Iado*, remembered in the second of *Chron.* c. 12. v. 15. perished: and that of *Iehu* the sonne of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Iehoshaphat*, cited in the second of *Chron.* c. 20. v. 34. Also that booke of *Salomon* which the *Hebrewes* write *Hajcirim*, of 5000. verses, of which that part called *Canticum Cantorum* onely remaineth, *1 Kings* 4. 32. and with this diuers other of *Salomons* workes haue perished, as his booke of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, &c. *1 King* 4. 33. with therest remembered by *Origen*, *Iosephus*, *Hierome*, *Cedrenus*, *Cicero*, *Aulanus*, *Picus*, *Mirandula*, and others.

Of these and other bookes many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnessar* burnt the Temple of *Hierusalem*. But let vs returne thither where we left.

§. VIII.

Of *Moses* his spaying the issue of *Lot*; and of the Giants in those parts; and of *Sehon* and *OG*.



Hen *Moses* had past *Arnon*, hee incamped on the other side thereof at *Abarim*, opposite to the Citie of *Nebo*, leauing the Citie of *Midian* on his left hand, and attempting nothing vpon the *Moabites* on that side. For *Moab* did at this time inhabit on the South side of *Arnon*, hauing loit all his ancient and best Territories, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to prouoke them to battaile, God hauing giuen that Land to the children of *Lot*; the same which was anciently posselt by the *Emims*, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those Giants called *Anakims*, or the sonnes of *Anac*.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummins*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the East of *Jordan*, euen to the Desart of *Arabia*, as well on the West, as on the East side of the Mountaines of *Gilead*, were inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the *Israelites* did not at any time passe those Mountaines to the East of *Basan*, but left their Countrey to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We finde also, that as there were many Giants both before and after the flood: so these Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it selfe, had among them many families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the Citie of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Iosua* is called the Father of the *Anakims*; and the greatest man of the *Anakims*. There had also beene Giants in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*; and their chiefe Citie was *Arcoer* or *Ar*, neere the Riuer of *Arnon*. To the Giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gaue the name of *Zamzummins*; which were of the same ancient *Cananites*: and their chiefe Citie was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphias*. They were also called *Zuzims*, which is as much to say, as *Viri robusti*, horrendi, Gigantes, Strong men, and fearefull Giants, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Ham*, in the same Prouince, and not farre to the North of *Arcoer*.

Now *Moses* hauing past *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abarim*; and hauing (as before) sent to *Sehon*, as hee had done to *Edom*, to pray a passage through his Countrey, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proude by his former conquest vpon *Vahab* the *Moabite*, which Nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as strangers and vsurers, (themselues being of the sonnes of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way; and withall prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speed as he could, because *Moses* incamped in the Countrey of his new conquests, to wit, the Plaines of *Moab*, the two and fortieth and last Mansion: which *Moses* waded with the multitude of his people, and cattell. Towards him therefore hasting him selfe, they encountered each other at *Iabaz*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and discomfited: and the victorie so pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. Hee also slaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which hee found in *Esebon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as those of *Basan* also were: and defended of *Amoreus* or *Amoreus*: for *Moses* calleth the *Basanites* also *Amorites*. And although *Israel* might now haue taken a ready way and passage into *Judaea*: being at this time, and after this victorie at the banks of *Jordan*: yet hee knew it to bee perilous

Dut. 1. v. 9. &
10. 11. & 12.

10. 11. v. 13. &
14. v. 15.

Dut. 1. v. 8.

Num. 21. 26.

Chron. 1. 1. 1.

Hieron. in quest.
super lib. Regum.

Hieron. in annot.
in Paralip.

perilous to leaue so great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his backe, as inhabited all the Region of *Bajan* or *Traconitis*: and therefore he led on his Armie to invade *Og*: a person of exceeding strength and stature: and the only man of mark remaining of the ancient Giants of those parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defended: lying betwene the mountaine of *Hermon* (which mountaine saith *Moses*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites* *Shenir*) and the Riuer of *Iordan*. And it befell vnto the King of *Bajan* (who attended *Moses* coming at *Edrei*) as it did vnto *Sihon*: for he and his sonnes perished, and all his Cities were taken and posselt. After this, *Moses* with-drawing himselfe backe againe to the mountaines of *Abarim*, left the persecution of that warre vnto *Jair* the sonne of *Mansse*: 10 who conquering the East parts of *Bajan*, to wit, the Kingdome of *Argob*, euen vnto the Nations of the *Gessuri* and *Macchati*, 60. walled Cities: called the same after his owne name *Hanoth Jair*: of all which conquests afterward the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* posselt the North part as farre as *Edrei*, but the East part that belonged to *Sihon* the *Amorite*, with the mountaines of *Gilead* adioyning, was given to *Reuben* and *Gad*.

§. IX.

Of the troubles about the *Midianites*, and of *Moses* his death.

20



FTER these victories, and while *Israel* sojourned in the valley of *Moab*, the *Midianites* and *Moabites* (ouer both which Nations it seemeth that *Balaam* King of the *Moabites* then commanded in chiefe) fought, according to the aduice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the *Hebrewes* to the loue of their daughters, and by perswading them to honour and serue their Idols, to diuide them both in Loue and Religion among themselves: thereby the better both to defend their owne interest against them, as also to beate them out of *Moab*, and the Countries adioyning. The *Israelites* as they had euer bene inclined, so were they now easily perswaded to these euill courses, and thereby drew on 30 themselves the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished 24000. persons: besides which punishment of God, the most of the offenders among the *Hebrewes*, were by his commandment put to the sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas*, the sonne of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simeonites*, together with *Cosbi* a Daughter of one of the chiefe of the *Midianites*, the plague ceased, and Gods wrath was appeased. For such was the loue and kindnesse of his all-powerfulnesse, respecting the ardent zeale of *Phineas* in prosecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chiefe among the *Hebrewes* became an Idolater) as hee forgaued the rest of *Israel*, and staied his hand for his sake.

Num. 25. v. 9.

Num. 26. v. 51.

Num. 31. v. 8.

Ios. 13. v. 21.

Cap. 13. v. 21.

Deut. 31. v. 2.

In this valley it was that *Moses* caused the people to be numbered the third time: 40 and there remained of able men fit to beare armes, 601730. of which as his last enterprise, he appointed 12000. to bee chosen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who together with the *Moabites* practised with *Balaam* to curse *Israel*: and after that sought to allure them (as before remembered) from the worship of the true God, to the seruice of *Beth-Peor*: and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatrie. Ouer which companies of 12000. *Moses* gaue the charge to *Phineas*, the sonne of *Eleazar* the high Priest: who slew the five Princes of the *Midianites*, which were, or had lately bene, the vassalls of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Iosuah*. These five Princes of the *Midianites* slaine by *Eleazar*, were at this time but the vassalls of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Eui*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Reba*, the Dukes of *Sehon*, saith *Iosua*. Hee slew also all the 50 men, male-children, and women: sauing such as had not yet ved the companie of men, but those they saued and disperst them among the children of *Israel* to serue them.

And *Moses* hauing now liued 120. yeeres, making both his owne weaknesse of body

body knowne to the people, and his vnabilitie to trauaile: and also that he was fore-Deut. 31. v. 2. warned of his ende by the spirit of God: from whom hee receiued a new commandment to ascend the Mountaines of *Abarim*, and thereon to render vp his life: Hee halsted to settle the Government in *Iosua*: whom hee perswaded with most liuely arguments to prosecute the conquest begunne, assuring him of Gods fauour and assistance therein. And so hauing spent these his later dayes after the Conquest of *Og* and *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and expolition of the Law (or an iteration of the Law, according to *S. Augustine*) vling both arguments, prayers, and threats vnto the people: which hee often repeated vnto them; thereby to confirme them in knowledge, loue, feare, and seruice, of the all-powerfull God: Hee Deut. 33. blessed the twelue Tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with seuerall and most comfortable blessings: praising the greatnesse and goodnesse of him, vnto whom in his prayers hee commended them: Hee also commanded the Priests to lay vp the booke of the Law, by the side of the Arke of God: The last that hee indited was that Prophetical Song, beginning: *Hearken yee Heauens and sayill Speake, and let the earth heare the word of my mouth*: and being called by God from the labours and sorrows of this life, vnto that rest which neuer afterward hath disquiet, hee was buried in the Land of *Moab*, ouer against *Beth-peor*: but no man knoweth of his Sepulchre to this day, which happened in the yeere of the World 2554.

Deut. 33. v. 1.

Deut. 34. v. 6.

§. X.

Observations out of the Storie of *Moses*, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.



OW let vs a little, for instruction, looke backe to the occasions of fundrie of the great euents, which haue bene mentioned in this Storie of the life of *Moses*, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promise, and fore-choise of this people) hee wrought in all things else by the medium of mens affections, and naturall appetites. And so we shall find that the feare which *Pharao* had of the increase of the *Hebrewes*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cause of the sorrowes and losse, which befell himselfe, and the *Egyptian* Nation: which numbers when he sought by cruell and vngodly policies to cut off and lessen, as when hee commanded all the male-children of the *Hebrewes* to be slaine, God (whose prouidence cannot bee resisted, nor his purposes preuented by all the foolish and sinfull craft of mortall men) moued compassion in the heart of *Pharao*'s owne Daughter, to preferre that child, which afterward became the most wife, and of all men the most gentle and milde, 40 the most excellently learned in all Diuine and Humane knowledge, to be the Conductor and deliuerer of his oppressed Brethren, and the ouerthrow of *Pharao*, and all the flower of his Nation: euen then, when he sought by the strength of his men of Warre, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them vnder and burie them in the dust. The griefe which *Moses* conceiued of the iniuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrewes* in his owne presence, moued him to take reuenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his owne Nation, by threatening him to discover the slaughter of the *Egyptian*, moued him to sleight into *Midian*: the contention betwene the sheepe-herds of that place, and *Israhel*'s Daughters, made him knowne to their Father: who not onely entertained him, but married him to one of 50 those Sisters: and in that solitarie life of keeping of his Father in lawes sheepe, farre from the presse of the world, contenting himselfe (though bred as a Kings Sonne) with the lot of a poore Herd-fman, God found him out in that Desert, wherein hee first iustified him to liue many yeeres, the better to know the wayes and passages through which hee purposed that hee should conduct his people, toward the Land promised:

promised: and therein appearing vnto him, he made him know his Will and diuine Pleasure for his returne into *Egypt*. The like may be said of all things else, which *Moses* afterward by Gods direction performed in the Storie of *Israel* before remembered. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seeme vnto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence: but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many yeeres after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the *Israelites* had dealing after
their coming out of *Egypt*; and of the men of re-
nowne in other Nations, about the times of
MOSES and *IOSVA*, with the summe
of the Historie of
IOSVA.

§. I.

How the Nations with whom the *Israelites* were to haue warre, were
diuers wayes, as it were, prepared to be their
enemies.



* It seemeth also that *Ios*, the Sonne of *Nachor*, & *Euz*, his Brother, planted themselves in the Eastside of *Jordan*, about *Basans*: where they finde the Land of *Huain* in which both *Ios* dwelt, as one of the issue of *Itho* the Sonne of *Nachor*, and *E-thu*, his friend, which is called a *Buxit*. See hereafter *Chap. 10. §. 7.*

In like manner if we looke to the qualitie of the Nations, with whom the *Israelites*, after their coming out of *Egypt*, had to doe, either in the *Wildernesse*, or afterward: we shall finde them long before-hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmitie: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of *Canaan*, or at least of *Ham*: and the rest (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Ismaelites*) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: 40 whereas the *Israelites* still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diuersitie in Religion, were these Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the *Israelites*: and so to serue for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, we must vnderstand that this part of *Syria* bounded by the mountaines of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the same mountaines continued as farre as the Springs of *Arnon* on the East: by the way of *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea* on the South: and by the *Mediterran Sea* on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the sonnes of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but those of *Sem*, were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with * one familie, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part were the *Canaanites*, the ancient Lords and Possessors of those Territories: by proceffe of time diuided into seuerall families and names: whereof some

some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamzummims*, or *Zuzets*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. These (as men most valiant and able commonly doe) did inhabit the vtter borders and mountaines of their Countries: the rest were the *Zidonians*, *Iebusites*, *Amorites*, *Heuites*, *Heites*, and others, who tooke name after the sonnes of *Canaan*, and after whom the Countrie in general was still called.

As for the *Hebrewes* which descended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another familie, and strangers in that Countrie: especially the *Israelites*, and this was some cause that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or indure them: no more then the *Philistims* did, who descended also of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham* himselfe being a stranger was highly esteemed and honoured among them: especially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the West part of *Jordan*: yet now euen they which descended from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the *Israelites*: as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the rest of the issue of *Cham*, with whom they dayly contracted affinity: than of their olde pedigree from *Abraham*.

True it is that these Nations descended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred, who had linked themselves and matched with the *Canaanites* and others, had so farre posst themselves of the borders of those Regions, as they began to bee equal in strength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not superiour. For of *Lot* came those two great families of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: of *Esa* the *Edumeans*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Ismael*, the eldest son of *Abraham*, came the *Ismaelites*, with whom are ioyned as of the same nation, the *Amalekites*, whom though the more common opinion thinketh to haue been a tribe of *Edom*, because *Esa* had a grand-child of that name, yet manifest reason conuinceth it to haue been otherwise. For the *Israelites* were forbidden to prouoke the *Edomites*, or doe them any wrong, whereas contrariwise *Amalek* was cursed, and endless warre decreed against him: but hercof more elsewhere. Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Ismaels* eldest Sonne *Ysachar* sprung the *Arabians* of *Petrea*, called *Nabatani*. Now euen as *Abraham* besought God to blesse *Ismael*, so it

pleased him both to promise and performe it. For of him those twelve Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land betwene *Hanilah* vpon *Tigris*, and *Sur* which is the West part of the Desert of *Arabia Petrea*. Yet howsoever the strength of these later named nations, which descended from *Abraham*, were great: yet it is not vnlkely, but that some reason which moued them not to fauour the entrance of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*, was in respect of feare: because all Princes and States doe not willingly permit any stranger or powerfull Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these families beforenamed, were not so vnited, in and among themselves, but that they had their ieaousies of each other, and 40 contended for Dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood a-part or vnited, they were taught by the care of their owne preservation, to ioynne themselves together against *Israel*: though they did it nothing so maliciously and resolutely as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Edumeans* only denied the *Hebrewes* a passage: which the *Moabites* durst not denie: because their Countrie lay more open; and because themselves had lately beene beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites*, their Countrie lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of *Sehon* and *Og* Kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and besides that, the border of the *Ammonites* was strong, by reason of the mountaines which diuided it from *Basan*. Again, that which moued the 50 *Moabites* in their owne reason not much to interrupt *Israel*, in the conquest of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his Confederat, was that the *Moabites* might hope after such time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moses*, that themselves might recouer againe their owne inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plaines lying betwene the mountaines of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: But as soone as *Sehon* was slaine, and that the King of *Moab*,

Moshe, *Balaam*, perceived that *Moses* allotted that valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Ruben*, he began to practise with *Balaam* against *Israel*, and by the Daughters of *Midian*; as aforefaide, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at length the *Moabites* by speciall location were more and more stirred up to enmitie against *Israel*. And as for diuers of the rest that were descended from *Abrahams* kindred, wee may note, how in the beginning, betwene the Authors of their Pettigrees, God permitted some enmities to be as it were prefaces of future quarrells, which in the posteritie might bee the easier incensed, by the memorie of olde grudges: and withall by some disdain from the elder in nature to the younger. For the *Ismaelites* being descended from the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldest sonne of *Isaac*, *Isach*, being but a second sonne, of a second brother, those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses being naturall men, might scorne to giue place, much lesse to subiect themselves, to their inferiours, as they tooke it, and for a more aggravation the issues of *Eisau* Princes of *Edomea*, might keepe in record that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by *Jacobs* taking his advantage, and that he was deceived of his Fathers blessings also by him: and that *Jacob* after reconciliation came not vnto him as he promised into *Seir* or *Idumea*.

So also in the posteritie of *Ismael*, it might remaine as a seede or pretence of enmitie, that their fore-father was by the instigation of *Sara*, cast out into the *Desarts*, with his Mother *Hagar*: and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angel to relieue them. *Ismael* also had an *Egyptian* both to his Mother and to his Wife: and *Amalec* was also an *Horite* by his Mother: which *Horites* were of the ancient *Canaanites*. The *Edumeans* also, or *Edomites*, were by their Maternall line descended of the *Canaanites*. For *Eisau* took two Wiues of that Nation: one of them was *Adath*, the Daughter of *Eloah*, the *Hittite*, and the other *Abolihamah*, the grand-child of *Zibeon* the *Heutite*, Lord of *Seir*, before the same was conquered by *Eisau*, and called after his name, *Edom*, or *Edumea*.

Lastly, it appeareth that all those families of the *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in processe of time corrupted, and drawne from the knowledge and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conuersion of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those Wiues of the *Canaanites* which they had married: onely a few of the *Kenites* and those *Madianites*, which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, wherof *Iethro* was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and euer-living God.

§. 11.

Of the Kings of the *Canaanites* and *Madianites*, mentioned in the ancient Warres of the *Israelites*.

OF the Kings of the *Canaanites*, descended of *Cham*, (for *Melchizedek* may be thought to be of a better Pettigree) wee finde foure named by *Moses*: and one and thirtie remembered by *Iosua*, though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities ouer which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territorie adioyning, and no other Dominion. These *Canaanites* in a general consideration are to be vnderstood for all those Nations, descended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Iebusites*, *Amorites*, *Gergesites*, *Heutites*, &c. and so heere wee vnderstand this name in speaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and so also we call the Countrie of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promise: for God had appointed that the seuen principall Families should bee rooted out: and that his owne people should inherite their Lands and Cities. But if wee consider of the Name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan*, on the East, and by the *Mediterranean* Sea on the West: in which narrow Countrie, and in the choicest places thereof, those *Canaanites* which held their Paternall name chiefly inhabited.

The

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was *Hamer* or *Hemur*, of the *Heutites*, whom *Siméon* and *Leui* slew, together with his Sonne *Sichem*, in reuenge of their Sisters rauishment.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures haue remembered, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Edom* and the Dead Sea; the same which surpris'd *Israel*, as they incamped in the *Wildernesse* in the edge of *Edom*.

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Essebon*, who before *Moses* arrivall had beaten the *Moabites* out of the West part of *Arabia Petraea* or *Nabathaea*, and thrust them out *Arnon* into the *Desarts*, the same whom *Moses* ouer-threw in the plains of *Moab*: at which time he tooke *Essebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*.

Presently after which victorie, Og was also slaine by *Israel*, who commaunded the North part of that Valley betwene the Mountaines *Traconi* or *Galaad* and *Jordan*, who was also a King of the *Amorites*.

The fifth was *Adonizedek* King of the *Iebusites*, and of *Hierusalem*, with whom *Iosua* nameth foure other Kings.

Hoham, King of *Hebron*.

Piram, King of *Iarmuth*.

Iapia, King of *Lachis*: and

Deber, King of *Eglon*, who were all *Amorites* ouerthrowne in battell: and hanged by *Iosua*. After this ouerthrow *Iosua* nameth *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, and *Iobab*, King of *Madon*: whom he also slaughtered, and tooke his Cities: and this *Iabin* seemed to haue some Dominion ouer the rest, for it is said in the Text, For *Iabin* before-times was the head of all those Kingdomes.

After these *Adonizedek* that notorious Tyrant is named: who confest that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands, and feete, of 70. Kings, inforcing them to gather crummes vnder his Table: who, after *Iuda* and *Siméon* had vsed the same execution vpon himselfe, acknowledged it to be a iust reuenge of God: this King was carried to *Hierusalem* where he died.

The last King named is *Iabin* the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Iosua*. For at such time as he imploied *Sisara* against *Israel*, whom hee oppressed twentie yeeres, after the death of *Ehud*, He inhabited *Hazor*. This *Iabin*, *Barac* (incouraged by *Deborah*) ouerthrew; and his Captaine *Sisara* had by *Iael*, the Wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, a nail driuen into his head while he slept in her Tent: *Iabin* himselfe perishing after ward in that warre.

The *Madianites* had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Moabites*: and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathaea*: to the South-east of the Dead Sea. They descended from *Madian*, *Abrahams* sonne, by *Cethura*. *Raguel* surnamed *Gethagileu* or *Iethres*, saith *Iosephus*, called *Iethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the first of *Iudges*, the sonne of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Iexanis*, or *Iokham*, the great grand-child of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, was Priest or Prince of the *Madianites* by the Red Sea: whose Daughter, or Niece, *Moses* married: and of whom I haue spoken elsewhere more at large. This *Iethro* if hee were not the same with *Hobab*, must be his Father: and this *Hobab* had seuen Daughters. Hee guided *Moses* in the *Wildernesse*: and became one of the *Israelites*: of him descended the *Kenites* so called of his Father *Raguel* surname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Iabin* the second, euen now remembered.

At such time as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Kenites* to *Israel*, gaue them warning to separate themselves: and yet the *Kenites* had strong feates, and liued in the mountaines of the *Desarts*.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I finde named were these.

E c

1. Hemor

1. Homer the Heute of Sichem
2. Arad of the South parts
3. Sehon of Esſhon
4. Og of Baſan
5. Adonizedek the Jebuſite, King of Hieruſalem
6. Hoham of Hebron
7. Piram of Iarmuth
8. Iapia of Laſbie
9. Debir of Eglon
10. Iabin of Hazor
11. Iobab of Modon
12. Adonibezek of Bezek and
13. Iabin the ſecond King of Hazor.

Of the MADIANITES theſe.


* Eui or Euiſ.

Rekam or Reſem who built Petra the Metropolis of Petra ſo called by the Greekes: and by Eſai. cap. 16. verſ. 1. and Selah, which is as much as Petra: and ſo alſo it is called 2. Reg. 14. 7. where it is alſo called Ioktheel.

Zur
Hur and
Reba
Oreb
Zeb
Zebah
Salmunna.

After the death of Barak, Iudge of Iſrael, the ſoure laſt named of theſe Madianite Kings, vexed Iſrael ſeven yeeres: till they being put to flight by Gideon, two of them to wit, Oreb and Zeb, were taken and ſlaine by the Ephraimites, at the paſſage of Iordan, as in the 6. 7. and 8. of Iudges it is written at large. Afterward in the purſuite of the reſt Gideon himſelfe laid hands vpon Zebah and Salmunna, or Salmunna, and executed them, being priſoners, in which expedition of Gideon there periſhed 120000. of the Madianites and their Confederates. Of the Idumaans, Moabites, and Ammonites, I will ſpeake hereafter in the deſcription of their Territories.

¶ III. Of the Amalekites and Iſmaelites.

 For the Kings of the Amalekites and Iſmaelites, I finde few that are named, and though of the Iſmaelites there were more in number than of the reſt (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according to the promiſe of God made vnto Abraham) yet the Amalekites, who together with the Midianites were numbred among them, were more renowned in Moſes time than the reſt of the Iſmaelites. So alſo were they when Saul governed Iſrael. For Saul purſued them from Sur vnto Hauilah, to wit, ouer a great part of Arabia Petraea, and the Deſart. The reaſon to me ſeemeth to be theſe: That the twelue Princes which came of Iſmael, were content to leaue thoſe barren Deſerts of Arabia Petraea, called Sur, Paran, and Sin, to the iſſue of Abraham by Cetura, that ioyned with them (for ſo ſeeme the Amalekites to haue bene, and ſo were the Midianites:) themſelues taking poſſeſſion of a better ſoile in Arabia the Happie, and about the Mountaines of Galaad in Arabia Petraea. For Nabatath the eldeſt of thoſe twelue Princes planted that part of Arabia Petraea, which was very fruitful though adioyning to the Deſart, in which Moſes wandred, afterward called Nabathea: the ſame which neighboureth Iudaea on the Eaſt ſide. They alſo peopled a Province in Arabia the Happie, whereof the people were in after-times called Napathei (B) changed into (P).

Gen. 17. 30.
Iud. 6. 7.

Kedar, the ſecond of Iſmaels Sonnes, gaue his owne name to the Eaſt part of Baſan, or Baſanea, which was afterward poſſeſt by Manaſſe, ſo much thereof as lay within the Mountaines Tracon, or Gilead. Which Nation Lampridius calleth Kedarens, and Plinie Cedarans.

Adbeſ ſate downe in the Deſart Arabia, neere the Mountaines which diuide it from the Happie: and gaue name to the Adubens, which Ptolomie calleth Agathem.

Mitham was the Parent of the Maſamanches, neere the Mountaine Zamath, in the ſame Arabia the Happie.

The Raabens were of Miſhima: who ioyned to the Orchens, neere the Arabian gulfe, where Ptolomie ſetteth Zagmais.

Of Duma were the Dumans, betwene the Adubens and Raabens: where the Citie Dumeth ſometimes flood.

Of Maſſa the Maſſani, and of Hadar, or Chadar the Athrits, who bordered the Napatheans in the ſame Happie Arabia.

Thema begat the Themaneans, among the Arabian Mountaines, where alſo the Citie of Thema is ſeated.

Of Ietur the Itureans, or Chamtheans: of whom Tobu was King in Dauids time.

Of Napthri the Nubecian Arabians: inhabiting Syria Zoba: ouer whom Adadezar King commanded, while Dauid ruled Iſrael.

Cadma, the laſt and twelfth of Iſmaels Sonnes, was the Anceſtor of the Cadmonians: who were afterward called Aſſire: becauſe they worſhipped the fire with the Baby-lonians.

The Amalekites gaue their Kings the name of Agag, as the Egyptians the name of Pharaoh to theirs, and the ancient Syrians Adad to theirs, and the Arabian Nabatheans, Aretes, as Names of Honour.

The Amalekites were the firſt that fought with Moſes, after he paſt the Red Sea: Exodus. 17. when of all times they flouriſhed moſt, and yet were vanquiſhed.

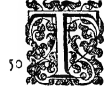
Afterward they ioyned with the Canaanites, and beate the Iſraelites neere Cades-barne. After the Governement of Oihouiel, they ioyned them with the Moabites: after Barak with the Midianites: and invaded Iſrael. God commanded that as ſoone as Iſrael had reſt; they ſhould roote out the name of the Amalekites: which Saul executed in part, when hee waſted them from the border of Egypt, to the border of Chaldaea: from Hauilah to Shur.

In Dauids time they tooke Siklag in Simeon: but Dauid followed them, and ſurpriſed them, recovering his priſoners and ſpoiles. And yet, after Dauid became King, they againe vexed him, but to their owne loſſe.

In Ezekies time as many of them as ioyned to Edumaea were waſted and diſplanted by the children of Simeon.

¶ IIII.

Of the inſpiration of ciuilitie in Europe about the times, and of PROMETHEVS and ATLAS.

 Here liued at this time, and in the ſame age together with Moſes, many men exceeding famous, aſwell in bodily ſtrength, as in all forts of learning. And as the World was but euen now enriched with the written Law of the liuing God, ſo did Art and Ciuilitie (bred and ſuffered farre off in the Eaſt, and in Egypt) beginne at this time to diſcouer a paſſage into Europe, and into thoſe parts of Greece, neighbouring Aſia and Iudaea. For if Pelagius beſides his bodily ſtrength, was choſen King of Arcadia, becauſe he taught thoſe people to erect them ſimple Cottages, to defend them from raine

E c 2 and

and storme: and learned them withall to make a kinde of Meale, and bread of Acornes, who before liued for the most part, by Hearbs and Rootes: we may thereby iudge how poore, and wretched those times were, and how falsly those Nations haue vaunted of that their antiquities accompanied not onely with ciuill learning, but with all other kinds of knowledge, And it was in this age of the World, as both *Eusebius* and *S. Augusline* haue obserued, that *Prometheus* flourished: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientie Doctor fuisse perhibetur*; Of whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of Wisdome: and so *Theophrastus* expoundeth the invention of fire ascribed to *Prometheus*, *Ad inuenta sapientia pertinere*; To haue reference to wise inventions: and *Æschylus* affirmeth, That by the stealing of *Iupiters* fire was meant, that the knowledge of *Prometheus* reached to the Starres, and other celestiall bodies. Again, it is written of him, that hee had the art so to vse this fire, as thereby hee gaue life to Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning that before his birth and being, those people among whom hee liued had nothing else worthy of men, but externall forme and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucasus*, his entrailes the while deuoured by an Eagle, was meant the inward care and restless desire hee had to inuigilate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of Heauenly bodies, for so it is layde: *Ideo altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, ut serena celo quam longissime altra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret*; That hee ascended *Caucasus*, to the end that hee might in a cleere skie discern a farre off the setting and rising of the Starres: though *Diodorus Siculus* expound it otherwise, and other diuerly.

Of this mans knowledge *ÆSCHYLVS* giues this testimonie.

Æschyl. in Prom. vinct.

*At agebant omnia
Vi fors ferebat: donec ipse repperi
Signorum obitus, ortusq; qui mortalibus
Sunt vitiles: & multitudinem artium
His repperi: componere inde literas;
Matremq; Mularum auxi ego Memoriam
Perutilem cunctis, &c.*

But Fortune govern'd all their works, till when
I first found out how Starres did set and rise:
A profitable art to mortall men:
And others of like vse I did deuise:
As letters to compose in learned wise
I first did teach: and first did amplify
The Mother of the *Muses* *Memorie*.

Africanus makes *Prometheus* farre more ancient, and but 94. yeeres after *Ogyges*. *Porphyrius* sayes that hee liued at once with *Inachus*, who liued with *Iphæ*.

Aug. lib. 9. de Civ. Dei.

There liued also at once with *Moses*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the Sonnes of *Iapetus*, of whom though it bee saide, that they were borne before *Moses* dayes, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date: yet the advantage of their long liues gaue them a part of other ages among Men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these Sonnes of *Iapetus*, *Æschylus* findes two other, to wit, *Oceanus*, and *Hesperus*, who being famous in the West, gaue name to the Evening, and so to the evening

evening Starre. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Libya* or *Mauritania*, there were others, which bare the same name: but of the *Libyan*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those Mountaines which crosse *Africa*, to the South of *Marocco*, *Sus*, and *Hea*, with the Sea adioyning tooke name, which memorie *Plato* in *Critias* bellowes on *Atlas*, the Sonne of *Neptune*.

Cicero in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions, affirmeth that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to expresse diuine knowledge. *Nec vero ATLAS sustinere calum, nec PROMETHEVS aspicere Causas, nec bellatus CEPHEVS sumptore traderetur, nisi diuina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorum fabulata tra-*
doxisset; Neither should *ATLAS* bee said to beare up heauen, nor *PROMETHEVS* to be fastned to *Caucasus*, nor *CEPHEVS* with his wife to bee steeled; vntil these diuine knowledge had raised vpon them names these erroneous fables.

Orpheus sometime exprellt Time by *Prometheus*, sometime hee tooke him for *Saturne*; as *Rhea coniux* alone *Promethen*. But that the storie of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction: and that he liued about this time, the most approved Historians and Antiquaries, and among them *Eusebius* and *S. Augusline* haue not doubted, For the great iudgement which *Atlas* had in *Astronomie*, saith *S. Augusline*, were his Daughters called by the names of constellations, *Pleiades* and *Fyades*: Others attribute vnto him the finding out of the Moones course, of which *Archas* the sonne of *Orechomenus* challengeth the invention. Of this *Archas* *Aradia* in *Poloponnissus* tooke name, and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moone, *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to bee vnderstood, saith *Ætalius Comes*, before there had bene any obseruation of the Moones course: or of her working in inferior bodies. And though there bee that bellow the finding out thereof vpon *Enchyrius*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Isacius Tzetzes*, a curious searcher of antiquities, gaue it *Atlas* of *Libya*: who besides his gifts of minde, was a man of vngualled and incomparable strength: from whom *Thales* the *Milesian*, as it is saide, had the ground of his *Philosophie*.

Lib. 18. cap. 8. de Civ. Dei.

Ovid. de Iphig. 1.

2. V.

OF DEUCALION and PHAETON.



ND in this age of the World, and while *Moses* yet liued, *Deucalion* reigned in *Thessalie*, *Cratogeus* then ruling the *Argines*. This *Deucalion* was the Sonne of *Prometheus*, saith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Hesiodus* gaue him *Pandora* for Mother, the rest *Clymene*: *Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odysses* makes *Deucalion* the Sonne of *Minos*: but he must needs haue meant some other *Deucalion*; for else either *Phyffes* was mistaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Phyffes* after his returne from *Troy* faimed himselfe to bee the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was sonne to this later *Deucalion*, the sonne of *Minos*: but this *Minos* liued but one age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* serued in that Warre) and this *Deucalion* the Sonne of *Prometheus*, who liued at once with *Moses*, was long before. In the first *Deucalions* time happened that great inundation in *Thessalie* by which in effect every soule, in those parts, perished, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his Wife, and some few others. It is affirmed that at the time of this flood in *Thessalie*, those people exceeded in all kinde of wickednesse and villanie: and as the impictie of men is the forcible attractiue of Gods vengeance, so did all that Nation for their foule sinnes perish by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and crueltie of all mankind drew on them that generall destruction by the flood vniuersall. Only *Deucalion*, and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to bee louers of Vertue, of Iustice and of Religion. Of whom *Ouid*:

etm. Alex. from lib. 1.

Strabo. lib. 9.

L. i. c. 6. fol. 4.

turous opinions. For what this man was, it is knowne to God. Enuie and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worne out the certaine knowledge of him: of whom, whosoever he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this sort: *Hic scripsit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem diuinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Maiestatem summi ac singularis Dei asserit, quod scilicet, nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; Hic habet written many Bookes belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of diuine things, in which he asseith the Maiesty of the most High and one God, calling him by the same names of God and Father, which we doe. The same Father also feareth not to number him among the Sybils and Prophets. And so contrary are these his acknowledgements to those idolatrous fictions of the Egyptians and Grecians, as for my selfe I am perswaded, that whatfoever is found in him contrary thereunto, was by corruption inserted. For thus much him selfe confesseth: Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & Spiritus, & omnia in ipso, & sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim ex eo esse prodens, perfectissimum existens, & generator & opifex, &c. God (saith hee) the Lord, and Father of all things, the fountaine, and life, and power, and light, and minde, and Spirit: and all things are in him and vnder him. For his Word out of himselfe proceeding being most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling vpon fruitfull nature, made it also fruitfull and producing. And he was therefore (saith *Suidas*) called *Ter maximus*, quia de Trinitate loquens est: in Trinitate vnum esse Deum asserens; Because he spake of the Trinitie, asseing that there is one God in Trinitie. *Hicrinam* (saith *Ficinus*) prauitudo profice Religiois, hic ortum nouae fidei, hic aduentum Christi, hic futurum iudicium, resurrectionem sancti, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum; This *Mercury* foresaw the ruine of the old or superstitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the coming of Christ, the future iudgement, the resurrection, the glory of the Blessed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.*

In Trinitate, Mercurius, Trismeg.

To this I will only adde his two last speeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platonist*, and by *Valerian* out of *Sydus*. *Hactenus fili pulvis & patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto: cumq; post paulum à vobis corporis vinculis absolutus discessero, videte ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis. Nam ad illam optimam beatamq; Ciuitatem redeo: ad quam vniuersi cives mortis condicione venturi sunt. Ibi namq; solus Deus est summus Princeps: qui cives suos replet suauitate mirifica: ad quam haec, quam multis vitam existimant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita; Hicerto, O Sonne, being driuen from my Country, I haue liued a stranger and banished man: but now I am repairing home-ward againe in safety. And when I shall after a few dayes (or in a short time) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and blond depart from you, see that you doe not bewaile me as a man dead, for I doe but returne to that best and blessed Citie, to which all her Citizens (by the conditio[n] of death) shall repaire. Therein is the only God, the most high and chiefe Prince, who filleth or seedeth his Citizens with a sweetnesse more then maruiculous: in regard whereof this being which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death then a life. The other and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus conuerted by others, agreeing in sense but not in words with *Sydus*. O caelum magni Dei sapientis opus, teq; O vox patris quam ille primam emisit, quando vniuersum constituit mundum, adiuro per vniuersum eius verbum, & Spiritum quicquid comprehendem, miseremini mei; I aduise thee O heauen, thou wise worke of the great God, and thee O voyce of the Father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole world, by his only begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things, Haue mercie vpon mee.*

But *Sydus* hath his inuocation in these words: *Obtestor te caelum magni Dei sapientis opus, obtestor te vocem Patris quam loquutus es primum, cum omnem mundum firmasti, obtestor te per vniuersum Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius es; I beseech thee O heauen, wise worke of the great God, I beseech thee O voyce of the Father, which he spake first when he established all the World, I beseech thee by the only begotten Word containing all things, be fauourable, be fauourable.*

d. VII.

d. VII.

Of IANNES and IAMBRES, and some other thasliued about those times.



Here were also in this age both *Esculapius*, which after his death became the God of Physicians, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Vines* thinks in his Commentary vpon *Augustine*, de *Ciuitate Dei* lib. 8. and also those two notorious Sorcerers, *Iannes* and *Iambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that euer had been heard of to this day: and yet *Moses* himselfe doth not charge them with any familiaritie with Devils, or ill Spirits: words indeed that seldome came out of his mouth, how euer by the Septuagint they are called *Sophista* or *Venifici* and *Incantatores*, *Sophists*, poisoners, and Incanters: by *Iherome*, *Sapientes & malefici*, Wisemen, and euill doers: and so by *Vatablus*, who also vseth the word *Magi*. The Greeke it selfe seemes to attribute somewhat of what they did to natural Magicke: calling them *gynaikes*, workers by drugges. The *Genuesan Sorcerers* and *Incantatores*: *LVNIVS Sapientes, Prestigiatores & Magi*. Magicians and Wisemen here by him are taken in one sense: and Prestigiatore are such as dazell mens eyes, and make them seeme to see what they see not: as false colours, and false shapies. But as some vertues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other: (Religion and superstition hauing one face and countenance) so did the workes and workings of *Moses*, and of *Pharaon* Sorcerers appeare in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to bee one and the same art and gift of knowledge. For the Deuill changeth himselfe into an Angel of light: and imitateth in all he can the wayes and workings of the most High. And yet on the contrary euery worke which surmounteth the wisdom of moile men, is not to bee condemned as performed by the helpe of ministerie of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath giuen to naturall things, are such as where hee also bestoweth the knowledge to vnderstand their hid den and best vertues, many things by them are brought to passe, which seeme altogether impossible, and aboue nature or arte: which two speculations of workes of nature, and of miracle, the *Caballists* distinguished by these names; *Opus de Beseñib*, & *opus de mercana*: the one they call *Sapientiam naturae*, The Wisdome of nature: the other *Sapientiam diuinitatis*; The Wisdome of diuinity: the one *Isaac* practised in breeding the pious Lambs in *Mesopotamia*, the other *Moses* exercised in his miracles wrought in *Egypt*, hauing received from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other so farre as it pleased God to proportion him, both which he vied to his glory, that gaue them: assuming to himselfe nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also *S. Augustine* noteth, that from the time that *Moses* left *Egypt*, to the death of *Iosua*, diuers other famous men liued in the world, who after their deaths for their eminent vertues and inventions, were numbred among the Gods: as *Dionysius* otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Graecians* the vse of the Vine in *Attica*: at which time also there were instituted *Musicall* playes to *Apollo Delphicus*: thereby to regaine his fauour, who brought barrenesse and scarcitie vpon that part of Greece, because they resisted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who spoiled his Temple and set it on fire: so did *Erichthonius* institute the like games to *Minerva*: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of *Oyle*, in memory of her that first prest it out of the *Oliue*.

In this age also *Xanthus* rauished *Europa*: and begat on her *Radamanthus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Minos*, which three are also giuen to Iupiter by other Historians. To these *Saint Augustine* addeth *Hercules*, the same to whom the twelue labours are ascribed, native of *Tyrinthia* a Citie of *Peloponnesus*: (or as others say, only nurfed and brought vp there) who came into *Italy*, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Eusebius* surnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phanicia*; nor that *Hercules*,

L. vius in lib. 8. Augusti de Ciuitate Dei. cap. 6.

Euseb. l. i.

Lib. de Ciuitate Dei. cap. 13.

Philos. 1. 2.

cules, according to *Philostatus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Ægyptian*: Manifestum sit, non Thebanum *HERCULEM*, sed *Ægyptium ad Gades peruenisse, & ibi finem statuisse terræ* (saith *PHILOSTRATUS*) It is manifest that it was the *Ægyptian HERCULES*, and not the *Theban*, which traualled as farre as the streights of *Gades*, and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time also while *Moses* wandered in the Deserts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

But whosoever they were, or how worthy fouer they were that lived in the dayes and age of *Moses*, there was neuer any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to worke greater things; whom he fauoured more; to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) hee so often appeared; neuer any to man more familiar and conuerfant with Angels; neuer any more learned both in Diuine and Humane knowledge; neuer a greater Prophet in *Israell*. He was the first that received and deliuered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posteritie by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World vniuersall, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed it.

Synag. 45. 12. 3.

Synacides calleth *Moses* the beloued of God and Men, whose remembrance is blessed. He made him (saith the same Author) like to the glorious Saints; and magnified him by the feare of his enemies, made him glorious in the sight of Kings, shewed him his glorie, caused him to heare his voyce, sanctified him with faithfulness and meeknesse, and chose him out of all men.

He is remembred among prophane Authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetic*: by *Megasthenes*, and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long liues which the Patriarchs enjoyed before the flood, remembred by *Moses*, *Efien*, *Hieronymus* *Ægyptius*, *Hecatan*, *Elanicus*, *Acusilus*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander* the *Historian*, confirme. The vniuersall flood which God reucaled vnto *Moses*, *Berosus*, *Nicolaus* *Damasenus*, and others haue testified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confusion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Efien*, and *Sybillæ* haue approued. *Berosus* also honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecatanus* wrote a Booke of him. *Damasenus* before cited, speaketh of *Abrahams* passage from *Damasus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the bookes of *Moses*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very same of *Abraham*, which *Moses* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the ouerthrow thereof by diuine power, hee saith that *Abraham*, borne in the tenth generation, in the Citie called *Camerina*, or *Prion*, excelled all men in wisdom: and by whom the Astrologic of the *Chaldeans* was inuented. *Is in ista pietate sua* (saith *Eusebius* out of the same Author) *sic Deo gratus fuit, ut diuino precepto in Phœnicem venerit, ibique habitauerit*; For his iustice and piety hee was so pleasing vnto God, as by his commandement he came into *Phœnicia*, and dwelt there. Likewise *Diodorus Siculus* in his second Booke and fifth Chapter, speaketh reuerently of *Moses*: There are many other among prophane Authors, which confirme the Bookes of *Moses*, as *Eusebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation to the Gospel*, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I referre the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moses* in these words.

Strabo Lib. 6.

Moses enim affirmabat, docebatque, Ægyptios non recte sentire, qui bestiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemque, Afros & Græcos, qui Dijs hominum figuram assignerunt: id vero solum esse Deum, quod nos & terram & mare continet, quod caelum & mundum, & verum omnium naturam appellamus: cuius profecto imaginem, nemo sanæ mentis, alicuius earum rerum, quæ penes nos sunt, similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effigione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum: *Moses* is affirmed and taught, that the *Ægyptians* thought amisse, which attributed vnto God the Images of beasts and cattell: Also that the *Africans* and *Greekes* greatly erred in giuing vnto their Gods the shape of men: whereas that onely is God indecde, which containeth both vs, the Earth and Sea, which we call *Heauen*, the world, and the nature of all things, whose image, doubtlesse, no wise man will dare to fashion out vnto the likeness of those things, which are amongst vs: That therefore (all denying of Idols cast aside) a worthy Temple

Temple an a place of prayer was to be erected vnto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all therein.

Now concerning the *Ægyptian* wisdom, for which the Martyr *Stephen* commended *Moses*, saying, That *Moses* was learned in all the wisdom of the *Ægyptians*, and was mighty in his workes and words; the same is collected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Iamblicus*, *Philo Iudeus*, and *Eusebius Casariensis*, and diuided into foure parts, viz. Mathematicall, Naturall, Diuine, and Morall.

In the Mathematicall part, which is distinguished into *Geometrie*, *Astronomie*, *Arithmetike*, and *Musike*; the ancient *Ægyptians* excelled all others. For *Geometrie* which is by interpretation, measuring of grounds, was vsfull vnto them: because it consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands, and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yeerely ouerflowne and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged vnto him.

For the second part, to wit, *Astronomie*, the site of the Countrey being a leuell and spacious Plaine, free and cleere from cloudes, yielded them delight with case, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the Starres.

Arithmetike also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied; because without it, in *Geometrie* and *Astronomie*, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of *Musike* they made no other account, nor desired further knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to serue and magnifie their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wisdom, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of naturall things, differs little from *Peripateticall Philosophie*; teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies and liuing creatures haue their beeing; that *Heauen* is round like a Globe; that all Starres haue a certaine fount heate, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that raines proceede and bee from mutations in the ayre; that the Planets haue their proper soules, &c.

The Diuine part of this wisdom, which is called *Theologie*, teacheth and beleaueth that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first originall in *Ægypt*; partly by means of the temperatenesse of that Countrey, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heate are offensiue; and partly through the fertilitye, that *Nilus* giueth in those places; That the soule is immortal, and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other Gods are, as the Sunne and Moone, whom they worshipped by the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and diuers Images, because the true similitudes of the Gods is not knowne; that many of the Gods haue been in the estate of mortall men, and after death, for their vertues, and benefits bestowed on mankind, haue beene Deified; that those beastes, whose Images and formes the Kings did carrie in their Armes, when they obtained victory, were adored for Gods: because vnder those Ensignes they preuailed ouer their enemies. Moreover, the *Ægyptian* Diuines had a peculiar kinde of writing, mysticall and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to bee concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

Clement distributeth the whole summe of this later *Ægyptian* learning into three severall sorts, viz. *Episolar*, which is vsed in writing common Epistles; *Sacerdotal*, which is peculiar to their Priests; and *Sacred*; which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds: the one proper, which is exprest by letters Alphabetically in obscure and figuratiue wordes; as for example, where it is written: *The Ibis* by the Hornet participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: That the Moone doth by the Sunne borrow part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of Diuine beauty; the other symbolical, or by signatures, which is three-fold, viz. Imitatiue, Tropicall, and *Ænygmaticall*: Imitatiue, which designeth things by characters,

ractions, like to the things signified, as by a Circle the Sunne; and by the Hornes of the Moone, the Moone it selfe: Tropical or transient, which applies the diuers formes and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to signifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, vertues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods and of men. So with the *Egyptian* Diuines, the Image of an Hawke signifieth God, the figure of the Hornet signifieth the Sunne, the picture of the Bird *Ibis* signifieth the Moone: by the forme of a Man, Prudence and Skillfulnesse: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horse, Libertie: by a Crocodile, Impudencie: by a Fish, Hatred is to be understood: *Ænygmaticall* is a composition or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sense, the monstrous Image of a Lions body hauing a Mans head, was grauen on their Temples and Altars, to signifie, that to men all diuine things are *Ænygmaticall* and obscure. So the Image of the Sunne set on the head of a Crocodile, (which liueth aswell in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth that the Sunne nourisheth Meteors in the Ayre, aswell in the Waters as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Eare, signifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and Governing all things. The *Scythians* are thought to haue been delighted with this kinde of writing. For *Pheredes Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* sending letters, threatned *Idanthurus*, King of the *Scythians*, with ruine and destruction of his Kingdome, vnlesse he would acknowledge subiection: *Idanthurus* returned to him a Moule, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-share: which *Orontopagus*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to signifie, that by the Moule, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their aire: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their lands: were signified to be ready to be deliuered to *Darius*, as their Soueraigne Lord. But *Xyphodres* made another construction, viz. that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his Men did hasten away, as a Bird through the ayre, or creepe into holes as a Moule, or runne into the waters which they had passed as a Frog, they should not escape his armes, but either be slaine, or being made Captiues, Till his grounds. The same Historie is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*.

The fourth and last part, which is Morall and Politique, doth containe especially 30 the Lawes, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Trismegistus*, or *Ter Maximus* deuised: who in his Bookes or Dialogues of *Pimander* and *Asclepius*, hath written so many things of God, worthy of admiration; aswell (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) of the *Trinitie*, and of the coming of *Christ*, as of the last and fearefull day of iudgement: that (as saith the same Author, the opinion being also ancient) hee is not onely to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Bookes of Mysteries of the *Egyptians*, taking two very ancient Historians for his Authors, to wit, *Seleucus* and *Mematus*, affirmeth that this *Mercurius* was not onely the Inuentor of the *Egyptian* Philosophie, but of all other learning, called the *Wisedome of the Egyptians* before remembred: and that he wrote of that 40 subiect 36525. Bookes, or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Bookes; of Aerall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestiall a thousand; which because they were out of the *Egyptian* language conuerted by certaine learned Philosophers into the naturall *Greece*, they seemed to haue been first written in that Tongue. *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, that among the Bookes of *Hermes*, to wit, of the *Wisedome of the Egyptians*, there were extant in his time 36. of Physick 50 fixe bookes; of the orders of *Eriffs* ten; and of *Astrologie* foure.

¶ VIII. 50

¶ VIII.

A Brieue of the Historie of *Iosua*; and of the space betwene him and *Othoniell*: and of the remainders of the *Canaanites*; with a note of some Contemporaries to *Iosua*: and of the breach of Faith.



FTER the death of *Moses*, and in the one and fortieth yeere of the Egreffion, in the first moneth called *Nisan*, or *March*, *Iosua* the sonne of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wisdome, tooke on him the Government of *Israel*: God giuing him comfort, and encouraging him to passe the Riuer of *Jordan*, and to possesse, and

10 diuide among the *Israelites* the Land promised.

The beginning of *Iosua* rule S. *Augustine* dates with the raigne of *Amintas*, the eighteenth King in *Assyria*; with *Corax* the sixteenth King in *Sicionia*, when *Danaus* governed the *Argues*; and *Erichonius*, *Athens*.

Lib. 18. de Ciuit. Dei. c. 11.

Iosua imitating in all things his Predecessor, sent ouer *Jordan* certaine discoverers 10f. 2. 1. to view the seat and strength of *Ierico*, the next Citie vnto him on the other side of the Riuer, which hee was to passe ouer. Which discoverers being faued, and sent backe by *Rahab*, a Woman of ill fame, because she kept a Tauerne or Vitling-houle, made *Iosua* know, that the Inhabitants of *Ierico*, and those of the Countrie about it,

10f. 2. 11.

10 hearing of the approach of *Israel*, had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the re- 10f. 3. 12. turne of the Spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth yeere after the Egreffion, *Iosua* remooued from *Sittim* in the Plaines of *Moab*, and drew downe his

Armie to the banks of the Riuer *Jordan*; and gaue them commandment to put themselves in order to follow the *Arke of God*, when the *Leuites* tooke it vp, and

10 moued towards the Riuer; giuing them withall this forcible encouragement, That they should thereby assure themselves of his fauour and presence who is Lord of all the world, when the Riuer of *Jordan* should be cut off and diuided, and the waters

10f. 3. 13.

10 coming from aboue should stand still in a heape; whereby those below towards the *Dead-sea* wanting supply, they might passe ouer into the land of *Canaan* with dry feet.

He also commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, to prepare

10f. 1. 12.

30 themselves (according to their Couenant made with *Moses*) to march in the head of the rest, and as we call it in this age, to leade in the Vanguard, which through all the Desarts of *Arabie*, from the Mount *Sinai* to this place, those of the Tribe of *Indi* had performed. For these Tribes being already provided of their habitations, and the Countrie and Cities of the *Amorites*, by the helpe of the rest, conquered for them: It agreed with iustice & equalitie, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe of *Manasse* should also

40 assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession.

On the banks of *Jordan* they reited themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first Moneth *Nisan*, or *March*, they past ouer to the

40 other side, taking with them twelue stones from the drie ground in the midst of the Riuer: which, for a memorie of that miracle by God wrought, they set vp at *Gilgal*, on the East side of the Citie of *Ierico*, where they encamped the first night. At which

10f. 4. 19.

place *Iosua* gaue commandment, that all borne in the last fortieth yeere in the De- 10f. 5. 2. serts should be circumcised, which ceremonie to that day had beene omitted. Of

the neglect whereof S. *Augustine* giueth for cause, The peoples contempt of their superiours. *Thomas* excuseth it in this sort; That the *Israelites* knew not the certaine

Aug. q. 3. in 10f. Thom. part. 2.

time of their removing from one place to another: *Damascent*, That it was not need- 40 full by circumcising to distinguish them from other Nations, at such time as they

10f. 5. 2. Thom. part. 2. quæst. 70. art. 4. ad 3.

lived by themselves, and a-part from all Nations.

50 On the fourteenth day of the same Moneth, the children of *Israel* celebrated the *Passouer* now the third time; first, at their leauing *Egypt*; secondly, at Mount

10f. 5. 10.

Sinai; and now at *Gilgal*. After which being desirous to taste of the fruits of the Countrie, and hauing, as it were, surfeited on *Man*, they parched of the Corne of the

land, being not yet fully ripe, and ate thereof.

F f

And

And as *Moses* beganne to distribute those Regions beyond *Jordan*, to wit, the Lands of the *Amorites*, which *Og* of *Basan*, and *Sihon* held, so did *Iosua* performe the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, hee gaue to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three severall times; first, by *Moses* to *Gad*, *Ruben*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, of the Lands over *Jordan*; Secondly, by *Iosua*, to the Tribe of *Juda*, *Ephraim*, and the other halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, about the fifth yeere of his government; proued in the 14. of *Iosua*. v. 10. and a third diuision was made to the other seuen Tribes at *Shilo*, where *Iosua* seated the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*.

The victories of *Iosua* against the Kings of the *Canaanites*, are so particularly set downe in his owne bookes, as I shall not neede to lengthen this by their repetition. In whose storie I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the warre, those little Kings or *Regni* of the *Canaanites*, had not so much understanding, as to unite themselves together against the *Israelites*; but according to the custome of those estates, from whose Governours God hath taken away all wilddome and fore-sight, they left those of their owne Nation, which were next the invaders, to themselves, and to their owne defences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat farre off, might againe haue beene quenched, ere it could spread it selfe so far as their owne Territories and Cities. But after such times as *Jerico* and *Ai* were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities consumed; five of those 31. Kings (all which at length perished in that warre) ioynted themselves together, first attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendred themselves to *Iosua*. Onely five (the rest looking on to see the successe) namely, the King of the *Iebusites*, in *Iebus*, or *Iherusalem*, the Kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmoth*, *Lachis*, and *Eglon*, addrest themselves for resistance: whose Armie being by *Iosua* surpris'd and broken, themselves despairing to scape by flight, and hopelesse of mercy by submission, creeping into a Caeue vnder ground, were thence by *Iosua* drawne forth and hanged. In the prosecution of which victorie hee also tooke *Makkedah*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the reliefe whereof *Horam* King of *Gozar* hastened, and perished. After which *Iosua* possesst him selfe of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, destroying the Cities with their Princes.

In the end, and when the South Countries were possesst, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made dust: the rest of the *Canaanites*, guided by the over-late counsailes of necessitie, united themselves, to make one grosse strength and body of an Armie: which *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, practised and gathered together, by *Iosua* discovered, as the same rested neere the Lake of *Merom*, hee vsed such diligence, as hee came on them vnawares; and obtaining an absolute victorie over them, he prosecuted the same to the vttermost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which hee burnt *Hazor* only, reseruing the rest for *Israel* to inhabite and enjoy.

Secondly, I note, that *Iosua* shewed himselfe a skilfull man of Warre, for that in those ancient times he vsed the stratageme of an ambush in taking of *Ai*; and in that he broke the Armies of the first five Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon*, by surpris. For he marched all night from his camp at *Gilgal*, and set on them early the next day, when they suspected no enemy at hand: as hee did also at *Merom*, when hee overthrew *Iabin*, and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victorie, he assaulted the great Citie of *Hazor*.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this warre, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the Riuer *Jordan* at the Springs, so as the Armie of *Israel* pass't it with a drie foote: the fall of *Jerico* by the sound of the Hornes; the shewes of Haile-stones, which fell vpon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them perished, than by the sword of *Israel*: againe, the arrest of the Sunne in the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lengthened, as the *Israelites* had time to execute all those, which fled after the overthrow: a wonder

of wonders, and a worke onely proper to the all-powerfull God.

Fourthly, out of the passage betweene *Iosua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is so plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all euasion, it admitteth no distinction, nor leaueth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousnesse, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called *Equiuocation*. For, notwithstanding that these *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Hebrews*, expressly and by name, by the commandement of God to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceiuers, and counterfeiters, and that they did ouer-reach, and as it were, deride *Iosua*, and the Princes of *Israel*, by saying to bee sent as Embassadors from a farre Countrey, in which trauaile their clothes were worn; their bread mouldie, which they aowed to haue bene warme for newnesse when they first set out; their barrells and bottles of wine broken; their shoes patcht; and their sacks rent and ragged: Yet *Iosua* hauing sworn vnto them by the Lord God of *Israel*, hee durst not, though urged by the murmur of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but hee spared both their Liues, and the Cities of their inheritance.

Now if euery man had warrant to breake Faith, and to retract his promise made, *Iosua* had it. For first, the commandement which hee receiued from God to roote out this Nation among the rest, preceded by farre the peace which hee had granted them. Secondly, he might iustly haue put these men to the sword, and haue sackt their Cities; if there bee any euasion from a promise made, whereof the liuing God is called to witnesse. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* that hee gaue peace, because hee knew them to bee a people hated of God. Hee told them, that if they were of the *Hebrews*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a strange people that hee gaue faith, and to a Nation which came from *suris*, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Israel* had done in *Egypt* and ouer *Jordan*, sought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, which *Israel* made with these craftie *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, That the *Israelites* accepted their tale, that is, beleued what they had said, and counsailed not with the mouth of the Lord. Fourthly, these men who were knowne Idolaters, and serued those Puppets of the Heathen, men of an Apish Religion, as all Worshippers of Images are, could not challenge the witnesse of the true God, in whome they beleued not. I say therefore; that if euery man might haue serued himselfe by any euasion or distinction, *Iosua* might iustly haue done it. For hee needed not in this case the helpe of *Equiuocation*, or *Mentall Reservation*. For what hee swore, hee swore in good Faith; but hee swore nothing, nor made any promise at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithlesse subtiltie of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises hee made in the name of God, were made to the liuing God, and not to the dying Man, hee held them firme, and inuiolable, notwithstanding that they, to whom hee had sworn it, were worshippers of the Deuill.

For it is not, as faithlesse men take it, that he which sweareth to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a King, and sweareth by the name of the liuing Lord, and in his presence, That this promise (if it be broken) is broken to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a Prince; but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God, that wee therein neglect: wee therein professe that wee feare him not, and that wee set him at nought and desie him. If hee that without Reservation of honour giueth a lie in the presence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth in point of Honour giue the lie to the King himselfe, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he breake Faith with God, that giueth Faith in the presence of God, promise in his name, and makes him a witnesse of the Couenant made?

Or of doubt, it is a fearefull thing for a Sonne to breake the Promise, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdome, to breake those Contracts

which haue beene made in former times, and confirmed by publique faith. For though it were 400. yeeres after *Iosua*, that *Saul*, even out of deuotion, slaughtered some of those people descended of the *Gibronites*: yet God who forgot not what the Predecessours and Fore-fathers of *Saul* & the *Israelites* had sworne in his name, afflicted the whole Nation with a consuming famine; and could not be appeased, till seuen of *Sauls* sonnes were deliuered to the *Gibonites* grieved, and by them hanged vp.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the helpe of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equiuocation, to tware one thing by the name of the liuing God, and to referre in silence a contrarie intent: the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of Subjects to Kings, of Seruants to their Masters, of Vallalls to their Lords, of Wiues to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trials of right, will not onely be made vncertaine, but all the chaines, whereby freemen are tied in the world, be torne asunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot passe) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by oath that warres take ende, which weapons cannot ende. And what is it or ought it to be that makes an oath thus powerfull, but this; That he that sweareth by the name of God, doth assure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true whom he calleth for a witnesse, and in whose presence he that taketh the oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poore euasions, which play with the seueritie of Gods Commandements in this kinde: But this indeed is the best answer, That he breakes no faith, that hath none to breake. For whosoever hath faith and the feare of God, dares not doe it.

The *Christians* in the *Holie Land* when they were at the greatest, and had brought the *Calph of Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not only lose it againe, but were soon after beaten out of the *Holie Land* it selfe: by reason (saith *William of Tyre*, a reuerend Bishop which wrote that storie) that *Almerick* the fiftieth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph Elhadach*, and his Vicegerent, The *Soldan Sana*; who being suddenly invaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turke Syracon* to their aide: whole Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his owne, beat the *Christians* out of the *Holie Land*; neither would the wooden Crosse (the very Crosse, say they that *Christ* died on) giue them victorie ouer *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge: seeing they had forsworne themselves in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the holy Ghost, That he that speaketh lies, shall be destroyed, and that the mouth which uttereth them, shall be the first: how much more perilous is it (if any perill be greater than to destroy the soule) to sweare a lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that perswaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungarie* after his great victorie ouer *Amurath* the *Turke*, and when the said King had compelled him to peace, the most aduantageous that euer was made for the *Christians*, to breake his faith, and to prouoke the *Turke* to renew the warre. And though the said King was farre stronger in the field than euer; yet he lost the battaile with 30000. *Christians*, and his owne life. But I will stay my hand: For this first volume will not hold the repetition of Gods iudgements vpon faith-breakers; bee it against *Infidels*, *Turkes*, or *Christians* of diuers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oathes now-a-daies, is rather made a matter of custome than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable; That it pleased God to leaue so many Cities of the *Canaanites* vnconquered by *Israel*, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-seeing their Idolatry, and as it is said in the Scriptures, To bee Thornes in their eyes to proue them, and to teach them to make Warre. For these Cities hereafter named did not onely remaine in the *Canaanites* possession all the time of *Iosua*; but soon after his death, the Children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plaine Countries, and enforced to inhabite the Mountaines, and places of hardest access. And those of *Iuda* were not able to bee Masters of their owne Vallies; because, as it is writ-

14. l. 5. 6.

14. l. 1. 12.

10. l. 23.
Iudg. 1. & Iudg.
3. v. 2.

Iudg. 1. v. 34.

ten in the *Judges*, The *Canaanites* had Chariots of yron. And those principall Cities which flood on the Sea-side, adioyning vnto *Iuda*, were still held by the remainder of the *Amukims*, or *Philistims*: as *Azzab*, *Gath*, *Aldod*; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembered in *Samuel*.

Neither did the children of *Manasse* ouer *Jordan* expell the *Geshurites*, nor the *Maachabites*: which inhabited the North parts of *Basun*, afterward *Tracomon*.

Nor the *Rephaim* possessed themselves of *Bethjehem*: nor of *Bethanab*, but they inorist those *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did *Asher* expell the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Athlab*, *Achab*; *Heblab*, *Asphike*, and *Rehob*, nor in-10 force them to tribute.

No more could *Zabulon* enioy *Kitron*, and *Nahalol*, but receiued tribute from them. All the *Canaanites* dwelt in *Gezer* among the *Ephraims*: and among the children of *Manasse*, on the West of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Bethjehem*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ib-15 leam*, and *Megado*; yea *Hierusalem* it selfe did the *Iebusites* defend about foure hundred yeeres, even till *Danids* time.

Now *Iosua* liued one hundred and ten yeeres, eightene of which he gouerned *Israel*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not exprest in the Scriptures, which causeth diuers to coniecture diuersly of the continuance. *Iosephus* giues him five and twentie yeeres, *Seder Olam Rabbi* the Authors of the *He-20 brew Chronologie* eight and twentie: And *Masius* fixe and twentie: *Maimonius* cited by *Masius*, fourteene: *Ioannes Lucidus*, leuenteene: *Caletanus*, ten: *Eusebius* giueth him seuen and twentie: and so doth *S. Augustine*: *Melancthon*, two and thirtie: *Codoman*, five and twentie. But whereas there passed 480. yeeres from the deliue-15 rance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, vnto the building of the Temple, it is necessarie that we allow to *Iosua* onely eighteene of them; as finding the rest supplied other-10 wise, which to mee seemes the most likely, and as I thinke, a well approoued opinion.

The same necessitie of retaining precisely 480. yeeres from the departure out of *Egypt* vnto the building of the Temple, conuinceth of error, such as haue infer-30 red yeeres betweene *Iosua* and *Othniel*, of whom *Eusebius* findes eight yeere, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which hee giueth his reason in his foure and twentieth and last Chapters vpon *Iosua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine yeere: *Bucholzer* and *Neufster* but one, *Codoman* twentie, and *Nicephorus* no lesse than three and thirtie: whereas following the sure direction of these 480. yeeres, there can be no void yeeres found betweene *Iosua* and *Othniel*, vnlesse they be taken out of those eighteen ascri-40 bed vnto *Iosua* by the account already specified. The prayes and acts of *Iosua* are briefly written in the fixe and fortieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where among many other things it is said of him, Who was there before him like to him, for hee fought the battells of the Lord?

That he wrote the booke called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Monta-40 nus*, because it is said in the last Chapter ver. 26. And *Iosua* wrote these wordes in the booke of the law of God: which seemeth rather to haue beene meant by the couenant which *Iosua* made with *Israel* in *Siechem*, where they all promised to serue and obey the Lord: which promise *Iosua* caused to be written in the booke of the Law: and of this opinion were *Caletanus* and *Abulenius*: *Theodoret* doth likewise conceiue that the booke of *Iosua* was collected out of an ancient Volume, intituled *Liber Inferum*; 1. 10. 13. remembered by *Iosua* himselfe, and others, that it was the worke of *Samuel*: for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion vpon these wordes of the 26. verse, And *Iosua* wrote these wordes, &c. this place bath nothing in it to proue it, for when the50 people had answered *Iosua* a; The Lord our God will we serue, and his voice will we obey, it followeth that *Iosua* made a couenant with the people, and wrote the same in the booke of the Law of God.

There liued at once with *Iosua*, *Eriethonius* in *Attica*, who taught that Nation to yoke beafts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speede: And

about the same time the fittie Daughters of *Danaius* (as it is said) slew the fittie Sonnes of *Aegyptus*, all but *Lyncus* who succeeded *Danaius*, if the tale be true. There liued also with *Iofua*, *Phoenix* and *Cadmus*, and neere the end of *Iofua*'s life, *Iupiter* is said to haue rauished *Europa* the Daughter of *Phoenix*, (afterward married to *Asiarius* King of *Creta*) and begar on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But *S. Augustine* reports this rauishment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sonnes of *Iupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was Father to *Daedalion*, and *Daedalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the war of *Troy*, and *Sarpedon* was in person a young or strong man at the same *Troian* warre. And so doth *Nestor* reckon vp in the Councell of the *Greekes*, *Thesus* and *Perithous* for men of antiquity, and of ages past: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of these. But hercof elsewhere.

Lib. 1. c. 1. 1. De Cimit. Dei.

Homer. Odys. & Iliad.

Hom. Iliad. 1.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of *Israell*, that were planted in the borders of *Phœnicia*, with sundrie Stories depending vpon those places.

§. I.

The Proeme to the description of the whole Land of *Canaan*, with an exposition of the name of *Syria*.



THE Storie of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Iofua*, after whome the Common-wealth of the *Jewes* was gouerned by Kings, of which for many of them as ruled the tenne Tribes, shall be remembered when wee come to the description of *Samaria*: but because the Land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and *Theaters*, whereon the greatest part of the Storie past, with that which followeth, hath bene acted, I thinke it very pertinent (for the better vnderstanding of both) to make a *Geographi*all description of those Regions: that all things therein performed by the places knowne, may the better bee vnderstood, and conceiued. To which purpose (besides the addition of the Neighbour Countries) I haue bestowed ouer euerie Tribe his proper portion: and doe shew what Cities and Places of strength, were by the *Jewes* obtained: and what numbers it pleased God to leaue vnconquered: by whom he might correct and scourge them, when vngratefull for his many graces, they at sundry times forgot or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deafe and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Diuina bonitas* (saith *AUGUSTINE*) *ideo maxime irascitur in hoc seculo, ne irascatur in futuro: & misericorditer temporalem aduict severitatem, ne eternam iussu inferat ultionem; The diuine goodnesse is especially therefore so angrie in this world, that it may not be angrie in the world to come, and doth mercifully use temporall severitie, that it may not iustly bring vpon vs eternall vengeance.*

To the Cities herein described, I haue added a short Storie of the beginnings and ends of diuers Kingdomes and common-wealths: and to helpe my selfe herein,

I haue

I haue perused diuers of the best Authors vpon this subiect: among whom, because I finde so great disagreement in many particulars, I haue rather in such cases aduentured to follow mine owne reason, than to borrow any one of their olde patterns. And because *Canaan*, with *Palestina* of the *Philistins*, and the Lands of *Og* and *Sihon* Kings of *Basan*, and the Arabian *Amorites*, were but small Provinces of *Syria*: it shall be necessarie, first to diuide and bound the generall, and so to defend to this particular, now called the holy Land.

Syria, now *Soria*, according to the largest description, and as it was anciently taken, embraced all those Regions from the *Euxine* Sea, to the Red Sea: and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which looke into *Pontus*, called *Leucosyrius*, or white *Syrians*. But taking it shorter, and from the coast of *Cilicia*, which is the North border, vnto *Idumaea* towards the South, *Tigris* towards the Sunne rising, and the *Mediterranean* Sea Westward: it then containeth besides *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, *Arabia* the *Desart*, and *Arabia Petrea*; that Region also which the *Greekes* call *Asiopotamia*; the *Hebrewes* *Syria*, of the two Riuer, to wit, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for so *Adam-Nabirejim* is expounded: also *Padan Aram*: that is, *Ingen Syria*, because the two Riuer goe along in it as it were in a yoke.

Edessa, sometime *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the *Metropolis* of this Region of *Syria*. In *Syria* taken largely, there were many small Provinces, as *Calefrya* which the Latines call *Syria Cana*, because it lay in that fruitfull Valley betwene the Mountaines of *Lybanus*, and *Anti-lybanus*, in which the famous Cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others were seated. Then *Damascena* or *Syria Lybonica*, taking name of the Citie *Damascus*, and the Mountaines of *Lybanus*, the Regall fate of the *Adides*, the first Kings of *Syria*. Adioyning to it was the Province of *Sephene*, or *Syria Sobab*, *Choba*, or *Zobal*: ouer which *Adideser* commanded in *Salomon*'s time. Then *Phœnicia* and the people *Syrpharines*: and lastly *Syria Palestine* bordering *Aegypt*: of which *Ptolomie* maketh *Iudea* also a part: and to that Province which *Moses* calleth *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giueth the name of *Syria Iudea*.

Ptol. Asie. tab. 4.

Ptol. 5.

Anagallat.

1. K. 11.

Herod. in Polyim.

Dion. l. 47.

Ptol. Asie. tab. 4.

§. II.

Of the bound of the Land of *Canaan*, and of the promises touching this Land.

BEVt that Land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phœnicia*, and stretcheth from behinde *Lybanus* to the great *Desart*: betwene *Idumaea* and *Aegypt*: bounded by the Mid-land Sea on the West, and the Mountaines of *Hermos*, *Galaad*, and *Arnon* towards the East: the same Hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traceni* or *Traceni*, and *Ptolomie* *Hippur*. The name of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the Sonne of *CHAM*, & lingua appellata fuit *CANAN*; The language was also called *CANAN*, saith *Montanus*: and after *Hebraea* of the *Hebrewes*: who tooke name from *Heber*, the Sonne of *Sade*, according to *S. Augustine*. But *Arias Montanus* not so well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all those of *Noahs* Sonnes, which past ouer *Euphrates* towards the West Sea. For the word *Heber*, saith hee, is as much as *transiens* or *transmissus*, of going or passing ouer. And because the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certaine abiding: therefore as he thinks, they were by the *Aegyptians* called *Hebraei*, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of *C. Sigontus*, and of *Eusebius* long before them both. It had also the name of *Iudea* from *Iuda*; and then afterwards intitled The holy Land, because therein our Saviour *Christ* was borne and buried. Now this part of *Syria* was againe diuided into foure; namely, into *Edom*, (otherwise *Seir*, or *Edumaea*) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Iudea*. *Galilee* is double; the *superior* called *Gentium*, and the *inferiour*: and that *Galilee* and *Iudea* are distinguished, it is plain in the *Euangelists*, though both of them belong to *Phœnicia*.

Strab. l. x. c.

calab. f. 6. s.

Euseb. Prep. Euang. l. 7. c. 3.

Math. 2. Luke 2. 2. John 4.

Now

Now besides these provinces of *Phenicia*, and *Palesine* (both which the River of *Jordan* boundeth; sauing that *Phenicia* stretcheth a little more Easterly towards *Damascus*) that part also to the East of *Jordan*, and within the Mountaines of *Hermus*, *Gilead* and *Arnon*, otherwise *Traconi*, fell to the possession of half *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* also: aswell because anciently possesed by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enioyed by the *Israelites*, which Eastermost parts are againe divided into *Basan* or *Balanea*, into *Gilead*, *Masch*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the Territories of the *Machabiz*, *Gessuri*, *Argobe*, &c. They are knowne to the later *Cosmographers* by the name of *Arabia* in generall; and by the names of *Tracantia*, *Petria*, *Batanea*, &c. of which I will speake in their proper places.

Deut. 11. 24.

But where *Moses* describeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Genesis*, he maketh no mention of the later Prouinces, which fell to *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*, for these be his words, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou comest to Gerar vntill Ascalab* (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the Countrey North and South: then it followeth in the Text; *And as thou goest vnto Sodome and Gomorah, and Admah, and Sebojim, euen vnto Lasfa*: by which words *Moses* setteth downe the breadth, to wit, from thd *Dead Sea* to the *Mediterran*. But in *Deuteronomie* it seemeth to be farre more large: For it is therein written; *All the places whereon the sole of your feet shall tread, shall be yours: your coast shall be from the wilderness and to from Libanon, and from the River Perah, vnto the vntermost Sea*. Now for the length of the Countrey North and South, this description agreeth with the former: onely *Libanon* is put for *Zidon*: and the *Wildernesse* for *Gerar* and *Ascalab*, which make no difference: for to the breadth and extent East and West, if *Perah* bee taken for *Euphrates*: then the Land promised stretcheth it selfe both ouer *Arabia Petrea*, and the *Desart* as farre as the border of *Babylon*: which the *Israelites* neuer possesed: nor at any time did so much as invade or attempt. And therefore *Vadianus* doth conceiue that by the River *Perah*, was meant *Jordan*, and not *Euphrates*: taking light from this place of *Iosv. 1*: *Behold, I haue diuided vnto you by lot these Nations, that remaine to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Jordan with all the Nations that I haue destroyed, euen vnto the great Sea Westward*.

33. 24.

Vadian. Epitom.
vrium top. e
puzium. cap. P
stina.

And though it bee true that *Dauid* greatly enlarged the Territorie of the holy Land: yet as *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perah* in the former place be taken for *Euphrates*, then was it put *per gentes in amicitiam receptas*. For *Dauid* did not at any time enter so farre to the East as *Assyria*, or *Babylonia*. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countries giue advantage to those that would make any irreligious cauil, as touching the promise of God to the *Israelites* vnperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and seruice, it pleased him not onely to inclose them within that Territorie, which was for so many people exceeding narrow; but therein and elsewhere to subiect them vnto those Idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish Gods themselves also serued and obeyed. And sure the promise by which the *Hebrewes* claimed the inheritance of *Canaan*, and the lastling inioying thereof, to wit, *as long as the heauens were aboute the earth*, was tied to those conditions, both in the Verses preceding, and subsequent; which the *Israelites* neuer performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankind could or can expect; who know that all sorts of comforts from the mercifull goodness of God looked for, aswell in this life as after it, are no longer to bee attended, than while wee perseuer in his loue, seruice, and obedience. So in the eighth Verse of the eleuenth of *Deuteronomie*, the keeping of Gods Commandements was a condition ioynted to the prosperity of *Israel*. For therein it is written; *Therefore shall yee keepe all the Commandements which I commaund you this day: that ye may be strong, and get in, and possesse the Land, whither yee goe to possesse it. Also that you may prolong your dayes in the Land which the Lord swore vnto your Fathers, &c.*

Deut. 11. 24.

Deut. 11.

The like condition was also annexed to the enioying of the land conquered, and the

the possession thereof, so long as the heauens were aboute the earth. For if yee keepe diligently, saith he, all these commandements, which I commaund you to doe, that is, to loue the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all these Nations before you, and yee shall possesse great Nations, and mightier than you. And heere, though it bee manifest, that by reason of the breach of Gods Commandements, and their falling away from the worship of his all-powerfull Majestie, to the Idolatrie of the Heathen, the conditional promises of God were absolutely void, as depending vpon obedience vnperformed: yet I cannot mislike that expolition of *Mel. nichon*: For saith he, ostendit promissionem precipuum non esse de hoc Politico regno; ille sheweth that his chiefe promise is not of a ciuill Kingdom. To which agrees that answere, which *S. Hierome* made to a certaine Heretique in his Epistle ad *Dardanum*, who accused *S. Hierome* that he ouerthrew the reputation of the *Iewes* Storice, and brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an Allegorie, and ad illam duntaxat vinctum terram que in calis est; (that is) Onely to that Land of the liuing which is in Heauen. Quoniam tota Iudeorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat 160. miliarium, latitudinem vero 40. & in his citam regiones, loca, rybes & oppida sunt plurima, nunquam à Iudeis occupata, sed tantum diuina pollicitatione promissa; Because the whole Countrey of the *Iewes* is so narrow in compass, that it scarce hath 160. miles in length, and 40. miles in breadth, and in these are Countreies, Places, Cities, and many Townes, which the *Iewes* neuer possesed, but were only granted by diuine promise. In like manner the same Father speaketh vpon *Eysy* touching the blessings promised vnto *Hierusalem*: where hee hath these words: De quo dicimus Hierusalem nequam in Palastina Regione petendam: quæ totius Prævincia deterrima est. & saxosis montibus asperatur. & penuriam patitur suis: ita ut celestibus utatur pluujs, & raritatem fontium æternarum extructione solatur: sed in Dei manibus ad quam dicitur sessinauerunt structores tui. From whence, saith he, we learne, that *Hierusalem* is not to be sought in that Region of *Palesine*, which is the worst of the whole Prouince, and ragged with craggie Mountaines, and suffereth the penurie of thirst: so as it preferueth raine water, and supplieth the scarcitie of Wells by building Cisternes, but this *Hierusalem* is in Gods hands, to which it is said, Thy builders haue hastened, so farre *S. Hierome*, where also to preuent mistaking, hee thus expoundeth himselfe. Neque hoc dico in succillationem terre Iudeæ, ut Hereticus Syrophanta mentitur: aut quo auctorem historiarum veritatem: que fundamentum est intelligentia spiritualis, sed ut decuit supercilium Iudeorum: qui Synagoge angustias latitudini Ecclesiæ preferunt. Si enim occiderint tantum sequuntur literam, & non spiritum viuificantem: ostendunt terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem; & eiber (saith he) say I this to disgrace the land of *Iudæa* (as the Hereticall *Syrophant* doth belie me) or to take away the truth of the Historie, which is the foundation of spiritual vnderstanding, but to beate downe the pride of the *Iewes*: which enlarge the straits of the Synagogue farther then the breadth of the Church: for if they follow onely the killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them siew the Land of promise, flowing with milke and honnie.

By this it may also be gathered, how fouler it be vnlike (seeing the West-bound in the place, *Deut. 11. 24.* had his truth in the littall sense, that *Euphrates* or *Perah*, which is made the East bound, should be taken only in a spiritual sense) yet neuertheless that *Hieroms* opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perah* were not to be vnderstood for *Euphrates*: and that the promise it selfe was neuer so large: much lesse the plantation and conquest of *Israel*.

And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because *Asher*, *Nephthaim*, and *Zabulon*, held the Northernmost part, and were seated in *Phenicia*, I will begin with these three, taking *Asher* for the first: of which Tribe yet before I speake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names by reason of the diuers fancies of Translators, are diuersly expressed, so that to the vnskillfull they may seeme diuers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diuersitie (as by those learned in the Hebrew I am taught) is, partly because the ancient Editions

tions of the Hebrew want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the Hebrew Editions have; and partly because the Ancient expressed or omitted diuers consonants, otherwise than the latter thinke fit.

S. III.

THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

†. I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

THe *Asherites* descended of *Asher* the Sonne of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, were increased while they abode in *Aegypt*, to the number of 41500. and odde persons, all men about twentie yeeres of age, and able to beare armes at the time, when they were mustered by *Moses* at Mount *Sinai*: all which number perishing in the *Deserts*, 20 there remained of their issues, besides women and children 53400. bodies fit for the warres: which past the River of *Arnon*, into the Plaines of *Moab*, and after the Conquest of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phanicia*, from *Zidon* and the fields of *Lithanus*, vnto *Ptolomai Acon* alongh the Sea-coast: containing thirtie English miles or thereabout: and from the Mid-land sea to the East border some twelue miles: though *Antoninus* makes it somewhat larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitful, abounding in Wine, Oile, and Wheate, besides the *Balsamum*, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that *Prophetie*, *Gen. 49.* *Asher pinguis panis*: concerning *Asher*, his bread shall be fat: *And he shall give pleasures for a King.*

†. II.

Of Zidon.

THe first Citie seated on the North border of the Territorie of *Asher*, was *Zidon*, which *Iosua* calleth the great *Zidon*, both for strength and magnitude. The *Greekes* and *Quintus* make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Iosime* deriues the name from the abundance of Fish found on those shores: whereof it hath been called *Zidonia*. But that it was farre more ancient, *Moses*, *Iosua*, and *Iosephus* witnesse, 40 the same being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Canaan*s Sonnes: and so strong it was in *Iosua*s time, as neither did himselfe attempt it, neither could the *Asherites*, or any of their Successors master it: but it continued all the time of the *Iudges* and *Kings*, euen vnto the coming of *Christ*, a Citie interchangeably gouerned, by their owne Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the *Prophets* *Esay*, *Hieremie*, *Ezekiel*, and *Zacharie*, it was often afflicted both by the enemies sword, and by the pestilence.

Zidon is seated on the very wath of the *Phenician* Sea, which is a part of the *Mediterran* or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North the Citie of *Berythus*, and the River *Leontis*: and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sophat*: which standeth betwene it and *Tyre*, the distance betwene which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is fourteene thousand paces, saith *Seiglerus*: but *Adrianus* maketh it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *Weslingius* in his description of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make fise and twentie miles. This difference

of distance as well betwene these two knowne Cities, as all the rest, make it ouer difficult to deuise any new scale to the Map, and description of the holy Land.

What Kings it had till *Agenors* time there is no memorie: The Storie which *Zeno* the Philosopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time consumed and lost. It seemeth to bee more ancient than *Tyre*: which was also built by the *Zidonians*. For as *Strabo* noteth, *Plomer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memorie of *Tyre*: because it was but a member of *Zidon*, and a Citie subiect to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacie, and became farre more renowned, opulent, and strong: From *Zidon* had *Salomon* and *Zorobabel*, their principall workmen, both in Timber and Stone; for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all other *Mechanicall Arts* and Trades: the *Prophet Zacharie* calling them the wise *Zidonians*. The Citie was both by nature and art exceeding strong, hauing a Castle or Citadell on the North-side, standing vpon an vnaccessible Rocke, and compassed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became *Christians*, was held and defended by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Cattle it hath on the South side by the Port of *Aegypt*, which the *Templers* guarded. It also feine many other Colonies besides that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as vnto *Thibes*, and *Sephira*, Cities of *Iudicia* in *Greece*. *Strabo* and *Plinie* giue the *Zidonians* the invention of the Glasse, which they vld to

make of those sands which are taken out of the River *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterran* Sea, neere *Ptolomais* or *Acon*: and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of those cleare Glasses which they make at *Murano*: of which *S. Hierome* and *Plinie*. *Zidon insignis artifex vitri*: *Zidon vitarys officinis Nobilis*: *Zidon a famous Glasse-maker, or a skilfull worker in Glasse-houses*.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the rest of the *Canaanites*) worshippers of *Baal* and *Astarte*: which Idols though common to the other of the issue of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* gathers out of 1. *Sam.* 31. 10. and *Iud.* 10. 6.) yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the Gods of the *Zidonians*: as appears 1. *Kings* 17. 5. in the storie of *Salomons* Idolatrie: where *Astarte* is called the God of the *Zidonians*: and 2. *Reg.* 16. 33 in the storie of *Achab*, the chiefe worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said that hee marrying *Iezabel* the Daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worshipped their *Baal*. Diuers *Baals* and diuers *Astartes* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appears by the plural names of *Baalim* and *Astartes*, 1. *Sam.* 12. 10. and else where: for euen the name *Astarte*, as I am informed by a skilfull *Hevritian*, is plural: the singular being *Astartis*: whence *Iud.* 2. 13. the *Septuagint* readeth *idolatrias eius astartis*: They worshipped the *Astarties*. The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Baals*, and *Astartes*, may be diuersly vnderstood: either in respect of the diuersitie of the formes of the Images, or of the worship in diuers places, or of the stories depending vpon them: which (as fables vnto bee) were doubtlesse in diuers Cities diuers. *Antiquit. quest.* 16. in *Iudg.* thinkes *Baal* and *Astarte* to bee *Iupiter* and *Iuno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrants*) call *Iuno* by some such name as *Astarte*. *Tullie lib.* 3. de *Nat. Deorum*, making diuers *Goddes* of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to be *Astarte*: whom hee makes to be borne of *Tyrrus* and *Syria*, and to haue bene the wife of *Adonis*: as also *Macrobius*. 2. *Saturn.* cap. 21. saies that *Adonis* was with great veneration commonly worshipped of the *Affrians*: and *Hierome* vpon *Ezek.* 8. 44. notes that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewaile) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may seeme that in the worship of *Astarte*, or *Venus*, they did bewaile her husband *Adonis*: as also the *Gracians* did in their songs of *Adonis*. *Mourne* for *Adonis* is the faire, dead is *Adonis* the faire.

Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Osiris* in the sacrifices of *Isis*: whose losse of her husband *Osiris*, was as famous in the *Aegyptian* Idolatrie, as with the *Gracians*, *Venus* losse of *Adonis*. And to this agreeeth that which *Pistarch* hath, de *Isidis & Osiridis*: that *Osiris* with the *Aegyptians* is called *Ammuz*: which word may seeme

Strab. l. 16.

Zach. 9. v. 2.

Havell. 1.

Plin. l. 5. c. 9.

It seemes

that euen in

Iosime they

perched glasse

making, wisede

tem as for mif

bephatuam

which ad vltis

is as much as

conspicuous a-

quation, recdes

forntes citati-

ad. 1. 1. 8. as it

seem, because

these Fornaces

were wher ther

was fire of wa-

ter, either for

the mouing of

the force of the

water, or for o-

ther necessary

vies, but there

are others that

take them for

alt pits, and o-

ther aquies for

hot baths.

The forme of

Astarte (or A-

starte) seemeth

to haue bene

a sheepe, for

Deut. 7. 13. the

word in the plu-

rall number is

signified sheepe

and this may

confirm *Ad-*

gustins opinion,

that *Astarte* was*Iuno*: for the

forme of her

husband *Am-*

miz was a Ramme,

ἀμμιζος ἀμμιζ

Adonis

Matth. 12. v. 10.

seeme to be the same with *Ezekiels Thammuz*. But howsoever these *Zidonians* were thus anciently sowered with the milke of Idolatry: yet they were more apt to receive the Doctrine and Gospell of Christ after his Ascension, than the *Jewes*: who had beene taught by *Moses*, and the *Prophets* for many yeeres, whereof our Saviour in *Matth. 12. v. 10.* *Ivce bee to thee Corazin, &c. for if the great works which were done in thee, had beene done in Tyrrus and Zidon, they had repented long ago, &c. but I say unto you, it shall be easier for Tyrrus and Zidon, at the day of iudgement than for you.*

Tyr. 11. Bell.
Sacr. 14.
Pittine. c. 27.

It received a *Christian Bishop* with the first: who was afterward of the Diocesse of *Tyre*. But in the yeere of our Redemption 636. it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*: and continued in their possession till *Baldwinus* the first, then King of *Hierusalem*, in the yeere 1111. by the helpe of the *Danes* and *Normayes*, who came with a Fleet to visite the holy Land, and tooke *Portus Ioppa*, it was againe recovered, the commandement thereof being giuen to *Eustace Gremer*, a Noble man of that Countrey. And againe in the yeere 1250. it was reedified and strengthened by *Lodowicke* the French King: while hee spent foure yeere in the Warre of the holy Land. Lastly, in the yeere 1289. it was reconquered by the *Saracens*: and is now in possession of the *Turke*, and hath the name of *Zai*.

Niger Poeticus.

†. I I I.

Of *Sarepta*, with a briefe Historie of *Tyre* in the same coast.

Sarepta, or after the *Hebrew*, *Sarpath*, is the next Citie Southward from *Zidon*, betwene it and the River called *Aar*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards *Tyre*, a Citie very famous for the excellent Winegrowing neere it: of which *Strabo* writes.

*Vina mihon sunt Gazetia, Chia, Falerna,
Quæq; Sareptano palmite missa bibas.*

I haue no wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* wine,
Nor any for thy drinking of *Sarepta's* vine.

This Citie had also a *Bishop* of the Diocesse of *Tyre*: after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turkes*, as thereft: and is now called *Saphet*, saith *Possellus*.

Virgil.

Not farre from *Sarepta* was situate that sometime famous Citie of *Tyre*, whose fleets of ships commanded, and gaue the law ouer all the *Mediterran* Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatnesse and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Tyris*, *Leptis*, and *Carthage* in *Africa*, of which *Virgil*. *Vrbs antiqua fuit Tyrrum* *Coloni Carthago*. And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica* quasi *Phœnicum*, a *Colonic* of the *Phœnicians*. In *Spain* they founded *Gades*, now *Cadiz*. In *Italie*, *Nola*: in *Asia* the lesse, *Dromos Achilles*, which Citie the *Schoolast* of *Apollonius* placeth neere the River *Phyllis*, in *Bithynia*.

Gellius. l. 4. c. 6.

It had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*: and so it is written in *Iosua* the 19. taking name from the situation: because built on a high Rocke, sharpe at one end. The *Latines*, as it seemes, knew it by the name of *Sarra*; for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *gl'rum Sarranum*, by which name *Iuuenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it vpon a high Hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day; the place being still knowne by the name of the ancient *Tyre*: and because it was a *Colonic* of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet *Esay* calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*; which *Trogus* also confirmeth, though *Berosus* by affinitie of name makes *Thiras* the Sonne of *Iaphet* to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very ancient (for so much the Prophet *Esay* also witnesseth, *It is not this your glorious Citie whose antiquitie is of ancient daies?*)

Cap. 23.

Cap. 23.

daies;) yet, that *Thiras* the sonne of *Iaphet* set himselfe in the bosome of the *Canaanites* who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region: I see nothing to perfwade mee.

But that new *Tyre* in after-times so renowned, seemeth to bee the worke of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was *Curcius*: and *Iosephus*, and *Eusebius* make this Citie elder than *Salomons* Temple 240. yeeres: *Cedrenus* 361. who also addeth that *Tyrrus* the Wife of *Agenor* gaue it her name: but of *Agenor* I will speake more at large in the storie of their Kings.

For strength and for the commoditie of the harbour, and the better to receive Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Iland, 700. paces from the continent: and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the middelt of the Sea, as some read, or as others in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence hee calleth it situate at the entrie of the Sea, as also the same Prophet calleth it the *Mart* of the people for many isles: and *Esay* a *Mart* of the Nations: and so Proude, Wealthie, and Magnificent was this Citie, as the Prophet *Esay* calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the world.

It excelled both in learning, and in manufecture: especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, saith *Iulius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules Dogge*, who passing alongst the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fish *Conchili* or *Purpura*: the haire of his lips became of that colour. It worshipped the same Idolls that *Zidon* did: sauing that *Hercules* became their *Tatrou* in after-times: For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* presented him with a crowne of gold; and other gifts, desiring to remaine his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defender of their Citie: and the Ancestor of the *Macedonians* Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountaine of old *Tyre*: where he might performe that ceremonie: but this auailed not. For *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitious, hee desired to enter the Towne, which being denied, hee saw whom no perill could feare, nor labour wearie, gathered together as many ships as he could; and brought from *Libanus* so great a number of *Cedars*, and so many waightie Stones, from the old Citie of *Tyre* adioyning, as notwithstanding that his materials were often walst away with the strength of the Sea, and the Tides, yet he neuer rested, till hee had made a foote passage from the Continent to the Iland: and hauing once approached their Walls, hee ouer-topt them with *Turrets* of wood, and other frames: from whence (hauing filled the body of force with the violent mouing Spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the sword that resisted, after which he caused 2000. more to bee hung vpon a ranke all alongst the Sea-shore: which execution vpon cold blood hee performed (as some Authors affirm) vpon the issues of those slaues which had formerly slaine all their

Masters, taking their Wiues, Children, Riches, and power of Gouernement to themselves. This victorie of *Alexander* ouer the *Tyrians*, *Iosephus* remembreth: and how *Sannaballat* revolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000. Soldiers: who was the last *Satrapa* or Prouinciall Gouernour, which *Darius* leated in *Samarita*: the same who hauing married his Daughter to *Manasse*, brother to *Iaddus* the high Priest of *Hierusalem*, obtained of *Alexander* that a Temple might bee built on the Mountaines *Garizim* ouer *Samarita*: that the forces of the *Jewes* being diuided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The Honour of which Priesthood he bestowed on his sonne-in-law *Manasse*, whom the *Jewes* oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a Gentile: but while *Alexander* belieged *Gaza*, *Sannaballat*, whom *Gail. Tyrrus* calleth *Sannabals*, died.

Long before this desolation of *Tyre*, by the crueltie of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanser* the *Assyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Assyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of *Syria*, became enuious of the beautie, riches, and power of that Citie. Hee besieged it both on the Land-side,

Iosub. 1. 18.
Cur. 1. 4.
Euseb. in Croa.
Ioseph. anti. lib. 8.
cap. 1.
Cedren. p. 17.Ezek. 26. 27.
v. 3.
Isai. 23. 3.

27. 8.

Ioseph. anti. lib. 11. c. 3.

De bell. Ier. l. 3. c. 4.

and with three-score ships of Warre held the Port: to the end that neither any v.
 Qualls nor any supply of men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelve saile scattered that flecte, and tooke 500. prisoners of the *Assyrians*: notwithstanding, the *Assyrian* continued his resolution and lay before it by his Lieutenants five yeeres, but with ill successe. And this sieg *Menander Ephesus*, cited by *Iosephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as hee found the Storie among the *Annals* of the *Tyrians* (which the said *Menander* converted into Greeke) adding that *Eulamus*, whom *Tyrius* calleth *Helsamus*, was then King of *Tyre*, having gouerned the same fixe and twentie yeeres. Soone after this repulse of *Salmansassar*, and about 200. yeeres before the victorie of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonosor* at such time as hee destroyed *Hierusalem* with the Temple, came before this Citie: who indeed gaue to *Alexander* the example of that despairfull worke, of ioyning it to the Continent. For *Nabuchodonosor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the same cawley and passage was againe broken downe, and demolished.

Against *Nabuchodonosor*, for many yeeres, the *Tyrians* defended themselves: for so long did these *Babylonians* continue before it, *As every head was made bald, and euery shoulder made bare*, saith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Elay* had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proude place. In the end and after thirteene yeeres siege or more, the *Tyrians* despoiled of all their hopes, and remembering ouer-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, hauing prepared a convenient number of ships, abandoned their Citie, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained: and with their wiues, children, and portable riches sailed thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritimate Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: so as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to satisfie so many labours and perills, or any person vpon whom to auenge themselves for the losse of so many bodies in that Warre: It pleased God, in recompence thereof (who strenghtened this resolution, as in a worke of his owne) to make *Nabuchodonosor* victorious ouer the *Egyptians*: and gaue him that Kingdome and the spoile thereof, as it were in wages for his Armie. Whereupon Saint *Hierome* noteth, that God leauech not the good deeds of the Heathen vnrwarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attaine vnto that eternall happinesse reserved for his *Servants* and *Saints*: yet such is the boundlesse goodnesse of God, as he often repaisth them with many worldly gilts and temporal blessings.

Now of this enterprife of *Nabuchodonosors* against *Tyre*, prophane Historians haue not bene silent. For both *Diodor*, and *Philostratus* (as *Iosephus* citeth them) the one in his second Booke, the other in his *Phenician Histories* remember it.

After these two great *Rassations* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*: this Citie of *Tyre* repaired and recovered it selfe againe: and continued in great glorie about 300. yeeres, euen to the coming of our *Sauour Christ*: and after him flourished in the *Christian* Faith neere 600. yeeres: the Archbishop whereof gaue place to none great Citie, with their Bishops and Suffragans: namely *Caipha*, otherwise *Perphoria*, *Acon* or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Casarea*, *Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Byblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthofia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus* (or *Tortosa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the yeere 636. it was with the rest of that beautifull Region of *Phenicia* and *Palaestina*, subiect to the cruell and faithlesse *Saracen*. Vnder the burthen and yoke of whose tyrannic it suffered with the other *Palestine* Cities 488. yeeres.

In the yeere 1112. it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Hierusalem*; but in vaine: yet in the yeere 1124. by *Gueremonde*, Patriarke of *Hierusalem*, *Vicegerent* to *Baldwine* the second, with the assistance of the *Venetians*, and their flecte of Gallies, it was againe recovered, and subiect to the Kings of *Hierusalem*, and so it remained 165. yeeres.

Finally, in the yeere 1189. *Saladin* hauing first taken *Hierusalem*, removed his whole Armie and late downe before *Tyre*: drawing his flecte of ships and Gallies from

from *Alexandria* into the port, this Citie as then onely remaining in the *Christian* power.

The citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certaine rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the *Saracens* flecte, and falling out resolutely vpon his armie, flew to great numbers of them, and followed their victorie with such furie, as that the *Saracens* forsaking their Trenches and Tents, remoued in great disorder and dishonour. Two yeeres after which victorie the bodie of that famous *Fredricke Barbarossa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Christians* enemies ouer a Riuier vnfoordable, perished by the weight of his armor therein) was brought and interred in the Cathedral church of *Tyre*, neere vnto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garnished and grauen with guilt pillars of Marble, 940. yeeres before therein buried: but in the yeere 1289. the *Saracens* againe attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subiect to the *Turks*.

†. IIII. Of Ptolomais or Acon.

The third Citie along the coast of the Sea, which the *Assyrites* could not obtaine, on the South bound of *Affer* was *Acho*, which was the ancient name thereof after *Hierome*, though other good Authors affirme that it tooke name from *Acon* the brother of *Ptolome*. *Plinie* calleth it *Ace*: and otherwise the *Colonie* of *Cleudius*. It had also the name of *Coth* or *Cod*, and by *Zeiglerus* it is called *Hactipos*.

But lastly, it was intituled *Ptolomais* after the name of one of the *Egyptian* *Ptolomes*: which Citie also as it is 1. *Mac.* 11. another of the *Ptolomes*, infideliouly wrested from his sonne in law *Alexander*, which called himselfe the sonne of *Antiochus* *Epiphanes*: the same *Alexander* hauing married *Cleopatra* daughter of the said *Ptolome* not long before. Therein also was *Jonathan Maccabees* treacherously surprized and slaine, as it is 1. *Macc.* 12. 48. by the perfidioulnesse of *Tryphon*, whom soone after *Antiochus* pursued as it is in the Storie ensuing: and by like reason about the same time was the aforesaid *Alexander* in the warre against *Demetrius* one of the sonnes of *Antiochus* the great with whom *Ptolome* ioyned, ouerthrowne and treacherously murdered by *Zabdiel* the *Arabian*: to whom he fled for succour: and his head presented vnto his father in law *Ptolome*: who enioyed not the glory of his victorie and treason about three dayes, for God stricke him by death.

For the beautie and strength of this Citie, this *Alexander* made it his regall seat; two parts of the same being inuironed by the Sea, and the Port for safetie and capacitie not inferior to any other in all that *Traet*. This Citie is distant from *Hierusalem* some foure and thirtie miles: foure miles to the North from the Mountaine *Carmel*, and as much to the South from *Castrum Lancherti*: from *Tyre*, *Antoni* maketh it two and thirtie Italian miles. In the middle of the Citie there was a Tower of great strength sometime the Temple of *Bel-Zabub*: and therefore called the Castle of *Flies*, on the topp whereof there was maintained a perpetuall light, like vnto that called *Pharus* in *Egypt*: to giue comfort in the night to those ships, which came neere and sought that part. It had in it a Bishops seate, of the Diocesse of *Tyre*, after it became *Christian*: but in the yeere 636. (a fatall yeere to the *Christians* in those parts) it was forced and taken by *Haumarus* the *Saracen*. In the yeere 1104. it was regained by *Baldwine* the first, by the helpe of the Gallies of *Genoa*: to whom a third of the reuenue was giuen in recompence. Againe, in the yeere of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred foure-score and seuen *Saladin* King of *Egypt*, and *Syria*, became Lord thereof. In the yeere of *Christ*, one thousand one hundred ninetie and one, by *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France*, it was repofessed and redeliuered to the *Christians*. Lastly, in the yeere 1291. it

was by the furie of the *Saracens* besieged with an Armie of 150000. entred, sackt, and vicerly demolished: though in some sort afterward recified, and it is now *Turkish*.

†. V.
Of the Castle of St. GEORGE.

Brach.

Itin. 4.
Of the place &
memorie of
his death. See
Chap. 9. S. 6.

Five miles from *Ptolomais* towards the East, is the Castle of St. George seated, in which he was borne: the Valley adioyning bearing the same name. And though for the credit of S. Georges killing the Dragon, I leave euery man to his owne beliefe: yet I cannot but thinke, that if the Kings of *England* had not some probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was strange that the Order full of Honour, which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Successours Royally haue continued, should haue borne his name, seeing the world had not that scarceitie of Saints in those days, as that the *English* were driuen to make such an erection vpon a Fable, or Person fained. The place is described by *Adrichomius* in his description of *Affer*, to haue bene in the fields of *Libanus*: betweene the River *Adonis*, and *Zidon*: his owne wordes are these: *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longe à Beryto, memorant inditum Christi Aditum D. GEORGIUM; Regis filium ab immanissimo Dracone asseruisse: eamq. multata bestia parenti restituisse. In cuius rei memoriam Ecclesia postmodum fuit edificata: In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called Cappadocia, not farre from Berytus, men say that the famous Knight of Christ Saint GEORGE, did rescue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon: and hauing killed the best, delivered the Virgin to her Parent. In memorie of which deede a Church was after built there: Thus saith *Adrichomius*. His Authors he citeth *Leonicius Roman. Patri. Navigationum*, l. 1. c. 3. and *Bridenbach Itin.* 5. The Valley vnder this Castle sometime called *Affer*, was afterward called the Valley of S. George. If this authoritie suffice not, we may rather make the Storie allegoricall, figuring the victorie of Christ, than accept of George the *Arrian* Bishop, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*.*

†. VI.
Of *Acziba*, *Sandalium*, and others.

Betweene *Ptolomais* and *Tyre* alongst the Sea coast, was the strong Citie of *Acziba*, or *Achazib*, which S. Hierome calleth *Achziph*, and *Iosephus* *Ecdippus*; *Plinie* *Ecdippa*, one of those which defended it selfe against the *Asserites*. *Belforrest* findes *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the Castle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

Hieron. de Locis
sacris.
Ios. lib. 1. c. 15.
Pline. l. 5. c. 19.

The twelue searchers of the Land which *Moses* sent from *Cadeshbarne*, traualled as farre to the North as *Roob*, or *Rechab*, in the Tribe of *Affer*, which *Rechab*, as also *Berothe* which by *Ezekiel* cap. 47. v. 16. is placed in these North borders, belonged in *Dauids* time to the King *Hadarbezer*, as it may bee gathered out of the second of *Samuel* the 8. cap. and 8. vers. 6. and cap. 10. vers. 6. and it defended it selfe against the *Asserites*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achzib*, *Ptolomais*, *Alab*, *Helbah*, and *Aphek* did.

This *Aphek* it was, whose Wall falling downe, slew seven and twentie thousand of *Benhadads* Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had bene slaughtered by the *Israelites*, vnder the conduct of *Alab*. Here *Iunius* finds that the *Philistines* incamped a little before the battaile at *Gilboa*, though in his Note vpon the first of *Samuel*, the 9. and 1. he takes *Aphek* there mentioned (at which battaile the *Arke* was taken) to haue bene in *Iuda*. Of which *Ios.* 15. and 53. and in the second of *Kings* 13. 17. hee reads, *Fortiter*, for, in *Aphek*. Where others conuert it, *Peruicinus* *Syrosin* *Aphek*.

2. Kings. 20. 19.
1. Sam. 31. 1.

The

The next place alongst the coast is *Sandalium*, first called *Schandalium* of *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*, for *Alexander Macedon* built it, when hee besieged *Tyre*: and set it on a point of Land which extendeth it selfe into the Sea, betwene *Acziba* and *Tyre*: which *Catle* *Baldwine* the first rebuilt and fortified; in the yecre of Christ 1157. when he vnderooke the recouerie of *Tyre*.

Not much above a mile from this Castle, there ariseth that most plentifull spring of water, which *Salomon* remembreth, called the Well of living waters: from whence not only all the fields and plaines about *Tyre* are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawne: but the same Spring, which hath not about a bow-shot of ground to traueile till it recouer the Sea, driueth fixe great Mills in that short passage, saith *Brocherd*.

Within the Land, and to the East of *Acziba*, and *Sandalium*, standeth *Hofa*: and beyond it, vnder the Mountaines of *Tyre*, the Citie of *Achzaph*, or *Axab*, or after S. Hierome *Achaph*, a Citie of great strength, whose King amongst the rest was slaine by *Ishba*, at the waters of *Aterom*.

†. VII.
Of *Thoron*, *Giscala*, and some other places.

Further into the Land towards *Jordan*, was seated the Castle of *Thoron*, which *Hugo de Sancto Abilemare* built on the Easter-moist Hills of *Tyre*, in the yecre 1107. thereby to restrain the excursions of the *Saracens*, while they held *Tyre* against the *Christians*: the place adioyning being very fruitfull, and exceeding pleasant. From this Castle the Lords of *Thoron*, famous in the Storie of the Warres for the recouerie of the Holy Land, deriue their names, and take their Nobilitie. It had in it a curious Chappell, dedicated to the blessed *Virgin*, in which *Humphrey* of *Thoron*, Constable to *Baldwine* the third, King of *Hierusalem*, lieth buried: There were five Castles besides this within the Territorie of *Affer*: whereof foure are seated almost of equall distance from each other: to wit, *Castrum Lamperti*, *Montfort*, *Indin* (or *Saron*) *Castrum Regium*, and *Belfort*: The first nere the Sea vnder the Hills of *Saron*: the next three, to wit, *Indin*, *Montfort*, and *Regium*, stand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brother-hood and Fellowship of the *Teutonici*, or *Dutch Knights* (by which they defended themselves, and gaue succour to other *Christians* as such time as the *Saracens* posselt the best part of the vpper *Galilee*) the chiefe of which Order was in *Ptolomais* *Acon*. The first Fortresse was for beautie and strength called *Belfort*, seated in the high ground vpon the River *Naar*, nere the Citie *Rama*: of which in this Tribe *Ios.* 19. 29. for which the *Vulgar* reads *Horma*: making the article a part of the word, and mistaking the vowels: from the siege of this Castle of *Belfort*, the great *Saladine* King of *Syria* and *Aegypt*, was by the *Christians* Arme raised, and with great losse and dishonour repulsed.

To the East of *Belfort*, is the strong Citie of *Alab* (or *Achlab*) which S. Hierome calleth *Chalab*, one of those that defended them selfes against *Affer*, as *Roob* (or *Rechab*) not farre thence did.

Towards the South from *Roob* they place *Gabala* (which *Herod*, furnished the *Assalonite* rebuilt) making it of the Territorie of *Chabul*, Quod *Syrorum lingua* *disputare* significat (saith *Wesslenburg*) so called, because *Hiram* of *Tyre* was ill pleased with those twentie Cities, seated hereabout, which *Salomon* presented vnto him in recompence of those prouisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others thinke this *Chabul* or *Cabal*, containing a circuit of those twentie Cities giuen to *Hiram*, to haue bene without the compasse of the holy Land: though bordering *Affer* on the North side: as it is said, 1. Reg. 9. 11. that they were in *Regione limitis*: that is, in *limite Regionis*, in the border of the Countrie: for it was not lawfull, say they, to giue to strangers any part of the possessions allotted to the *Israelites*: howsoeuer, that as

Cent. 4.

Itin. 1.

Ios. 12. 20.

Herod. l. 2. c. 4.
Continuatio
Bell. sac.

Ios. 9. 11. 21.
1. Reg. 9. 11.

2. Reg. 9. 11.

1 Sam. 10. 6.

ter *Theram* had refused them, they were peopled by the *Israelites*, it appeares *2 Chron. 8. 14.* And it seemes they were conquered by *David* from the *Syri Rechobai*, whose Citie *Reph*, or *Rechab*, was in these parts.

Cap. 16.

Almost of equal distance from the Castle of *Thoron*, they place the Cities of *Giscala*, and *Gadara*: of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed ouer *Jordan*: *Giscala* was made famous by *John* the Sonne of *Leui*, who from a meane estate gathering together foure hundred Theeves, greatly troubled all the vpper *Galilee*: at such time as the *Romans* attempted the conquest of *Judea*: by whose practice *Iosephus*, who then commanded in the vpper *Galilee*, was greatly indangered: whereof himselfe hath written at large, in his second Booke of those Warres. This *John* betraying in all hee could to the Citie of *Giscala* (whereof he was naturall) to the *Roman State*: and finding a resistance in the Citie, gaue opportunitie, during the contention, to the *Tyrians* and *Gadarams*, to surprize it: who at the same time forst it, and burnt it to the ground; but being by *Iosephus* authoritie rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to *Titus* by composition. They finde also the Cities of *Cana*, *Adair*, and * *Cades*: (or *Cedessa*) of the first was that *Syro-phoenician*, whose Daughter *Christ* deliuered of the euill Spirit. Neere the other, they say, it was that *Ionathas Machabaeus* ouer-threw the Armie of *Demetrius*.

* See *Kadish* in *Nephthim*.
Math. 15.
Marc. 7.
Maccab. 11. 73.
Iosephus Antiq. 13. cap. 8.
a Of which *Iosephus* in *vita sua*.
b Of both which *Ios. 19. 37*
Ezek. 47. 15.
c Or *Enech*.
Iosephus Antiq. 1. cap. 4.

Ios. 11. 30.

There are besides these forenamed Cities within the Tribe of *Asher*, diuers others: as on the South border, and neere the Sea, *Meisall* or *Misheal*: within the Land * *Be-sara*, *Bethdegon*, and *Bethemes*, standing on the South border betwene *Asher* and *Zabulon*: on the North side ioyning to *Syro-phoenicia*, is the Citie of *Heibalon*, or *Chelion*, the vtmost of the holy Land that way: vnder which towards the Sea is *Cheli*, and then c *Enech* supposed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his Sonne *Enech*, but without probability, as I haue formerly proued: there are others also besides these, as *Ammon* or *Chammon*, of which *Ios. 19. 28.* where also we reade of *Neiel*, *Rama*, *Alamelec*, and *Beton*: the Cities of *Alcah*, or *Chelchath*, *Hadden*, and *Rechob*, and *Misheh*, which we haue already mentioned, were by the *Asherites* giuen to the *Leuites*. Others held by the *Canaanites*, mention is made, *Iudg. 1. 30.* to which out of *Iosua* we may adde *Ebron*, *Amhad*, and others, on which no storie dependeth; and therefore I will not pester the description with them.

†. VIII.

Of the Rivers and Mountaines of *Asher*.

Ase. Tab. 4.

Plin. 13.

Ase. Tab. 4.

Ps. Orisophan
or Eleutherus
of Tripolis.

d The word
Nabal is am-
biguous, either
for a Valley or
for a River: but
this word *Ghe*
is alway a Val-
ley, as in *Geni-
mon* and *Gele-
manim*.

The rivers to the North of *Asher*, are *Adonis*, afterward *Canis*, to which *Ziegler* ioyneth *Lycus*, *Ptolomie*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the Sea neere *Berytus*: which River of *Leontis*, *Montanus* drawes neere vnto *Zidon*: finding his head northward, where *Ptolomie* doth, betwene *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath also a River called *fons hortorum Libani*, which *Adrichome* out of *Brocard* intituleth *Eleutherus*: for which hee also citeth *Plinie*; and the first of *Machabees* the 11. Chap. but neither of those authorities proue *Eleutherus* to be in *Asher*: for this River falleth into the Sea at the Ile of *Aradus*: not farre from *Balanea*, witnesseth *Ptolomie*: and therefore *Pinitus* calleth it *Valania*, and *Possellus* *Valana*: which River boundeth *Phoenicia* on the North side: to which *Strabo* also agreeth: but this principall River of *Asher*, *Arias Montanus* calleth *Gabatus*. *Christianus Schrot* out of the mouth and Papers of *Peter Laicstan* (which *Laicstan* in this our age both viewed and described the Holy Land) calleth the maine River *fons hortorum Libani*: and one of the streames which runneth into it from the North side, *Naar*, and another from the South-west, *Chelion*: of the Citie adioyning of the same name: for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is also another River described by *Adrichome*, named *Leptach*, which I finde in no other Author, and for which hee citeth the nineteenth of *Iosua*, but the word * *Ghe* which is added there to *Leptach*, is not taken for a River, but for a Valley: and fora Valley the

the *Vulgar*, the *Genens*, and *Arias Montanus* turne it. There is also found in *Asher*, the River of *Belus*, remembered by *Iosephus* and *Tacitus*, which is also called *Pagidas*, saith * *Plinie*: out of the sands of this River are made the best *Glasse*, which sometime the *Zidonians* practised: and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arias Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedunim*, which it cannot be: for *Belus* is knowne to flow from out the Lake *Cendewia*, as all *Cosmographers* both Ancient and Moderne, and the later Trauailers into those parts witness. It is true that the River of *Chisun* taketh water from *Chedunim*: but not in that fashion which *Montanus* hath described it: neither doth it finde the Sea at *Ptolomias Acon*: according to *Montanus* 10 but farther to the South betwene *Caiphas* and *Scamimum*, witnesseth *Ziegler*, *Adrichome*, and *Schrot*.

Besides these Rivers there are diuers famous Springs and Fountaines, as that of living waters adioyning to *Tyre*: and * *Maserephot*, or after *S. Hierome*, *Maserephot-maim*, whose Well filled by the flood of the Sea adioyning, (they say) the Inhabitants by seething the water make salt thereof, as at *Neutwich*.

The Mountaines which bound *Asher* on the North, are those of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Celestria*: two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of *Phenicia* and *Syria*, extend themselves farre into the Land Eastward: foure hundred stadia or furlongs, according to *Strabo*: for that length hee giueth to the Valley 10 of *Celestria*: which those Mountaines inclose: but *Plinie* giueth them 1500. furlongs in length from the West (where they beginne at *Theiophoon*, or *Deisaces*, neere *Tripolis*) to the Mountaines of *Arabia* beyond *Damascus*: where *Anti-libanus* turneth towards the South. These ledges where they beginne to part *Tracoonitis* and *Bafania*, from the *Desert Arabia*, are called *Herman*: which *Moses* also nameth *Sion*, the *Phoenicians* *Syrion*, and the *Amerites* *Sanir*, neither is this any one Mountaine apart; but a continuation of Hills: which running farther Southerly, is in the Scriptures called *Galaad* or *Gilead*: the same being still a part of *Libanus*, as the Prophet *Hieremie* proueth: *Galaad* to *mibi caput Libani*: noting that this *Galaad* is the highest of those Hills of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knowes them by the name of *Tracoonitis*: and *Ptolomie* by *Hip- 10 pus*. *Arias Montanus* calleth these Mountaines bordering *Asher*, *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrary to all other *Cosmographers*, but hee giueth no reason of his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops, because according to *Tacitus*, the highest of them are couered with Snow all the Summer, the Hebrew word *Libanon* (saith *Weissenburg*) significeth whitenesse. Others call them by that name of the Frankincense which those trees yeld: because *libanum* is also the Greeke word for that Gumme.

Niger out of *Aphrodisius* affirmeth, that on *Libanus*, there falleth a kinde of honie dew, which is by the Sunne congealed into hard sugar, which the Inhabitants call 40 *Sachar*, from whence came the Latine word *Saccarum*.

The Rivers which *Libanus* beltoweth on the neighbour Regions are, *Chrysor- 40 rhos*, *Jordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

There of the Mountaines of *Asher*, are those Hills about *Tyre*, and the Hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitfull: but those are but of a low stature, compared with *Libanus*: for from *Nabo*, or the Mountaine of *Abaram*, in *Reuben*, *Moses* beheld *Libanus* three-score miles distant.

1069. lib. 4. bell.
ind. 3.3.

* L. 5. c. 19. in

1044. c. 19. 2. 2. 6.

It is called *Sin-*

dur, at which

name many

understand an

other stream.

1043. 3. which

namely by *Pe-*

tra of *Adonis*,

falleth into the

Lake *Sinibous*,

& diuideth *Li-*

ebon from the

promised Land

whereabout

they place *Re-*

nechus, for

which city *Lu-*

man taketh

Sinibon in that

place of *Isra-*

el: but howe-
ever whether

this *Sinibon*, 1043. 3

be a River or a

city, it appears

that this name

is found, both

in the North

bound of the

holy Land, 106.

19. 26. & in the

South bound,

1043. 3.

* See the mar-

ginal Note a-

boue in the se-

cond Section

of this Para-

graph.

Strab. 1. 10.

Plin. 15. c. 20.

Deut. 4. 48.

Gen. 10. 10.

Plin. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Tab. 4.

Suton.

Nig. 805. 3.

S. III.

THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

†. I.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis,
and Abila.



He next Portion of the Land of Canaan bordering *Asher*, was the upper *Galilee*: the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the Sonne of *Jacob* by *Billa*, the hand-maide of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Egypt*, were increased to the number of 53400. persons, able to beare armes, numbered at Mount *Sinai*: all which leaving their bodies in the *Deserts*, there entered the Holy Land of their Sonnes 45400. besides, Infants, Women, and Children, vnder twenty yeeres of age. The Land of *Nephtalim* tooke beginning on the North part, from the Fountaines of *Jordan*, and the Hills of *Libanus* adioyning, as farre South as the Sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the West by *Asher*, and on the East and South-east by *Jordan*.

On the North-side of *Libanus* and adioyning to this Territory of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) also inhabit, in which Tract vnder *Libanus*, was the Citie of *Heliopolis*: which the height of the Mountaine adioyning shadowed from the Sunne, the better part of the day. *POSTELVS* calls it *Balbec*, *NIGER*, *Marbeck*, and *LEON CLAVIUS*, *Belebeeca*.

Of this name of *Heliopolis*, there are two great Cities in *Egypt*: the first called On, by the *Hebrewes*, and the *Chaldean Paraphrast*, otherwise *Bethemes*, or after the *Latines*, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus Solis*: The Citie of the Sunne: into which, saith *Plinian*, *Seuerus* the Roman Emperour sent a Colonie: the other, *Geffelius* nameth *Deidmarab*: 30 and of this name *Stephanus* also findeth a Citie in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is also in the same Valley adioyning to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis*, of whom the Region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, ouer which *Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Serenice* the Queene commanded.

Abila also gaue name to the Region adioyning, of which *Lysanias* the Sonne of *Herod* the elder, became *Tetrarch* or Governour: whereof *Ptolomie* gaue it the addition of *Lysanij*, and called it *Abila Lysanij*. *Polsterran* names it *Aphila*, of which hee notes that one *Diogenes*, a famous *Sophister*, was native, who by *Polsterran* is intituled *Aphileus*, not *Abileus*. After that this Citie of *Abila* or *Aphila*, had received the Christian Faith, *Profillimus* became Bishop thereof: flaine afterward by our *Brittish Maximus* at *Treuer*. For distinction of this Citie (if it be not the same, as it may be thought to be the same) it is to be remembered that in the Tribe of * *Manasse*, adioyning vpon the bounds of the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is another Citie of the same name, flaying that it is written with an (E) for an (I) and called *Abela*, remembered in the 20. Chapter of the second of *Samuel*. The same *Iosephus* calls *Abelmachaba*, and *Hierome* *Bethmachaba*. In the place of *Samuel* for distinction sake it is written, *Abel Beth Machaba*, (for belike it was the Towne of *Machaba*, the Wife of *Maier*, the Sonne of *Manasse*, the Father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Majm*. This Citie *Isaiah* belieged: because *Seba* the sonne of *Bichri*, who rebelled against *Dauid*, fled thence into for succour: but a certaine wife woman of the Citie perswading the people to call *Seba* his head ouer the wall, *Isaiah* retired his Armie. The same Citie was afterward taken by the King of *Damascus*, *Benadad*: and after a while by *Teglatphalsar*.

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to signifie bewailing, or a plaine ground, and therefore no maruell, that many Townes (with some addition for distinction

inction sake) were thus called: for euen of bewailing many places tooke name, as *Bachin*, *Iudg. 2.4.* and so doubtlesse * *Abel-Misaim*, *Gen. 50. 11.* and yet *Ianinus* in his Note vpon *Num. 33. 49.* thinks that *Abel-Sittim* was so called, rather by reason of the plaine ground there (to wit, in the Land of *Manab*, and so perhaps *Abel-Macholah* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*: the Towne of *Elisha* the Prophet: also *Abel-Vinearum* of the *Ammonites*, whither *Lepta* pursued them.

* And *Abel-Magnum*.
1. Sam. 6. 13.
Iudg. 7. 24.
1. Reg. 19. 15.
Iudg. 11. 35.

†. II.

Of *Hazor*.

In this Tribe of *Nephtalim*, was that famous Citie of *Tabin*, in *Isaiah's* time called *Afor* (or after the *Chaldean Paraphrast*, *Hafzor*) by *Iosephus*, *Afora*; by *Iunius*, * *Chatzor*: which *Laetan* names *Hefron*; the Regall Citie, and Metropolis of *Canaan*: seated in the West part of *Nephtalim*, towards *Asher*. In this Citie was that great *Rendement*, and assembly of those foure and twenty Kings against *Iofua*: who being all overthrowne, flaine, and scattered, this their powerful Citie was by *Iofua* taken and burnt to dust. But in procelle of time the same being rebuilt by the *Canaanites* a second King *Iabin*, 137. yeeres after the death of this first *Iabin*, invaded the *Israelites*: and being ordained of God to punish their Idolatry, he prevailed against them, and held them in a miserable seruitude twentie yeeres: till *Deborah* the Prophetesse overthrew *Sisera*, *Iabins* Lieutenant, and his Armie, neere the Mountaine *Tabor*. This Citie *Salomon* reedored at such time as he also reedified *Gecar*, burnt by *Pharao* of *Egypt*, with * *Megido*, *Bethoron*, and other Cities; but about 260. yeeres after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalsar*, King of the *Assyrians*. It is now, saith *Adrichomius*, called *Antiochia*: it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*. There is another Citie of this name in the Territory of *Beniamin*, seated on the confines of *Acalen*, called the new *Hazor*, b saith *Hierome*.

a. *Chafar-Sefma*, of which, 1. *Chron. 4. 31.* which also is called *Chafar-Sufi*, and *Chafar-Gadde*: and lastly, *Chafar-Sheleb*, another Citie of *Stannus*, *Jel. 19. 3.* 2. *1. Kings. 9.* b. *Hierom. loc. Hebr. L.E.* Out of *Nibon*, 11. 33. as it seemes.

†. III.

Of *Casaria Philippi*.

There was also on the border, and within the Territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned Citie of *Lais*, or *Laisch*, as *Iunius* writes it, or *Leschen*, which Citie the children of *Dan* (being straitened in their Territorie vnder *Iuda*) invaded and mastered; and gaue it the name of their owne Parent *Dan*: and by that name it is written in *Gen. the fourteenth*, at which place *Abraham* surprized *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates, and followed his victorie as farre as *Sabab*, formerly remembered in the diuision of *Syria*, otherwise called *Sophena*. And after the possession of the *Danites*, it had the ioynt name of *Leschem-Dan*. *Weissenburg* writes it *Lais*, the *Genena Laisch*, *Iosephus*, *Dana*; *BENIAMIN*, *Balana*; *BREITENBACH*, *Belena*: but the now *Iudg. 18.* Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witnesse *Neubrigensis*, *Tyrites*, *Plattaricus*, *Brocard* the *Monke*, and *Postellus*: who also take this Citie to bee the same, which in *Marthew* the 15. v. 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magadan*, for which the *Greeke* Text hath *Magdala* in that place, and in *S. Marke* speaking of the same storie, *Dulmanutha*. At such time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it seemeth that it was either a free Citie, of the alliance and confederacie of the *Zidonians*, or else subiect vnto the Kings thereof; for it is written in the eighteenth of *Iudges*, And there was none to helpe, because *Lais* was farre from *Zidon*: and they had no businesse with other men, for it was about thirty English miles from the *Mediterran* Sea, and from *Zidon*.

In

2. Tim. 4. 10.

Heb. 1. 12. 3.

* Of another

Cesaria (or Ca-

sarea) called

Cesarea Paless-

tina. See here-

after in the

former part of

Manasse.

Of Dioscorus,

see Sephoria in

Tabulon.

Euseb. hist. Eccl.

17. 4. 14.

Niceph. l. 6. c. 15.

a. Iosaphus in

the booke of

the Iudith, was

18. faith, that

Philip the Te-

trarch cast

chaffe into a

fountainie cal-

led Phila, di-

stant 120. Sta-

dia North-east

from Cesaria,

which Chaffe

being carried

vnder ground

was cast vp a-

gaine at Panii

or Dan, where-

by it is conie-

ctured that the

first Spring of

Iordan is from

this Fountaine

called Phila,

from whence

Ior and Dan

recieve their

waters.

In after times when these Regions became subiect to the State of Rome, it had the name of *Panæas*, from a Fountaine adioyning so called: and therefore Ptolomie calls it *Cesaria Panæa*. *Hegeffippus* calls it *Parnium*, saith *Weissenburg*: but he had read it in a corrupt copie: for in *Hegeffippus* set out by *Badus*, it is written *Panæum* without an (R); and at such time as *Philip* the sonne of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became Gouvernour of *Tracanis*, sometime *Basan*; this Citie was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memorie to his owne name, and to flatter *Tiberius Cesar*, he called it * *Cesaria Philippi*: and so it became the *Metropolis*, and head Citie of *Tracanis*: and one of the first Cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Azrippa* in the succeeding age greatly adorned: by him in honour of *Nerva*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memorie of his impietie: so in *S. Hieromes* time the Citizens remembered their former *Panæas*, and so recalled it, with the Territorie adioyning by the ancient name. Of this Citie was that woman whom *Christ* healed of a bloudie issue, by touching the hemme of his Garment with a constant Faith: who afterward, as there was a woman of great wealth and abilitie, being mindfull of Gods goodnesse, and no lesse grateful for the same, as *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* report, caused two Statues to be cast in pure Copper: the one representing *Christ*, as nere as it could be moulded: the other made like her self, kneeling at his feete, and holding vp her hands towards him. These three mounted vpon two great Bases or *Pedestals* of the same Metall, to which these placed by a Fountaine nere her owne house: both which (saith *Encheiridion*) remained in their first perfection, even to his owne time: which himselfe had seene, who liued in the Reigne of *Constantine* the Great. But in the yeere after *Christ* 363, that Monster *Julius apostata*, caused that worthe Monument to be cast downe, and defaced: setting vp the like of his owne in the same place: which Image of his was with fire from heauen broken into fitters: the head, body, and other parts, sundered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time liuing. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminius*, in his fifth booke, and twentieth Chapter.

This Citie built by the *Danites*, was nere the ioyning together of those two Ri-39 uers which arise from the Springs of *Ior* and *Dan*, the two * apparant Fountaines of *Jordan*: in a soyle exceeding fruitful, and pleasant; for, as it is written, *Iudg*. 18. It is a place which doth want nothing that is in the world. In the fields belonging to this Citie, it was that *S. Peter* acknowledged *Christ* to be the Sonne of God: whereupon it was answered, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram, &c.* After this Citie received the *Christian* faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate: and it ranne the same fortune with the rest, for it was after taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and *Christians*: vnder *Fuleb* the fourth King of *Hierusalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey of Bullion*, the King of *Damascus* wrested it from the *Christians*; and shortly after by them againe it was recovered. Lastly, now it remaineth with all that part of the world subiect to 40 the *Turke*.

†. IIII.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

Among the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Capernaum* is not the least: so often remembered by the *Euangelists*. This Citie had the honour of *Christ*'s presence three yeeres: who for that time was as a Citizen thereof, in which he first preached and taught the Doctrine of our saluation: according to that notable Prophecie 50 of *Esay* 9. The people that walked in darknesse, haue seene a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the shadow of death, vpon them hath the light shined.

Capernaum was seated on *Jordan*, even where it entrencheth into the Sea of *Galilee*: is an excellent and rich soile: of whose destruction *Christ* himselfe prophecied in-
these

these words. And thou *Capernaum* which art lifted up vnto heauen, shalt be brought downe to Hell, &c. which shewed the pride and greatness of that Citie: for it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*, and the *Metropolis* of *Galilee*. And although there were some markes of this Cities magnificence in *S. Hieromes* time, as himselfe confesseth: it being then a reasonable Burge or Towne: yet those that haue since, and long since seene it, as *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Salmasius* affirme, that it then consisted but of fixe poore Fishers mens houses.

The Region of ten principall Cities called *Decapolis* or *Decapolis*, is in this description often mentioned, and in *S. Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, also remembered; but I finde no agreement among the *Cosmographers*, what proper limits it had: and so *Plinie* himselfe confesseth; for *Martius Riger* speaking from others, bounds it to the North by the mountaine *Casius* in *Cassius*: and endeth it to the South at *Aegypt* and *Arabia*; by which description it embraceth *Phoenicia*, a part of *Calefryia*, all *Palestina*, and *Iudæa*.

Plinie also makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he num-
breth foure of them to be situated towards *Arabia*: to wit, first these three, *Damascus*,
Opoto, *Raphana*, then *Philadelpia* (which was first called *Amman*, saith *Stephanus*, or
as I gesse *Amman* rather, because it was the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites*, knowne
by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Pro. Philadelphus* gaue it this later and new name.)
Then *Sychopeis*, sometime *Nisa*, built (as is said) by *Bacchus*, in memorie of his
Nurse, who died therein, anciently knowne by the name of *Bethsan*, for the sixth he
setteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Calefryia*, which was also called *Antioch* and *Selenia*;
but it is *Gadara* in *Basan*, which *Plinie* in this place meaneth, seated on a high hill,
neere the Riuer of *Hieromais*. This Riuer *Ortelius* takes to be the Riuer *Iaboc*:
which boundeth *Gad* and *Manasse* ouer *Jordan*: but he mistaketh it; for *Hieromais*
falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, betwene *Hippus* and *Gerasa*, whereas *Iaboc* entrench
the same Sea betwene *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the seuenth he nameth * *Hippus*, or
Hippian, a Citie so called of a Colonie of Horsemen there garriisoned by *Herod*, on the
East side of the *Galilean* Sea, described hereafter in the Tribe of *Manasse* ouer *Jor-*
dan. For the eighth *Rela*, which is also called *Buth*, and *Berenice*, seated in the South
border of the Region ouer *Jordan*, called *Peræa*. For the ninth *Gelasa*, which *Iosephus*
takes to be *Gerasa*: and *Gerasa* is found in *Calefryia* by *Iosephus*, *Hegeffippus*, and *Stepha-*
nus: but by *Ptolomie* (whom I rather follow) in *Phoenicia*. The tenth and last, *Plinie*
nameth *Canatha*, and so doth *Suetonius* and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*,
but *Hegeffippus* rightly *Camala*, a Citie in the Region of *Basan* ouer *Jordan*, so called,
because those two Hills on which it is seated, haue the shape of a Camell. But the
collection of these ten Cities, whereof this Region tooke name, is better gathered
out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Salmasius*, which make them to be these; *Cesaria*
Philippi, and *Ajor*, before remembered, *Cedes Nephthim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capernaum*,
40 *Bethsaida*, *Tetapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Sychopeis*, or *Bethsan*. For all other Authors dis-
agree herein and giue no reason for their opinion. One place of the *Euangelists* *Saint*
Matthew makes it manifest, that this Region called *Decapolis*, was all that Tract
betwene *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written: And he departed againe
from the coasts of *Tyrrus* and *Zidon*, and came vnto the Sea of *Galilee*, through the middle of
the coasts of *Decapolis*: so that it was bounded by *Damascus* and *Libanus* on the North:
by the *Phœnician* Sea, betwene *Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the West: by the Hills of
Gelbo and *Bethsan* on the South: and by the Mountaines *Tracanes*, other wise *Hermom*,
Sanir and *Galaad*, on the East: which is from East to West the whole bredth of the
Holy Land: and from the North to the South, neere the same distance which may
50 be each way fortie English miles.

Math. 4.

Mark. 7.

Luke 8.

Niger, comment.

Alia. l. 5. c. 3.

Plin. l. 5. c. 18.

Opoto a Citie

standing in the

Valley of Co-

leptrie watered

by chrysorhus

as Damascius.

Plin. 5.

* Plinie hath

Hippion Dion, for

which Plinius

reads Hipp-

pation, Ortelius

takes them to:

two Cities.

Math. 4.

†. V.

some time it was called *Cidissus*. *Besfores* greatly mistakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the Defart of Pharan.

After the King thereof among other of the *Canaanites* perished by the hand of *Iosua*, it was made a Citie of refuge, and given to the *Leuites*. Herein was *Barac* borne, who overthrew the Armie of the second *Tabin* of *Hazor*, at the Mount *Tabor*. It was sometime posselt by *Teglatphalassar*, when hee waited all *Xephthaim*: afterward by the *Romans*, and numbered for one of the ten Cities of the *Decapolitan* Region: When it had embraced the *Christian* faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate, but in time it fell with the rest into the power of the *Saracens* and *Turkes*, and by them it was demolished.

From *Cedes* some foure Italian miles towards the South-west, standeth *Sephet*,¹⁰ otherwise *Zephet*, which was also one of the ten *Decapolitan* Cities: a place exceeding strong, and for many yeeres the inexpugnable Fortresse of the *Christians*, and afterward of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those Regions, both In-land and Maritimate neere it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephthaim*, seated Northward neere *Sephet*: this is to be noted; that there are (1) diuers places of this name in *Palestine*, all situate on Hills: and therefore called *Rama* (*Rama* *Hobrius* *excessum*; *Rama* with the *Hebrewes* is high.) Also that for this *Rama* *Ios. 19. 36.* they read *Arama*, making the Article (which it hath in the *Hebrew*, as being a name of diuers Townes) to be a part of the word: whence taking away the aspiration, they²⁰ read *Arama*. From *Sephet* towards the West they place * *Bethfemes*, of which *Ios. 19. 38.* which defended it selfe against *Nephthaim*, *Ind. 1. 33.* but paid them tribute. On the other side of *Sephet* towards the East was *Bethanath*, who also kept their Citie from the *Nephthaim*.

Adioyning to which standeth *Carban* * or *Kiriathaim* a Citie of the *Leuites*, not farre from the Mountain out of which the Springs of *Capharnaum* arise, called *Mons Christi*: a place by our Saviour often frequented: as also then when calling his Disciples together, hee made choise of twelue, which he called and ordained to bee his *Apostles* or Messengers: of which place or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the³⁰ *Evangelists*.

Adioyning to these are *Magedale*, a place of strength; and *Mafath*, of which we read that it was forced by *Bacchides* in the time of the⁴ *Maachabees*: also (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berethas* of *Nephthaim*. For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this Tribe, * one neere *Chamath* in the North border, of which *Ezek. 47. 6.* another (vpon a weak conjecture out of *Ios. ant. 1. 5. c. 2.*) he therefore placeth in this tract neere the waters of *Merom*; because the Kings that ioyned with *Tabin* against *Iosua*, which incamped at the waters of *Merom*, *Ios. 11. 5.* are by *Iosephus* said to have incamped at the Citie *Beretha* in *Galilee*, not farre from *Cedes* Superior, which is also in *Galilee*: all which may be true of that *Beretha* of which *Ezek.* seeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the vpper *Galilee* or *Galilee of the Gentiles*. The same⁴⁰ *Adrichomius* placeth the Region of *Berim* neere *Abela* (of which *Abela* or *Abel-beth Mahacab* we haue spoken already) this doth vpon a conjecture touching the place 2. *Sara. 20. 14.* where some read *Abel* & *Bethmahacab*, & *annua loca Berim*: but the better reading is, & *omnes Berim*, that is, with all the *Berai*: for *Shehab* being of *Berim* (in which Tribe also there is a Citie called *Beretha* or *Bereth*) drew the men of that Citie after him.

To the North of *Beretha* of *Nephthaim* standeth *Sebarim* vnder *Libanus*, remembered by *Ezek. 47.* and *Aroseth gentium*, neere the waters of *Merom* or *Sambathoni*, the Citie of *Sifara* Lieutenant of the Armie of the second *Tabin*: from whence not farre off towards the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Eureli*, a strong Citie: besides many⁵⁰ others whereof I finde no particular storie of importance: as *Ser* in *Iosua c. 19. v. 35.* called *Triddim-Tzer*; and named for the first of their fenced Cities: whence they make two Cities, *Affedim* and *Ser*. Then *Adama* which they call *Edama*: also *Hon* which they call *Ahon* of which in the Bookes of *Kings*. Then the strong Citie of *Cimmereth*

Cimmereth after called *Gennareth*, whence we read of the Land and Lake of *Gennareth*, the same Lake which is also called the Sea of *Tiberias*. In the body of the Land they place *Galgala* to the South border: of which * *Mat. 1. 9. 2.* also diuers others named, *Ios. 19. 35.* *Tenua* or *Chukkok*: *Horom* & *Azenoth-tabor* (which they place towards the East parts) and out of the same place of *Iosua*: *1. 20. 1.* *Lakkum* *Iepnell*, *Heteb*, & * *Receath*, which two last they place neere *Casaria Philippi*: To these they add out of *Iosua*, *Nekab*, and *Adami*: for which two *Iunius* readeth *Possa Adami*, making it no Towne but a Ditch cast by some of *Adamath*, as it seemes, or at least the custodie of which March or Limit belonging to the Towne. To these out of *Iosua. 34. 10.* they add *Sephana* which *1. Sam. 30. 21.* seemes to be called *Sepmoth*. As for *Tichan* and *Atelon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek. 47. 16.* and the latter out of *Iosua 19. 33.* it may appeare by *Iunius* his Translation, that neither are to be taken for Cities: for the former he readeth *Mediani*, and for the latter *Querietum*. The Citie of *Xephthaim* which they make the native place of *Tobie*, and *Naasfen* neere vnto it, they fetch out of the *Vulgar* Translation, *Tob. 7. 7.* but in the *Greece* Text there is no signe, neither of the one nor of the other.

which *Carban* we haue noted already, that it is also called *Kiriathaim*. b In the place, *1. Reg. 4. 13.* which also they bring to prove that there was a Citie called *Nephthaim*, as it is euident by the following Verles: the Tribe of *Nephthaim* is meant, and not any Citie of that name.

S. V.

THE TRIBE OF ZABVLON.

Zabulon or Zebulon, another of the sonnes of *Iacob* by *Lea*, there were muliered at Mount *Sinai* 57400. able men besides women, children, and aged vnable persons: all which dying in the Desarts, then entered the Holy Land of their issues 65000. fit to beate armes: who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Asher* to the Ruer *Chifon*: Southward, and from the Sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediterran*, East and West.

The Cities within this Tribe which border *Asher*, are *Sicanim* on the Sea shore, of which *Ioseph. Ant. 13. c. 19.* *Debbiset* of * which *Ios. 19. 11.* *Ieknam* or *Ioknekum* (whose King was * slain by *Iosua*, and the Citie was given to the *Leuites*) and *Gaba* after called the Citie of Horsemen, of a Regiment there garrisoned by *Herode*. Then the Citie which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, or the Citie of men, exceeding ancient and magnificent, burnt to the ground by *Cestius*, Lieutenant of the *Roman* Armie. *Adrichomius* makes it the birth Citie of * *Elan* Iudge of *Israel*, because hee is called *Zabulonita*: not marking that in the same place he is said to be buried at *Aidon*.¹⁰ To the East of this Citie of *Zabulon* is *Catheth*, of which *Ios. 19. 15.* on the border of *Asher*: and beyond it the lesser⁴ *Cana* of *Galilee*, where *Christ* conuered Water into Wine: the native Citie of *Nathaniel*, and as it is thought of *Simon Zebedee*. Beyond it begin the Mountaines of *Zabulon*: and then the Citie of *Cethron* (in *Zeigler*, *Chitron*) which defended it selfe against *Zabulon*. Then *Berjabe* which standeth in the partition of the vpper and nether *Galilee*, fortified by *Iosephus* against the *Romans*. Not farre from hence standeth *Shimon* of *Merom* whose King was slain by *Iosua*.

Then *Danna* or *Dimma*, a Citie of the *Leuites*: then *Noa* or rather *Neha*, of which *Ios. 19. 13.* Then *Dathan* or *Dathaim*, where *Ioseph* found his brethren feeding their flocks: the same wherein *Elisau* besieged by the *Syrians*, strooke them all blinde.

Beyond it towards the East they imagine * *Amthar* or *Ansthar*: then *Remmon* of the *Leuites*. The last of the Cities on the North border of *Zabulon* is *Reithaida*, one of the ten Cities of *Decapolis*, situate on the *Galilean* Sea, and watered by the springs of *Capharnaum*, the native Citie of the *Apostles*, *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip*. Herein *Christ* did many miracles, but these people being no lesse incredulous than the *Capharnaum*,

This place of the *Atacab* warrants no *Galgala* or *Gibgal* in *Nephthaim*, but may well be understood of *Gidgal* in *Beniamin* or in *Manassah*.

1 The *Receath* or *Receath*, *Iunius* thinketh it is the same with *Carban* (one of these being made of the other by Transposition of letters)

* *Iosua 18. 22.* a *Iosua. 2. 21.* b *Iosua. 2. 21.* c *Ind. 1. 11.* d The greater *Cana* is in the Tribe of *Asher*.

10. 1. 1. *Nathaniel* is said to be of *Cana* in *Galilee*. Of *Simon* it may be doubted: for *Angelus* *Cannius* reads *Mat. 10. 4.* *Simon* *Cananites*, which word *Luc. 6. 15.* hee thinketh to be expounded by *Zebulon*.

e The *Receath* *Hannathor*, (for which the *Vulgar* hath *Amthar*, *Ios. 19. 13.*) *Psallus* expoundeth *que erat*, *Iunius* ioyneeth with the word going before *Iosua* and reads *Remmon* *Remmon* *Remmon* *Mat. 3. 11.* *Marc. 1. 6.* *Luc. 4. 19.*

pharmans, and others, received the same curse of threatned miseries, as wee bee vnto thee Bethsaida, &c.

Alongst the West border of Galilee, towards the South from Bethsaida, was the strong Castle of *Magdalum*, the habitation of *Marie Magdalen*, not long since standing.

And beyond it the strong and high seated Citie of *Totapata*: fortified by *Iosephus* in the Roman Warre: but in the end after a long siege surpris'd by *Vespasian*: who slaughtered many thousands of the Citizens: and held 1200. prisoners, whereof *Iosephus* the Historian was one.

The last and greatest of the Cities on that Sea and the Lake of *Genesareth* within 10 *Zabulon* was that of *Tiberias*, from whence afterward the *Galilean* Sea also changed name, and was called the Sea of the Citie *Tiberias*, so named in honour of *Tiberius Caesar*, it was one of the ten Cities, and the Metropolis of the Region *Decapollitan*, and the greatest and last of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our Saviour called *Matthew*, from the toll or custom-house, to be an Apostle, and neere vnto it raised the daughter of *Tairus* from death: it was built (as *Iosephus* reports) by *Herod the Tetrarch*, the brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the reigne of *Tiberius Caesar*: in the most fruitful part of *Galilee*; but in a ground full of Sepulchres: *Quam iuxta nostras leges* (saith hee) *ad septem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet*; whereas by our law hee should bee seven dayes held as vnclane, who inhabited in such a place: by which wordes, and by the whole place of *Iosephus* it appears, that this *Tiberias* is not (as some haue thought) the same as the old *Emmeris*, which was seated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Nephthali*.

Neere vnto this *Tiberias*, at *Emaus*, there were hot baths, where *Vespasian* the Emperour encamped against *Tiberias*: More into the Land toward the South-West is *Bethulia*, seated on a very high Hill, and of great strength, famous by the story of *Helophernes* and *Iudeth*, such as it is. Neere which handeth *Bethleem* of *Zabulon*: and adioyning vnto it, *Capharath* fortified by *Iosephus* against the Romans: and *Iapha* an exceeding strong place afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in furie flew 15000. of the Citizens; and caried away about two thousand prisoners.

On the South side are the Cities of *Cartha* of the *Leuites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Iosephus* in his owne life, then *Iaspe* according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Iof. 19. 12.*) for he thinks that it is not that *Sapha* of which we spake but now out of *Iosephus*. *Idela* of which *Iof. 19. 15.* *Hierome* calls it *Iadela*: vnder it Westward, *Legio*, (afterward a Bishops seate) and the Citie *Belma*, in ancient times exceeding strong, remembered *Iudeth 7. 3.* otherwise *Chelma*. Between *Legio* and *Nazereth* is the Citie *Saffa* or *Saffa*, the birth-Citie of *Zebedee*, *Alphaus*, *James* and *John*; Then *Sephoris*, or *Sephora*, according to *Iosephus*: *Sephorum* according to *Brocard*: which afterward, saith *Hegesippus* and *Hierome*, was called *Diocæsaria*; the Citie of *Joachim* and *Anna*, the Parents of the Virgin *Mary*, it was walled by *Herod the Tetrarch*: and by him, as *Iosephus* speaks, made the head and defence of *Galilee*; in another place he saith *Vrbium Galilæarum maxime Sephoris & Tiberias*. This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Vespasian* ere hee wanne it. *Herod Antipas* when he made it the Regall seate of the nether *Galilee*, and so rounded it with a strong wall, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much to say as Imperiall, saith *Iosephus*; and it is now but a Castle called *Zaphet*.

To the South-West of this *Sephoris* or *Diocæsaria* was that blessed place of *Nazereth*, the Citie of *Marie* the Mother of *Christ*; in which hee himselfe was conceived, it standeth betwene Mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterran* Sea. In this Citie hee abode chiefly foure and twenty yeeres, and was therefore called a *Nazarene*, as the *Christians* afterward were for many yeeres. It was erected into an *Archbishopricke* in the following age. Neere vnto it are the Cities *Buria* (afterward well defended against the *Turkes*) and *Nahabul* of which *Iof. 19. 15.* and *Jud. 1. 30.* where it is called *Nahabul*: and *Iof. 21. 35.* where it is a Citie of the *Leuites*, neere the Sea; adioyning to the Riuer of *Chifon* is *Sarid*, noted in *Iofua* for the vttermoſt of *Zabulon*.

In

In this Territorie of *Zabulon* there are diuers small Mountaines: but *Tabor* is the most renowned, by the Apparition of *Moses* and *Elias*: and by the Transfiguration of *Christ* in the presence of *Peter*, *James*, and *John*: vnto whom *Moses* and *Elias* appeared; in memorie whereof on the top of the Mountaine, the Emperesse *Helen* built a sumptuous Chappell.

The chiefe Riuer of *Zabulon* is *Chifon*, which rising out of *Tabor*, runneth with one streame Eastward to the Sea of *Galilee*, and with an other streame Westward into the great Sea. This Riuer of *Chifon* where it riseth, and to farre as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedumim* or *Cadumim*: and for mine owne opinion, I take it to bee the same which *Ptolomee* calleth *Chorfeus*: though others dillinguish them: and set *Chorfeus* by *Cæsaria Palestina*. There is a second Torrent or Brooke that riseth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*: and the third is a branch of a Riuer rising out of the Fountaines of *Capharnaum*, which falleth also into the same Sea, and neere *Magdalum*: which Torrent they call *Detham*, from the name of the Citie, from which it passeth Eastward to *Bethsaida*, and so ioyning with *Jordanis parvus*, which runneth from the Valley of *Iephthael* which *Iofua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*, it endeth in the Sea of *Galilee*.

See Laiftem
Mappe in Ori-
entis
16. 19. 14.

S. VI.

THE TRIBE OF ISACHAR.



He next adioyning Territorie to *Zabulon*, to the South and South-west, was *Isachar*, who inhabited a part of the nether *Galilee*, within *Jordan*: of whom there were increas'd in *Egypt*, as appeared by their multitudes at Mount *Sinai* 54400. able and warlike men, who leauing their bodies with the rest in the *Deserts*, there entered the Holy

Land, 64300.

The first Citie of this Tribe neere the Sea of *Galilee*, was *Tarichea*, distant from *Tiberias* eight English mile, or somewhat more, a Citie wherein the *Jewes* (by the practice of a certaine mutinous vpstart, *Iohn* the sonne of *Leui*) tooke armes against *Iosephus* the Historian, then Governour of both *Galilees*. This Citie was first taken by *Cassius*, and 3000. *Jewes* carried thence captiue; and afterward with great difficulty by *Vespasian*: who entred it by the Sea side, hauing first beaten the *Jewes* in a sea-fight vpon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*: he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages: sauing that his furie being quenched with the Riuer of blood running through euery street, hee reserued the remainder for slaues and bond-men.

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Ceslion*, or *Cyflion*, of the *Leuites*, and then *Isachar*, membered in the first of *Kings*, 6. 4. 7. 17. then *Abes* or *Ebeis*, *Iof. 19. 20.* and *Remeth* of which *Iof. 19. 21.* otherwise *Ramoth*. 1. *Chron. 6. 73.* or *Iarmoth*, *Iof. 21. 29.* this also was a Citie of the *Leuites*, from whose Territorie the Mountaine of *Gilboa* take beginning: and range themselves to the *Mediterran* Sea, and towards the West as farre as the Citie of *Iezrael*, betwene which and *Ramoth*, are the Cities of *Bethphages*, or *Bethpasse*, according to *Ziegler*, and *Enadai*, or *Hem-chidda*: neere which *Saul* flew himselfe: vnder those *Aphec* or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Isachar*: betwene which and *Sama*, he saith, that the *Philistines* incamped against *Israel*, and afterward against *Saul*: a Land thirke of blood, for herein also, saith hee, the *Syrians* with two and thirke *Regulis* assisting *Bethsaida*, encountered *Acab*: and were overthrowne and slaughtered: to whom the King of *Israel* made a most memorable answer, when *Bethsaida* vaunted before the victorie: which was, *Tell, BETHA DAD, Let not him that giueth his harness boast himselfe, as he that putteth it off*: meaning that glorie followed after victorie, but ought not to precede it. In the yeere following in

Tarichea in *Sinai*
100.

Iof. 21. 28. *Kisphion*, which is *1. Chr. 6. 7.* is called *Kedifh*.

Iofua. 19. 1. Sam. 1. 19. 1. Kings 20. 26. In the last of two places *Issachar* makes *Asaph* in *Asaph*, according to *Iof. 19. 20.* in the first hee placeth in *Ida*, out of it *16. 15. 73.* 1. *Kings 22.*

the

H h 3

* The names of the chiefe Cities feared about this Sea, or lake, through which *Jordan* runneth, were *Capernaum*, *Tiberias*, *Bethsaida*, *Gadara*, *Tarichea*, and they adde *Emmeris*, which in some times gave name to the Lake and Countrey.

Math. 9.

Iof. Ant. 18. 3.

Iof. 19. 10. 15.

Adrichom. Zab.

Iof. 19. 10. 15.
Iof. 19. 10. 15.

Iofua. 21. 35.
other with *Kisphion*
Thabor as *Issachar* thinks vpon *Iof. 19. 12.* whence *1. Chr. 6. 77* it is called *Thabor*.

Iohn. de Montibus. 5. 4. & 20

Iof. Ant. 18. 3.
in *19. 15.*

the fields, as they say, adjoining to this Citie, was the same vaine-glorious Syrian verily broken and discomfited by *Achab*: and 100000. footmen of the *Aramites* or *Syrians* slaine: before which ouerthrow the seruants and Counsaillors of *Benhadad* (in derision of the God of *Israel*) told him, *That the Gods of Israel were Gods of the Mountaines: and therefore if they fought with them in the plaines, they should ouer-come them.*

Indib. 1. S. 6.
7-3.
1. Chron. 6. 73.
Iof. 11. 29.

Vnder *Aspee* towards the Sea they set the Citie of *Esdrelon*, in the plaines of *Galilee*, called also the great field of *Esdrelon*, and *Mageddo*: in the border whereof are the ruines of *Aspee* to be seene, saith *Brochard*, and *Breidenbach*: After these are the Citie of *Cesaloth*, of which, 1. *Maccab.* 9. 2. *Anem* or *Ben-Gannim* of the *Leuites*, and *Secimor* or *Shabatima*, the West border of *Isachar*, of which *Iof.* 19. 22. From hence ranging the Seacoast, there is found the Cattle of *Pilgrimes*: a strong Cattle inuironed with the Sea, sometime the store-houise and Magaline of the *Christians*, and built by the Earle of *S^t. Giles* or *Teluse*.

From the Cattle of *Pilgrimes* the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermost shore beginneth Mount *Carmel*, not farre from the River *Chifon*: where *Elijah* assembled all the Prophets, and Priests of *Basal*, and prayed King *Achab* and the people aslumbered, to make triall whether the God of *Israel*, or the Idoll of *Basal*, were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done, the Priests of *Basal* prayed, and cut their owne flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while *Elijah* in derision told them that their God was either in pursuit of his enemies not at leisure, or perchance asleepe, &c. but at the prayer of *Elijah* his fire kindled, notwithstanding that he had caused the people to cast many Vessels of water thereon: by which miracle the people incensed, slew all those Idolaters on the bankes of *Chifon* adjoining.

At the foote of this Mountaine to the North standeth *Caiphas*, built, as they say, by *Caiphas* the high Priest. It is also knowne by the name of *Perfina* and *Porphyria*, sometime a *Suffragane* Bishops seate. Returning againe from the Seacoast towards *Tiberias* by the bankes of *Chifon*, there are found the Citie of *Hapharaim* or *Aphram*, and the Castles of *Mesra*, and *Saba*: of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*: and then *Naim* on the River *Chifon*: a beautifull Citie while it stood, in the Gates whereof *Christ* raised from death the widowes only sonne.

Luc. 7.

Then *Seon* or *Shion* named *Iofua* 19. betweene the two Hills of *Hermion*, in *Isachar*: beyond it standeth *Endor*, famous by reason of the Inchauntresse that vnder-tooke to raise vp the body of *Samuel* at the instigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it stands *Anabarath* and *Rabbith* named *Iof. c. 19. v. 19. 20.* Then *Daberath* as it is named, *Iof. 21. 28.* or *Dobratha*, as it is named, 1. *Chron. 6. 72.* This Citie (which stretcheth it selfe ouer *Chifon*) was a Citie of refuge belonging to the *Leuites*.

* Called *campus Magnus*, 1. *Macc. 12. 49.* and *Harkothie* for *Hirabath*, 1. *Macc. 5. 13.* & 9. 2.
Indib. 6.
1. *Sam. 31.*
1. *Kings. 10.*

Next to *Daberath* is *Abels* situate, neere the Caues of those two Theeues which so greatly molested *Galilee* in *Herodes* time. It ioyneth on one side to the Mountaine of *Isachar* or *Hermion*, and on the other to the Valley of *Israhel*: which valley continueth it selfe from *Bethsan* or *Scythopolis*, the East border of *Isachar*, euen to the *Mediterran* Sea: two parts whereof are inclosed by the Mountaines of *Gilboe* on the South, and by *Hermion*, and the River *Chifon* on the North. In these * plaines *Geidon* ouerthrew the *Madianites*, and herein, they thinke, *Saul* fought against the *Philistims*: *Achab* against the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* against the *Saracens*.

†. VII.¹⁰

§. VII.

THE HALFE OF THE TRIBE
OF MANASSE.

†. I.

Of the boundes of this halfe Tribe: and of *Scythopolis*,
Salem, *Thersa*, and others.



He next Tribe which ioyneth it selfe to *Isachar* towards the South, is the halfe of *Manasse*, on the West side of *Jordan*. *Manasses* was the first begotten of *Ioseph*, the eleventh sonne of *Jacob*. His mother was an *Egyptian*, the daughter of *Puiphar*, Priest and Prince of *Helipolis*: which *Manasses* with his brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Jacob*, were by adoption numbred amongst the sonnes of *Jacob*, and made vp the number

of the twelve Patriarches. Of *Manasse* there were increased in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 32100. able men: all which being consumed in the *Desarts*, there entred of their issues, 52700. bearing armes. The Territory which fell on this one halfe of *Manasse*, was bounded by *Jordan* on the East, and *Dora* vpon the *Mediterran* Sea on the West, *Israhel* on the North, and *Machata* is the South border.

The first and principall Citie which stood in this Territorie was *Bethsan*, sometime *Nysa*, saith *Plinie*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurse there buried, of the same name; which *Solinus* confirms. Afterward when the *Scythians* invaded *Asubeth* lesse, and pierst into the South, to the vttermoost of *Calesyria*, they built this Citie anew, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the Citie of *Scythians* given it by the *Greekes*.

These barbarous Northren people constrained the *Jewes* to fight against their owne Nation and kindred, by whose handes when they had obtained victorie, they themselves set on the *Jewes* which serued them, and slew them all. *Stephanus* makes it the vtmost towards the South of *Calesyria*: and *Strabo* ioynes it to *Gililee*. It is feared betwene *Jordan* and the Hills of *Gilboe*, in *aloue ad montes acerbis*, saith *Ziegler*. But I finde it in the East part of the Valley of *Israhel* neere *Jordan*: after that, *Jordan* streighteneth it selfe againe into a Riuer: leauing the Sea or Lake *Genesareth*. Notwithstanding, *Moriamus* describes it farre to the West, and towards the *Mediterran* Sea, neere *Endor*, contrarie to *Stella*, *Laifan*, *Adrichom*, and all other the best Authors. This Citie was the greatest of all those of *Decapolis*: but the children of *Manasse* could not expell the Inhabitants thereof: and therefore called it *Sane* an enemy, or *Beth-san*, the house of an enemy.

Ouer the walls of this *Bethsan* the *Philistims* hung the bodie of *Saul*, and his sonnes, slaine at *Gilboe*. It had, while the *Christian* Religion flourished in those parts, an *Archbishop*, who had nine other *Bishops* of his Diocese, numbred by *Tyrus*, in his 14. Booke and 12. Chapter: but the same was afterward translated to *Nazareth*. The later traualiers in those parts affirme, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruines of that Citie, goodly pillars and other pieces of excellent marble, which witnesseth the stately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poore and desolate Village.

From *Bethsan* keeping the way by *Jordan*, they finde an ancient Citie called *Salem*, which Citie the ancient *Rabbines*, saith *Hierome*, doe not finde to be the same with *Heteran*: there being in the time of *Hierome* and since, a towne of that name,

Indib. 1. Iof. 17.
de Beth. sac.

neere

neere *Scythopolis* before remembered, which if the place of Scripture Gen. 13.18. doe not confirme, where the *Wulgar* readeth *transiit*, in *Salem* urbem *Sichemorum* (for which others reade, *venit in columiam ad Civitatem Sichemum*, making the word *Salem* not to be a proper name, but an adiective) yet the place *John* 3.13. where it is said, that *Iohn* was baptizing in *Enon* neere *Salem*, may somewhat strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this *Salem* of which *S. Iohn* speaketh, is but contradicted of *Shubalim*, of which in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, 1. Sam. 9.4. This word *Iunius* maketh to be the plural of *Shubal*: of which we reade, 1. Sam. 13.17. for as for that which is added out of Cant. 6.12. of *Shulamitis*, as if it had been as much as a Woman of this *Salem*, neere *Enon*, it hath no probability.

This Citie Be-
set by the
place, Jud. 13.
saith to be
haue been in
Iuda.
Ios. ant. 6. c. 5.
Sam. 1. c. 11.

Ios. 1. 13. c. 11.
ant.

* This *Aner*
Ianius upon
1. Chron. 6. 72.
makes to be
the same with
Tadmoce, of
which Ios. 1. c. 15
Hierom names
it from *Aner*
the Conde-
rate of *Abra-
ham*, Gen. 14. 13
Ios. 12. 17.
A. King. 14.

Iud. 9. v. 14.

Hier. Mac. 1. c. 5.

Plin. 15.

Not farre from thence where they place *Salem*, they finde *Bezeck* the Citie of *Adombezat*, *Iosephus* calls it *Bala*, here it was that *Saul* assembled the strength of *Israel*, and *Indi*, to the number of 330000. when hee meant to relieue *Iabel* Gilead, against *Nasab* the *Ammonite*: who would giue them no other conditions of peace, than to suffer their right eyes to be thrust out. Neere *Bezeck* is the Citie of *Bethbara* or rather *Beth-bara*, of which *Iudg.* 7. 24. in the storie of *Gideon*: and then *Ephra* or *Hophra*, wherein *Gideon* inhabited: in the border whereof *Rood* an Altar consecrated to *Baal*: which he pulled downe and defaced: and neere it that stone, on which *Abimelech* the Bastard slew his 70. brothers: a Heathenish cruelty, practised by the Turke to this day; and not farre hence, betweene the Village of *Ajophon* and *Jordan*, *Ptole* 20 *maxus* *Lathurus* ouerthrew *Alexander* King of the *Iewes*: and slaughtered as *Iosephus* numbeth them 3000. but according to *Timagenes* 50000. after which victory, as *Ptolomee* saith by the Villages of the *Iewes*; he slew all their women: and caused the yong children to be sod in great caldrons, that therest of the *Iewes* might thereby thinke that the *Egyptians* were growne to be men-eaters, and strike them with the greater terrour.

Towards the West and on the border of *Isachar*, they place the Cities of * *Aner* of the *Leuites*; and *Abel-Mehola*, which *Iunius*, *Iudg.* 7. 22. placeth in *Ephraim*, it was the habitation of *Helisaius* the Prophet, numbred among those places, 1. Reg. 4. 12. which were giuen in charge to *Baana* by *Salomon*, to whose charge also *Tahmae* be-³⁰ longed, a place of great strength, which at the first resisted *Iosua*, though their King was afterward hanged, and their Citie giuen to the *Leuites*.

In the bodie of this Territory of *Manasse*, but somewhat neerer *Jordan*, than to the *Mediterran* Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, *Thersa*, whose King was one of those that *Iosua* slew: which the Kings of *Israel* vsed for their Regall seat: till such time as *Samaria* was built. From hence the wife of *Ieroboam* went to *Achia* to enquire of her sonnes health: who knowing her, though she were disguised, told her of her sonnes death.

The second was *Thebes* neere *Samaria*, of which name there are both in *Agypt*, and *Greece*, of great fame: in the assault of the Tower of this Towne, wherinto the 40 Citizens retired, the Bastard *Abimelech* was wounded by a waigthy stone, throwne by a Woman ouer the Wall, who despairing of his recovery, commanded his Page to slay him out-right, because it should not be said that he perished by the stroke of a Woman. But others set this Citie in *Ephraim* neere *Sichem* or *Neapolis*.

The third is *Acrabata*, of which the Territory adioyning is called *Acrabatena*, (one of the ten *Toparchie* or Government in *Iudaea*) for which *Hierome*, 1. Mac. 5. reads *Arabathena*; in the Greeke it is *Acrabatine*: *Isidore* calls it *Agrabat*. This Citie had one of the largest Territories of all *Palestine* belonging to the Gouernour thereof. *Iosephus* remembereth it often, as in his second Booke of the *Iewes* Warres, c. 11. 25. 28. and elsewhere.

The difference betweene a *Tetrarchie* and a *Toparchie*, was, that the first was taken for a Province, and the other for a Citie with some lesser Territory adioyning, and a *Tetrarch* is the same with *Preses* in Latine, and *President* in English, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdome: and thereof so called: *Plinie* nameth *Ieu-*

teene

teene *Tetrarchies* in *Syria*: the Holy Land had foure, and so hath the Kingdome of *Ireland* to this day, *Leinster*, *Ulster*, *Connath*, and *Mounster*.

Euseb. in chron.

To the South-west of *Acrabata* they place the Cities of *Balaam* or *Bilham*, and *Geothremom* of the *Leuites*: but *Iunius* out of *Ios.* 21. 25. and 1. Chron. 6. 70. gathers that these two are but one; and that *Ishleham* *Ios.* 16. 11. is another name of the same Citie.

Then is *Iezrael* a Regall Citie, set at the foot of the Mountaines of *Gilboa*, towards the South-west: herein *Iezabel* by a false accusation caused *Naboth* to be stoned, to the end shee might possesse his Vineyard adioyning to the Citie, which *Naboth* refused to sell, because it was his inheritance from his Father.

Ierom also was cast vnburied into the same field: for which his Mother *Iezabel* King. 2. cap. 2. murdered *Naboth*.

Toward the Sea from *Iezrael* is the Citie which they call *Gaber*: in whose ascent as *Abesiah* King of *Iuda* fled from *Iehu*, when hee had slaine *Ioram*, hee was wounded with the thor of an arrow, of which wound hee died at *Mageddo* adioyning. The Scripture calls this Citie of *Gaber*, *Gur*.

Then *Adadremmon*, neere vnto which the good King *Iosias* was slaine by *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, in a Warre vndoubtedly undertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Affria* against the King thereof; by the commaundement of God: whom *Iosias* sought to resist in his passage. It was afterward called *Maximianopolis*.

A neighbour Citie to *Adadremmon* was *Mageddo*, often remembered in the Scrip-^{Ind. 1. c. 5.} tures, whose King was slaine among the rest by *Iosua*: yet they defended their Citie for a long time against *Manasse*. The River which passeth by the Towne, may perhaps be the same which *Ptolomee* calleth *Chorfeus*: and not that of which wee haue spoken in *Zabulon*. For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that haue described the Holy Land delineate no such River. *Moore* only sets it downe in his *Geographie* of the twelue Tribes: but the River which passeth by *Mageddo* hee vnderstandeth to be but a branch, falling therinto. *Lateflan* and *Schori* make a great confluence of waters in this place: agreeable to this Scripture in³⁰ the fifth of *Judges*: Then fought the Kings of *Canaan* in *Tanac* by the waters of *Mageddo*. But these Authors, and with them *Stella*, giue it no other name then the Tor-⁴⁰ rent so called.

But seeing that ancient *Cosmographers* stretch out the bounds of *Phenicia*, euen to *Syaste* or *Samaria*; and *Strabo* farre beyond it on the Sea coast: And *Iosephus* calls *Syrah*, 1. c. 6. *Casaria* *Palestina* a Citie of *Phenicia*, yea *Laurentius Corinius* extendeth *Phenicia* as *Ios. 1. 15. c. 13.* farre as *Gaza*: seeing also *Ptolomee* lets downe *Chorfeus* for the partition of *Phenicia* and *Iudea*: this River running East and West parallel with *Samaria*: it is very probable that this Torrent called *Mageddo*, after the name of the Citie, which it watereth, is the same which *Ptolomee* in his fourth Table of *Asia* calleth *Chorfeus*. The⁴⁰ later traualers of the holy Land call *Mageddo* *Subimbre* at this day.

¶ II.

Of *Casaria* *Palestina*, and some other Townes.

From *Mageddo* toward the West, and neere the *Mediterran* Sea, was that glorious Citie of *Casaria* *Palestina*: first, the Tower of *Sidon*: the same which *Plinie* calls *Apollonia*: though *Ptolomee* lets *Apollonia* elsewhere, and toward *Egypt*, betweene this Citie and *Ioppe*, to which *Vespasian* gaue the name of *Flavia Colonia*. It was by *Hierodre* rebuilt, who therein laboured to exceede all the workes in that part of the world. For besides the edifices, which hee reared within the Walls, of cut and polished marbles, the Theatre and Amphitheatre, from whence he might looke ouer the Seas farre away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates: hee forced a Harborow of great capacitie, being in former times but an open Bay: and the winde blowing

Ilands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthesia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Casaria Palestina*: and by reason of the many Ports and goodly Sea-townes, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Eafterne world: and they were absolute Kings of the *Mediterran* Sea.

The ancient Regall Seate of those Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first sonne of *Canaan*: and the people then subiect to that people were called *Zidenians*: the same state continuing euen vnto *Iesus* time. For till then it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second Booke of *Pandall Warres*. But in proceffe of time the Citie of *Tyre* adioyning became the more magnificent: yet according to the Prophet, it was but a Daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built and peopled.

But after the death of *Moses*, and while *Iesus* yet governed *Israel*, *Agenor* an *Egyptian* of *Thebes*, or a *Phœnician* bred in *Egypt*, camethence with his sonnes *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (say *Cedrenus* and *Curtius*) and built and possesse the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyrrus*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (so called after the name of his second Sonne) the vse of letters: which also *Cadmus* in his purluite after his sister *Europa* taught the *Grecians*. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when he surprised *Tyre*, had stolen her thence: of which the Poets deuiled the fable of *Iapetus* transformation into a Bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. *Pomponius Mabinus* makes *Belus* the first King of *Phœnicia*: and findes *Cadmus* his successeur: to whom he calleth his grand-child: and it seemeth that *Belus* was the Father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the successors of *Dido* held that name alwayes inreuerence, making it a part of their owne, as *Asdrubal*, *Hannibal*: which memorie Virgil also toucheth in these Verses:

Hic Regis agnauem geminis auroq; poposcit
Impleuitq; more patriam: quam BELVS & omnes
A BELVS soliti.

The Queene anon commands the waighy bowle
(Waighie with precious stones and masse gold)
To flow with wine. This *Belus* vs'd of old,
And all of *Belus* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were Father or Grand-father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seemeth to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Ancestor to these *Phœnicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Iupiter Belus*, the sonne of *Neptune* by *Libya*, the Daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the Sonne of *Telegonus*, according to *Eusebius*; yet it is agreed that *Ceopros* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Ceopros* time, saith *S. Augustine*, *Moses* left *Egypt*: *Agenor*s successeur liuing at once with *Iesus*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the same time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither doe I denie, but that he gaue that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his Sonne. But in stead of the building of *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nabuchodonosor* were of *Babylon*.

For bee it true that *Agenor* was of the same Nation, and brought vp in *Egypt*: where he learnt the vse of letters (*Egypt* flourishing in all kind of learning in *Moses* time) or were he by Nation an *Egyptian*: yet is it very likely that either he came to saue his owne Territory: or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan*, from the *Israelites*: who were by *Moses* led out of *Egypt*, to the great losse and dishonour of that Nation: and by *Iesus* conducted ouer *Jordan*, to conquer and possesse the *Canaanites* Land. For though the *Egyptians*, by reason of the losse which they received by the hand of God, in the Red Sea, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the Male children at the same time, could

not

not hinder the *Hebrewes* from inuading *Canaan* by Land: which also they knew had so many powerfull Nations to defend it: the *Deserts* inter-jacent, and the strong *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Emorites*, and *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Egypt* hauing such Vessells, or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in vse: did not in all probability neglect to Garrison the Sea coast, or assist *Agenor* with such forces, as they had to spare; and which they might performe with the greater facilitie, in that the *Philistines* which held the shores of *Canaan*, next adioyning vnto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now as it appeareth by the course of the storie, those Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was said to haue built (that is, to haue fortified and defended against *Iesus*, and against the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Iesus* called the strong Citie, *Acho* afterward *Ptolomais*, *Aezib* and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in those days.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mightie, especially by Sea, it appeareth, first by their defence against *Israel*: secondly by this, that *David* and *Salomon* could not master them: but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it selfe 13. yeeres against a King of Kings, *Nabuchodonosor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, seemed vnresistible) spent more time in the recourie of *Tyre*; than in the conquest of all the Cities in *Asia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Berosus* out of *Iosephus*, who conceiues that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the sonne of *Iaphet*. And for the Region it selfe, though *Calisthenes* deriue it ab *arbores dactylorum*; and the *Greekes* from the word *Phonos*, of slaughter, because the *Phœnicians* slew all that came on their coasts, yet for my selfe I take it that *Phœnix* the sonne of *Agenor* gaue it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his sonne in *Greece*, were the Inuentors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute vnecessary.

The *Ethiopians* affirme that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences, and ciuill Policies, which they afterward profest, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himselfe was instructed by the *Libyans*: to wit, from the South and Superior *Egyptians*: from whom those which inhabited neerer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they say, borrowed their Diuinitie and Philosophie: and from them the *Greekes*, then barbarous, received Ciuilitie. Again, the *Phœnicians* challenge this inuention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the *Egyptians* at all; neither doe they allow that *Agenor* and his sonnes were *Africans*; whence *Lucan*.

Phœnices primi (sæpe si creditur) ausi
Mansaram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

Lucan. l. 1. 3.

Phœnicians first (if same may credit haue)
In rude Characters dar'd our wordes to graue.

And that *Cadmus* was the sonne of *Agenor*, and was a *Phœnician*, and not an *Egyptian*, it appeareth by that answer made by *Zeno*; when hee in a kinde of reproch was called a stranger and a *Phœnician*:

Si patria est Phœnix, quid tum? nam CADMVS & ipse
Phœnix; cui debet Græcia doct a libros.

Athen. l. Diogen.

If a *Phœnician* borne I am, what then?
CADMVS was so: to whom *Greece* owes
The Bookes of learned men.

I i

Our

Ioseph. contra
Apionem.

Out of doubt the *Phœnicians* were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Iosephus* the Historian confirms a great part of his Antiquities. The *Tyrians* againe subscribe to none of these reports: but affirme constantly, that the great *Zimolxis* flourished among them: when *Atlas* liued in *Mauritania*; *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*; and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, some of the *French* doe not blush to maintaine, that the ancient *Gauls* taught the *Greekes* the vse of Letters, and other Sciences. And doe not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druids* are as ancient as those *Gauls*, and that they sent their sonnes hither to bee by them instructed in all kinde of learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this inuention on *Moses*, the same hath no probability at all, for hee liued at such time as learning and arts flourished most, both in *Egypt*, and *Affrya*, and he himselfe was brought vp in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, from his infancy.

But true it is that letters were inuented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the generall flood: either by *Seth*, or *Enos*, or by whom else God knowes; from whom all wisdom and understanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath hee giuen the same inuention to diuers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many other knowledges: for euen in *Mexico*, when it was first discovered, there was found written Bookes after the manner of those *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently vsed by the *Egyptians*, and other Nations: and so had those *Americans* a kinde of *Heraldrick*; and their Princes differing in *Armes* and *Scutcherions*, like vnto those vsed by the Kings and Nobilitie of other Nations. *In a naturalia communia, & generalia, &c. Naturali Laues are common and generall.*

Ioseph.

§. II.

Of the Kings of Tyre.



Whatsoever remaineth of the storie and Kings of *Phœnicia* (the books of *Zeno*, *Sicboniatho*, *Atanaseus*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the same is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor liued at once with *Iofus*, to whom succeeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and so farre towards the North as *Aradus*, tooke the name of *Phœnicia*: what King succeeded *Phœnix* it doth not appeare: but at such time as the *Grecians* belieged *Troy*, *Phaïs* gouerned *Phœnicia*.

chap. 27. v. 3.

In *Hieremies* time and while *Iehoiakim* ruled in *Iuda*, the *Tyrians* had a King apart: for *Hieremies* speaketh of the Kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, &c. as of seuerall Kings.

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Armie wherewith hee invaded *Greece*, *Tetramnestus* ruled that part of *Phœnicia*, about *Tyre*, and *Zidon*: who commanded, as some Writers affirme, *Xerxes* flecte, or rather, as I suppose, those 300 Gallies, which himselfe brought to his aide: for at this time it seemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were Tributaries to the *Persian*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty Kings in *Hieremies* time, they were subiects by *Nabuchodonosor*; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, *Hieremies* prophecied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded *Tetramnestus*: remembred by *D. Siculus* in his 14. Booke.

Strato, his successor, and King of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependance vpon *Darius*, and that his Predecessors had serued the East Empire against the *Grecians*. But diuers Kings, of whom there is no memorie, came betwene *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 130. yeeres and somewhat more betwene *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* esteemed

esteemed the more vnworthie of restitution, because (saith *Curtius*) hee rather submitted himselfe by the intiligation of his Subiects (who foresaw their viter ruine by resistance) than that hee had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*.

Of this *Strato*, *Athenæus* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that hee was a man of ill liuing: and most voluptuous; also that hee appointed certaine games and prizes for Women dancers, and singers: whom he to this end chiefly inuited, and assembled: that hauing belied the most beautifull and liuely among them, hee might recover them for his owne vse and delights. Of this strange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of these coasts, *S. Hierome* and others make mention: who hauing heard that the *Persians* were nere him with an Armie too waightie for his strength, and finding that hee was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the *Egyptians*: hee determining to kill himselfe, but fainting in the execution, his wife being present wrested the sword out of his hand and slew him: which done shee also therewith pierced her owne bodie, and died.

After *Alexander* was posselt of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driuen thence, Hee gaue the Kingdome to *Hephestion*, to dispose of: who hauing receiued great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this Citizen no lesse vertuous than rich, desired *Hephestion* that this Honour might be inferred on some one of the blood and race of their ancient Kings: and presented vnto him *Balonymus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolonimus*, *Iustinus* *Abdolonius*, and *Plutarchus* *Alynomus*: who at the very houre that hee was called to this regall Estate, was with his owne handes working in his Garden, setting herbes, and rootes, for his reliefe and sustenance: though otherwise a wife man and exceeding iust.

These were the ancient Kings of *Zidon*: whose estate being afterward changed into Popular or *Aristocratticall*: and by times and turnes subiects to the Emperours of the East: there remaineth no farther memorie of them, than that which is formerly deliuered in the Tribe of *Isser*.

The Kings of *Tyre*, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appeare: *Iosephus* the Historian, as is saide, had many things wherewith hee garnished his Antiquities from the *Tyrian* Chronicles: and out of *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be gathered a descent of some twentie Kings of the *Tyrians*, but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Menander Ephesus*, doe in no sort agree in the times of their reignes; nor in other particulars.

Abibulus is the first King of the *Tyrians*, that *Iosephus* and *Theophilus* remember: whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus*: the same perchance that the sonne of *Sirach* mentioneth in his fourtie and sixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the *Tyrians*.

To this *Abibulus*, *Suron* succeeded, if hee be not one and the same with *Abibulus*. *David* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Eusebius*) constrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute, of whom also *David* complaineth *Psal. 83*.

Hiram succeeded *Suron*, whom *Iosephus* calls *Iram*, and *Theophilus* sometime *Hieremmus*, sometime *Hieramus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras* *Chiram*. He entred into a league with *Dauid*, and sent him *Cedars* with *Masons*, and *Carpenters*, to performe his buildings in *Ierusalem*: after he had beaten thence the *Isabittes*. The same was hee that so greatly assisted *Salomon*: whom he not only furnished with *Cedars*, and other Materials towards the raising of the Temple, and with great summes of money, but also he ioyned with him in his enterprize of the East India, and of *Ophir*: and furnished *Salomon* with Mariners and Pilots: the *Tyrians* being of all Nations the most excellent Navigators: and lent him 120. talents of gold. Of this *Hiram* there is not only mention in diuers places of Scripture, but in *Iosephus* in his Antiquities the 7. and 8. chap. 2. & 3. in *Theophilus* his 34. booke, in *Tatianus* his Oration against the *Greekes*: and in *Zonaras* Tome the first. This Prince seemed to be very mighty and magnificent: he despised the 20. towne which *Salomon* offered him: he defended himselfe against

Athen. l. 12. c. 13

Hieron. l. 1. cont. Iovin.

c. 46.

Pseph. Euz. l. 9. c. 4.

2. Sam. 8. c. 2. 2. Sam. 11. 1. Kings. 1. p. 20. 2. Chron. 14. 2. Chron. 1. 8. p.

1 King. 11.

Theoph. 17.
yeeres.

Ioseph. 54.

Theoph. 18.

Theoph.

Ioseph. 32.

Theoph. 12.

1 King. 16. v. 31

Ioseph. yeeres

Theoph. 36.

Ioseph. 32.

Theoph. 39.

Iustini. 11.

Virgili.

that victorious King David and gaue his Daughter in marriage to Salomon, called the Zidonian: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Astarte*, the Idoll of the Phenicians. *Hiram* liued 53. yeeres.

Baleasartus whom *Theoph. Antiochenus*, calleth *Bazorus*, succeeded *Hiram*, King of Tyre and Zidon, and reigned 7. yeeres according to *Iosephus*.

Abdasartus the eldest sonne of *Baleasartus*, gouerned 9. yeeres, and liued but 20. yeeres according to *Iosephus*: but after *Theophilus* he reigned 12. yeere, and liued 54. who being slaine by the foure sonnes of his owne Nurce, the eldest of them held the Kingdome 12. yeeres.

Astartus brother to *Abdasartus*, recovered the Kingdome from this Vsurper, and 10. reigned 12. yeeres.

Astartus, or *Atharimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third brother followed *Astartus*, and ruled 9. yeeres, and liued in all 54.

Phelles the fourth sonne of *Baleasartus*, and brother to the three former Kings, flew *Astartus*, and reigned 8. Moneths; liued 55. yeeres.

Ithobalus (or *Ithobalus*, in *Theophilus*) son to the third brother *Astartus*, who was the chiefe Priest of the Goddesse *Astarte*, which was a dignitie next vnto the King, reuenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his Vncle *Phelles*: and reigned 32. yeeres, the same which in the first of Kings chap. 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whose Daughter *Iezabel*, *Achab* married.

Badezor or *Bazor* the sonne of *Ithobalus* or *Ethbaal*, brother to *Iezabel*, succeeded his Father, and reigned 6. yeeres, and liued in all 45.

Metimus succeeded *Badezor*, and reigned but 9. yeeres, (saith *Iosephus*) he had two sonnes *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two Daughters *Elysa* and *Anna*.

Pygmalion reigned after *Metimus* his Father 40. yeeres, and liued 56: In the 7. yeere of whose reigne, *Elysa* sailed into *Africa*, and buile *Carthago*, 143. yeeres and 8. Moneths, after the Temple of *Salomon*: which by our account was 289. yeeres after *Troy* taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Aeneas* and *Dido* must be farre out of square. For *Pygmalion* couetous of *Sicheus* his riches, who had married his sister *Elysa*, slew him traiterously as he accompanied him in hunting: or if wee beleue *Iustine* and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Elysa* fearing to be depouled of her husbands treasure, fled by Sea into *Africa* as aforesaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to pursue, he was by his Mothers teares, and by threats from the Oracle arrested. *Barca* accompanied his sister, and assisted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble Familie of the *Barce* in *Africa*, of which race descended many famous Captaines, and the great *Hannibal*. *Servius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, because of her man-like acts, others from *Iedidias*, a surname of *Salomon*.

Eulenes succeeded *Pygmalion*: and reigned 36. yeeres: the same that ouerthrew the fleet of *Salmanaasar*, in the Port of Tyre: not withstanding which hee continued his 40. siege before it on the Land side five yeeres, but in vaine.

After *Eulenes*, *Ethobales* gouerned the Tyrians, who wanted himselfe to bee as wise as *Daniel*: and that he knew all secrets (saith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it is gathered, that this Prince died, or was slaine in that long siege of *Nabuchodenesor*: who serrounded and attempted Tyre 13. yeeres together, ere he preuailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10. yeeres a tributarie, perchanse, to *Nabuchodenesor*: for after his death it was gouerned by diuers Judges, succeeding each other: First, by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the Priest, *Mitonus*, and *Gerasius*, who held it among them some 7. yeeres, and odde Moneths: after whom *Balatorus* commanded 50. therein as a King for one yeere: after him *Merbalus* sent from *Babylon* 4. yeeres: after him *Irom* sent thence also, 20. yeeres. In the 17. of whose reigne *Cyrus* beganne to gouerne *Persia*.

§. III.

§. III.

Of *Bozivs* his conceit that the *Edumaeans* inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phenicia the knowledge of the true God.



F the great mutations of this Kingdome and State of the Tyrians, mixed with a discourse of diuers other Nations, there is one *Bozivs* that hath written a Treatise at large, intituled *deruinis Gentium*. And although the great, and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea in all things vnder Heauen; haue proceeded from his ordinance who onely is vnchangeable, and the same for euer; yet whereas the said *Bozivs*, inforcing heere-
hence, that the prosperitie and ruine of the Tyrians were fruits of their embracing or forsaking the true Religion, to proue this his assertion, supposeth the Tyrians to haue bene *Edumaeans*, descended from *Esaue*, *Jacobs* brother: first, it can hardly be beleued that Tyre, when it flourished most in her ancient glorie, was in any sort truly deuout and religious. But to this end (besides the prooff which the Scriptures giue of *Hiram* good affection when *Salomon* built the Temple) he brings many coniectural argu-
ments: whereof the strongest is their petegree and descent: it being likely in his opinion, that the posteritie of *Esaue* receiued from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Isaac*. That the Tyrians were *Edumaeans*, he endeouours to shew, partly by weak reasons, painfully strained from some affinity of names, which are argu-
ments of more delight than waight; partly by authoritie. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Plinius*, and others witness, that the Tyrians came from the Red Sea, in which there were three Ilands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Sidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards giuen to the Cities of Phenicia. Considering therefore that all the coast
of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) vnder the *Edumaeans*: as *Elab* and *Elongaber*; or
vnder the *Amalekites*, who descended of *Amalek* the Nephew of *Esaue*, whose chiefe
Citie was *Madian*, so called of *Madian* the sonne of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whose posteritie did people it: the consequence appeares good (as he takes it) that the Tyrians
originally were *Edomites*: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of
Israel. Hereunto hee addes that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into Greece
the worship of *Astarte*, the Idoll of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thales* and
Pherecydes being Phenicians, themselves differed much in their Philosophie from the
Idolatrous customes of the Greekes. That in *Teman*, a Towne of the *Edumaeans*, was
an *Arinerstie*, wherein as may appeare by *Eliphas* the *Temanite*, who disputed with
Iob, Religion was sincerely taught.

Such is the discourse of *Bozivs*, who labouring to proue one Paradoxe by another, deserves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the Tyrians were *Edumaeans*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his People: neither is it true that they were *Edumaeans* at all. In what Religion *Esaue* brought vp his children it is no where found written, but that his life was a prophane man, and disauowed by God, the Scriptures in plaine termes expresse. That his posteritie were Idolaters, is directly proued in the five and twentieth Chapter of the second booke of *Chronicles*. That the *Edomites* were perpetual enemies to the House of *Israel*, saue only when *Dauid* and some of his race, Kings of *Juda*, held them in subiection, who knows not? or who is ignorant of *Dauids* vnfriendly behaviour
amongst them, when first they were subdued? Surely it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance, betwene *Tyrus* and Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held such good
correspondence with *Dauid*: euen then when *Joab* slew all the Males of *Edom*: nei-
ther was it for their deuotion to God, and good affection to *Israel*, that the *Edomites*
were so ill intreated. It seemeth that the pietie and ancient wisdom of *Eliphas* the
Temanite,

Themanite was then forgotten, and the *Edumians* punished, for being such as *David* in his owne dayes found them. Although indeed the Citie of *Teman* whence *Eliphas* came to reason with *Job*, is not that in *Edumia*, but another of the same name, lying East from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adioyning to *Hir*, the Countrie of *Job*: and to *Sueb* the Citie of *Bildad* the *Subite*, as both such *Chorographers* who best knew those parts, doe plainly shew, and the holy Text makes manifest. For *Job* is said to have exceeded in riches; and *Salomon* in wisdom, all the people of the East; not the inhabitants of Mount *Seir*; which lay due South from *Palestina*. True it is that *Eliphas*, the sonne of *Elasu* had a sonne called *Teman*: but that Fathers were wont in those dayes to take name of their sonnes, I no where finde. And *Ismael* also had a sonne called *Thema*: of whom it is not vnlike that *Theman* in the East had the name: for as much as in the seuenth Chapter of the booke of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the East are called *Ismaelites*. And he that well considers how great and strong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durst giue battaile to the Host of *Israel*, wherein were 60000. able men, will hardly beleue that such a people were descended from one of *Elasu* his grand-children. For how powerfull and numberlesse must the forces of all *Edom* haue bene: if one Tribe of them, yea one Familie of a Tribe had bene so great? surely Mount *Seir* and all the Regions adioyning could not haue held them. But wee no where finde that *Edom* had to doe with *Amalec*: or afflied the *Amalekites*: when *Saul* went to roote them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it selfe, it distinct from the *Ismaelites*. The like may be said of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being sonne to *Abraham* by *Cethura*, doublelle was no *Edomite*. And thus much in general for all the *Seigniorie* of the Red Sea-coast, which *Bozsius* imagines the *Edumians* to haue held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held some places as *Elan* and *Esiogaber* on the Red Sea shore, yet in *Moses* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moses* himselfe saith, that *Israel* did compass all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* stood, *Moses* must needs haue knowne it: because he had sojourned long in that Countrie: and there had left his Wife and Children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But coniecturall Arguments, how probable soeuer, are needlesse in so manifest a case. For in the 83. *Psal.* *Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as distinct Nations: yea the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good Authors shew, and *Bozsius* himselfe confesseth, were *Canaanites*, as appeares, *Gen. c. 10. v. 15. & 19* appointed by God to haue bene destroyed, and their Lands given to the children of *Israel*: 29. because they were euer Idolaters, and of the cursed seede of *Canaan*, nor Cousins to *Israel*, nor professors of the same Religion. For though *Hiram* said, *Blessed be God that hath sent King David a wise sonne*, wee cannot inferre that hee was of *David*'s Religion. The *Turke* hath said as much of *Christian* Princes, his confederates. Certaine it is that the *Sidonians* then worshipped *Ashtaroth*; and drew *Salomon* also to the same Idolatrie.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Salomon* in building the Temple, hee did it for his owne ends, receiuing therefore of *Salomon* great prouision of Corne, and Oile, and the offer of twentie Townes or Villages in *Galilee*. And if wee rightly consider things, it will appeare that *Hiram*, in all points, dealt Merchant-like with *Salomon*, He allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is ouer-persuaded: being otherwise apt to yeeld silkes: as the *Andarine* silkes which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corne and Oile, which hee wanted, hee gave that which hee could well spare to *Salomon*. Also gold for Land: wherein *Salomon* was the wiser: who hauing got the gold first, gaue to *Hiram* the worst Villages that hee had: with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleased. But it was a necessarie police which enforced *Tyru* to hold league with *Israel*. For *David* had subdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, euen to *Euphrates*: through which Countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carrie and recarrie their Wares on Cammels,

to their flectes on the Red Sea; and backe againe to *Tyru*: so that *Salomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to passe, could haue cut off their Trade.

But the *Israelites* were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the *Tyrians* in their adventures. Yet *Salomon* as Lord of the Sea-townes, which his Father had taken from the *Philistims*, might haue greatly distressed the *Tyrians*, and perhaps haue brought them euen into subiection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no meruaile) that *Salomon* rather meant as a man of peace to employ his Fathers treasure, in magnificent workes, than in pursuing the conquest of all *Syria*. Therefore hee willingly aided him, and sent him cunning workmen, to increase his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages betwene *Salomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong Arguments of pietie in the *Tyrians*: so those other proofes which *Bozsius* frames negatively vpon particular examples, are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I thinke, no man knowes. It seemes to me, that hauing more cunning than the *Greekes*, and being very ambitious, hee would faine haue purchased diuine honours: which his Daughters, Nephewes, and others of his house obtained, but his owne many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if hee had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but single examples. Euerie saluage Nation hath some whose wisdom excelleth the Vulgar, euen of ciuill people. Neither did the morall wisdom of these men expresse any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the Gods of *Greece*: whose being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrians*, are not knowne to haue taught Idolatrie, therefore the *Tyrians* were not Idolaters. But this is off force, That *Carthage*, *Pica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all Colonies of the *Tyrians* (of which, I thinke, the Islands before mentioned in the Red Sea to haue been, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, euen from their first beginnings: therefore, the *Tyrians* who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatry from *Salomon*'s time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozsius*, who would haue vs thinke them to haue been formerly a strange kinde of deuout *Edomites*. In which tancie he is so peremptory, that hee filtheth men of contrary opinion, *impious politicos*, as if it were impiety to thinke that God (who euen among the Heathen, which haue not knowne his name, doth fauour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded morall honestie, with temporal happinesse. Doubtlesse this doctrine of *Bozsius* would better haue agreed with *Julian* the *Apollonia*, than with *Cyril*. For if the *Assyrians*, *Greekes*, *Romanes*, and all those Nations of the *Gentiles*, did then prosper most, when they drew neereft vnto the true Religion: what may bee said of the foule Idolatry which grew in *Rome*, as fast as *Rome* it selfe grew: and was enlarged with some new Superlution, almost vpon euerie new victory? How few great battailes did the *Romanes* winne, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new God, or some new Honour to one of their old Gods? yea, what one Nation, saue onely that of the *Jewes*, was subdued by them, whose Gods they did not afterward entertaine in their Citie? Onely the true God, which was the God of the *Jewes*, they reiected, ybraiding the *Jewes* with him, as if hee were unworthy of the *Romane* Maieitie: shall we hereupon enforce the lewd and foolish conclusion, which Heathen writers vsed against the *Christians* in the *Primitive Church*: That such Idolatrie had caused the Citie of *Rome* to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperitie were a signe or effect of true Religion. Such is the blind zeale of *Bozsius*, who writing against those whom hee falsely termes *impious*, giues strength to such as are *impious* indeed. But such indiscretion is usually found among men of his humour; who hauing once either foolishly embraced the dremes of others, or vaine-ly fashioned in their owne braines any strange *Chimera*'s of Diuinitie, condemne all such in the pride of their zeale, as *Atheists* and *Infidels*, that are not transported with the

the like intemperate ignorance. Great pittie it is that such madde Dogges are oftentimes encouraged by those, who hauing the command of many tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious vertue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of EPHRAIM, and of the Kings of the
tenne Tribes, whose head was
EPHRAIM.

§. I.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of
EPHRAIM.



¶ 1659. 9. 78. 108
Par. 5.

A VING now past ouer *Phenicia*, we come to the next Territory adioyning: which is that of *Ephraim*: long time taken *per excellentiam* for the whole Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. *Ephraim* was the second sonne of *Ioseph*, whose issues when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the *Deserts* (*Iofua* excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their children growne to bee able men 32500. who came downe on the West side of *Iordan*, betwene *Manassas*, and *Beniamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Iordan*, and the *Mediterranean* Sea, did by the East and West.

The first and chiefe Citie which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria*, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdome of *Israel*, built by *Amris* or *Homri* King thereof, and seated on the top of the Mountaine *Somren*, which ouer-looketh all the bottome, and as farre as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called *Sebasti*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *Augustus Caesar*. This Citie is often remembered in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building; for as *Brachard* obserueth, the ruines which yet remaine, and which *Brachard* found greater then those of *Hierusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood vpright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly marble pillars, with other hewne and carued stone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the Sonnes of *Hircanus* the high Priest: restored and built by the first *Herod* the sonne of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cesar* called it *Sebasti*. Herein were the Prophets *Isaiah*, and *Abdias* buried: and so was *Iohn Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with *Grecian* Monkes.

Nere *Samaria* toward the South, is the Hill of *Bethel*, and a towne of that name: on the top of which Mountaine *Ieroboam* erected one of his golden Calues, to be worshipped: with which he seduced the *Israelites*.

In sight of this Mountaine of *Bethel*, was that ancient Citie of *Sichem*; after the restoration called *Neapolis*, now *Pelusa*, and *Neapolis*: It was destroyed by *Simon* and *Lewi*, in reuenge of the rauishment of their filter *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelech* cued

Sichem. Ioh. 4. 5.
Mabrichen.
1693. 11. 11. 1.

cued with the soyle. *Ieroboam* raised it vp againe: and the *Damascens* a third time calit downe.

Vnder *Sichem* toward the Sea standeth *Pharston* or *Pirbathon* on the Mountaine *Iudg. 12. 15.* *Amelet*, the Citie of *Abdon* Iudge of *Israel*. And vnder it *Bethoron* of the *Leuites*, *2. Reg. 13.* built as it is said by *Sara*, the Daughter of *Ephraim*. Nere to this Citie *Iudas Machabeus* ouerthrew *Sevon* and *Lyfius*, Lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This Citie had *Salomon* formerly repaired and fortified.

Betweene *Bethoron* and the Sea, standeth *Samir*, of which *Iof. 10.* And *Saron* whose King was slaine by *Iofas*: it is also mentioned *Act. 9. 35.* and of this *Saron* the *Iof. 12. 18.* Valley taketh name, which beginning at *Casarea Palastina*, extendeth it selfe alongst the coast as farre as *Ioppe*, saith *Adrichome*. Though indeed the name *Saron* is not particularly giuen to this Valley, but to euery fruitful plaine Region; for not onely this Valley is so called, to wit, betwene *Casarea* and *Ioppe*, but that also betwene the Mountaine *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for so *S. Hierome* vpon the five and thirtieth Chapter of *Esay* interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries vpon *Abdias*, reade *Saron* for *Affaron*: vnderstanding thereby a Plaine nere *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Diofpolis*, or the Citie of *Iupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Iudaea*, the fift in dignitie (or the third after *Plinie*) where Saint *PETER* (*non fuisse Christi vultate*) cured *Aeneas*. *Niger* calls all that Region from *Antilibanus* to *Ioppe* *Saron*. This *Ioppe* was burnt to the ground by the *Romanes*, *Niger* comm. 4. those *Rauens* and *spoylers* of all Estates, disturbers of Common-weales, vsurpers of other Princes Kingdomes; who with no other respect led than to amplify their owne glory, troubled the whole world: and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the most salvage and barbarous Nations.

In *Diofpolis* (saith *Will. of Tyre*) was *S. George* beheaded, and buried: in whose honour and memorie *Iustinian* the Emperour caused a faire Church to bee built ouer his Tombe, these be *Tyrius* his wordes: *Relicta dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, & Ioppe, per late patentem plantitiem Eleutheriam pertranseunt, Liddam que est Diofpolis, ubi & egregij Martyris GEORGII, que hodie Sepulchrum ostenditur, perueniunt, eius & Eleutheriam quum ad honorem eiusdem Martyris pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum, AUGUSTVS IUSTINIANVS multo studio & deuotione promptis edificari preceperat, &c. They hauing left (saith he) on the right hand, the Sea Townes Antipatris, and Ioppe, passing ouer the great open plaine of Eleutheria, came to Lidda, which is Diofpolis: where the sumptuous Tombe of the famous Martyr S. GEORGE is at this day shewed; whose Church, when the Godly and Orthodox Prince of the Romanes, High and Mightie IUSTINIAN had commanded to bee built, with great earnestnesse and present deuotion, &c. Thus saith *Tyrius*, by whose testimonie we may coniecture that this *S. George* was not that *Arrian* Bilhop of *Alexandria*; but rather some better *Christian*: for this of *Alexandria* was slaine there in an vprore of the people, and his ashes cast into the Sea: as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet also it may bee, that this *George* was a better *Christian*, than hee is commonly thought: for his wordes of the Temple of *GENIUS*, *How long shall this Sepulchre stand?* occasioned the vprore of the people against him: as fearing lest hee would giue attempt to ouerthrow that beautifull Temple. This also *Marcellinus* reports; who though hee say that this *George* was also deadly hated of the *Christians*, who else might haue rescued him: yet hee addeth that his ashes, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, lest if their Reliques had been gathered vp, Churches should bee built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather thinke that it was not this *Georgius*, whose name liues in the right honourable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius*, aboue cited, witnesseth to haue been buried at *Lidda* or *Diofpolis*. The same also is confirmed by *Vitrua*. *S. Hierome* affirms that it was sometime called *Tigrida*, and while the *Christians* inhabited the Holy Land, it had a Bilhop *Suffragan*.*

Nere to *Lidda* or *Diofpolis* standeth *Ramatha* of the *Leuites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward

Of this Saint
George see
more aboue in
this second
Booke.

C. 7. §. 1. 5.

40 The Sea: as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet also it may bee, that this *George* was a better *Christian*, than hee is commonly thought: for his wordes of the Temple of *GENIUS*, *How long shall this Sepulchre stand?* occasioned the vprore of the people against him: as fearing lest hee would giue attempt to ouerthrow that beautifull Temple. This also *Marcellinus* reports; who though hee say that this *George* was also deadly hated of the *Christians*, who else might haue rescued him: yet hee addeth that his ashes, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, lest if their Reliques had been gathered vp, Churches should bee built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather thinke that it was not this *Georgius*, whose name liues in the right honourable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius*, aboue cited, witnesseth to haue been buried at *Lidda* or *Diofpolis*. The same also is confirmed by *Vitrua*. *S. Hierome* affirms that it was sometime called *Tigrida*, and while the *Christians* inhabited the Holy Land, it had a Bilhop *Suffragan*.

Saliz. Tom. 4. c. 5.

Sec in the
Tribe of Benia-
min, c. 12. §. 5.

Sam. 1. c. 25. v. 5.

Ant. 13. 2. 1. de
Bell. Ind. 4. 6.

Judg. 9. 9. It is
called Thim-
nath-chorai.
10. 39. 50.

Hieron. in locis
Hebr.

Maccab. 1. 7. 40.

Sec in Benia-
min.
Maccab. 1. 9.
v. 50.

King. x. c. 4. and
see Rana in
Beniamin.

Judg. 9. 6. & 10

1. Reg. 11. 37.
Patabus ex-
pounds Milla
in this place,
locum publicum
municipium ci-
vibus Ierusal-
mitanis atque
Iherusalem.
2. Reg. 15. 29.
10. 17. v. 15. 16.

ward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the native Citie of *Ioseph*, which buried the body of *Chryl*. There are many places which beare this name of *Rama*; one they set in the Tribe of *Juda* neere *Thecina* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephthaim*, not farre from *Seper*; a third in *Zabulon*, which they say, adioyneth to *Seper* *oria*; a fourth, which they make the same with *Silo*, and a fifth, which is this *Rama*, in the Hills of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* lived; and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the North along the coast are *Heli*, or *Aialon* of the *Levites*, of which 1. *Chron* 6. *Apollonia*, of which *Iosephus* in his Antiquities, and in the Warre of the *Jewes*. Also *Bajalis* (for which *Iunius*, 2. *Reg* 4. 42. reads *planities Shalifa*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*; but *Iunius* vpon 1. *Sam* 6. where we read 10 of the Land of *Shalifis*, findeth it in *Beniamin*.

On the other side of the Mountaines of *Ephraim* standeth *Gofna*, one of the *Toparchies* or Cities of government, the second in dignitie, of which the Country about it taketh name.

Then *Thunnath-Jara*, or according to the Hebrew, *Thimnath-Serach*; one also of the ten *Toparchies* or *Presidencies* of *Juda*, which they call *Thamnitica*; a goodly Citie and strong, seated on one of the high Hills of *Ephraim*; on the North of the Hill called *Gana*; which Citie and Territory *Israell* gave vnto their Leader *Iofua*; who also amplified it with buildings, neere which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in 5. *Hierons* time, and ouer it the *Sunne* ingrauen, in memory of that greatst of wonders, 20 which *God* wrought in *Iofua*'s time.

In the places adioyning standeth *Adarfa*, or *Adafa*; where *Judas Maccabeus* with 3000. *Jewes* ouerthrew the Armie of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant of *Syria*; neere to *Gazer* or *Gezer* which *Iofua* tooke, and hung their King; a Citie of the *Levites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharao* of *Egypt*; the people all slaine, and the Citie razed; *Salomon* rebuilt it.

To the East of this place is the Frontier Citie of *Iefleti*, of which *Iof* 16. 3. other-
wise *Peletih*, whence *David* had part of his *Pratorian* Souldiers, vnder the charge of *Benai*. Then that high and famous Mountaine and Citie of *Silo*, whereon the *Ark* of *God* v kept for many yeeres, till the *Philistims* got it.

To this they ioyn the Citie of *Machmas* or *Blachmas*: in which *Ionathas* 30 *Machabeus* inhabited, a place often remembered in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Hierusalem*: and is now called *Byra*.

Then the Village of *Naiath* where *Saul* prophesied; and neere it *Ephron*, one of those Cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Ieroboam*; after the great ouerthrow giuen him. Then *Kibzaim* of the *Levites*, of which *Iofua* 21. 22. which *Iunius* thinks to be the same with *Iokmechum*, of which 1. *Chro* 6. 28. As for *Abjaloms* *Balsasor*, which they finde hereabout, *Iunius* reads it the *Plaine* of *Chetzor*; and finds it in the Tribe of *Juda*; as *Iof* 15. we read of two *Chetzors* in that Tribe; one neere *Kedell* v. 23. 40 and the other the same as *Chetzon* v. 25.

In this Tribe also they finde the Citie of *Mello*; whose Citizens, they say, ioyned with the *Sichemites* in making the *Ballard Abimelec* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Salomon* raised a Tribute vpon the people. But it seemes that *Mello* or *Millo* is a common name of a strong Fort or Cittadell: and *Iofua* 10. 11. reads *incolae munitionis*, and for *Salomo edificabit Mello*, he reads *edificabit munitionem*, and so the *Septuagint* reads *incolae* in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Salomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Hierusalem*.

The other Cities of marke in *Ephraim*, are *Taphuseb*, whose King was slaine by *Jo-50* *fas*; and *anath* or *Ienath* spoiled by *Teglapalsar*; *Pekab* then gouerning *Israell* with diuers others, but of no great fame.

The Mountaines of *Ephraim* sometime signifie the greatst part of the Land of the *Sonnes of Ioseph*, on the West of *Jordan*: Ieuerrall parts whereof are the Hill of

Samron

Samron or *Samaria*, 1. *Reg* 16. 24. * the Hill of *Gabas*, *Judg* 2. 9. the Hill of *Tsalmon* or *Salmon*, *Judg* 9. 48. the Hills of the Region of *Tupph* or *Tjophim*, *Judg* 9. 5. where *Rama-Tjophim* stood, which was the Citie of *Samuel*.

The great plentie of fruitfull Vines vpon the sides of the Mountaines, was the occasion that *Jacob* in the Spirit of Prophecie, *Genes* 49. 22. compared *Ioseph* two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manasse*, to the branches of a fruitfull Vine planted by the Well side, and spreading her Daughter-branches along the Wall: which *Allegory* also *Ezekiel* c. 22. in his Lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the tenne Tribes, whose head was *Ephraim*) prosequites: as also in his Lamentation for *Juda*, hee followeth the other *Allegorie* of *Jacob*, *Gen* 49. 9. comparing *Juda* to a Lyon. Vpon the top of one of the highest of these Hills of *Ephraim*, which ouer-looketh all the plaines on both sides of *Jordan*, they finde the Cattle called *Dok*: which they make to bee the same with *Dagon*, of which *Ioseph* 1. *Bel. Iudg* c. 2. in which Cattle as it is 1. *Maccab* 16. *Ptolome* most traiterously, at a banquet, slewe *Simon Maccabeus* his Father-in-Law.

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gana*, remembered in the second of *Samuel* c. 23. v. 30. where though *Iunius* reads *Hiddai ex rana vallium Gabasi*: yet the *Vulgar* and *Patabus* read *Hiddai* of the River of *Gana*. Also in this Tribe they place the River of *Garith*, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great drought: where he was b fed with the Ravens: and after that the River was dried 10 vp, he trauailed (by the Spirit of God guided) towards *Sidon*: where he was relieved by the poore Widow of *Zarepta*, whose dead sonne he reuiued, and increased her pittance of Meale and Oyle: whereby she sustained her life.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes from IEROBOAM to ACHAB.

F the first Kings of *Israel*, I omit in this place to speake: and referre it to the Catalogue of the Kings of *Juda*: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the diuision from *Juda* and *Beniamin*, now it followeth to speake. The first of these Kings was *Ieroboam*, the sonne of *Nebat*, an *Ephraimite* of *Zereda*, who being a man of strength and courage, was by *Salomon* made ouer-seeer of the buildings of the *Millo* or *Munition* in *Hierusalem*, for as much as be-
longed to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasse*: and so many of them as
wrought in those works. During which time as he went from *Hierusalem*, hee en-
countered the Prophet *Abijah*: who made him know that he was by *God* delisted to
be King of *Israel*: and to command ten of the twelue Tribes. After this fearing that
those things might come to *Salomons* knowledge, hee fled into *Egypt* to *Shishak*,
whom *Eusebius* calleth *Oschorer*, whose Daughter hee married: the Predecessor of
which *Shishak* (if not the same) did likewise entertaine *Adad* the *Idumean*, when he
was carried yong into *Egypt* from the furie of *Dauid*, and his Captaine *Ioth*; which
Adad, the King of *Egypt* married to his Wives sister *Taphnes*; vning both him and
Ieroboam as instruments to shake the Kingdome of *Juda*; that himselfe might the
easier spoile it, as hee did: for in the fifth yeere of *Ieroboams*, *Shishak* sackt the Citie
of *Hierusalem*, and carried thence all the treasure of *Dauid* and *Salomon*, and all the
spoiles which *Dauid* tooke from *Adadexer* of *Soba*, with the presents of *Tobu*, King of
10 *Hamath*, which were of an inestimable value.

This *Ieroboam* after the death of *Salomon* became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by *God* to gouerne the *Israellites*, and from a meane man exalted to that state: yet preferring the policies of the world before the seruice and honour of *God* (as fearing that if the Tribes vnder his rule should repaire to *Hierusa-*
lem

* Also the Hill
of *Phineas*,
where *Eli* was
the son of *Aa-*
ron, was buried,
Ios 24. 33. and
the two tops of
Hills, *Gen* 31. 2.
where the bles-
sings, & *Hebr*
where the cut-
tings were to
be read to the
people: of
which *Deut* 11
c. 17. & 10. 8.
a It seemeth
that *Jacob* in
this prophete
the rather v-
seth the word
Daughters for
Daughters, there-
by the more
plainely to sig-
nifie *Colonia*:
which in the
Hebrew phrase
are called
Daughters of
the Metropolit
as in *Iofua* and
elsewhere cited.
b 1. *Reg* 17. 3.
1. *Reg* 17.

Ambrose vpon
the 1. Chap. of
the Epistle to
the *Romans*.

1. King. xxi. 12.
11: 14.
15. Chron. 13.

lem to doe their vsuall Sacrifices, they might bee drawne from him by degrees) he erected two golden Calues, one in *Dan*, and another in *Belhel*, for the people to worship (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, saith *S. Ambrose*, or rather of *Aurons* Calf in *Horeb*) further he made election of his Priests out of the basest and vnlearned people. This King made his chiefe seat and Palace at *Sichem*: He despised the warning of the *Iudaean* Prophet, whome *Iosephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycias* too: His hand there-after withered, and was againe restored: but continuing in his Idolatry, and hardened vpon occasion that the Prophet returning was slaine by a Lyon, *Ahijah* makes him know, that God purposed to roote out his posteritie.

He was afterward ouerthrowne by *Abia* King of *Iuda*, and died after he had 40-
uerued two and twenty yeeres; whom *Nadab* his sonne succeeded: who in the second yeere of his reigne, together with all the race of *Ieroboam* was slaine, and rooted out by *Bascha*, who reigned in his stead: so *Nadab* liued King but two yeeres.

1. King. xv. 26

Bascha the sonne of *Ahijah*, the third King after the partition, made warre with *Asa* King of *Iuda*: hee feared him/ selfe in *Thersa*: and fortified *Rama* against *Iuda*, to restraîne their excursions. Hereupon *Asa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damascus* against him, who inuaded *Nephthalim*, and destroyed many places therein: the meane while *Asa* carried away the Materials, with which *Bascha* intended to fortifie *Rama*; but being an Idolater, he was threatened by *Iehu* the Prophet, that it should befall his race, as it did to *Ieroboam*: which afterward came to passe: He ruled foure and twentie yeeres and died.

To *Bascha* succeeded *Ela* his sonne, who at a feast at his Palace of *Thersa*, was in his cups slaine by *Zambri* after he had reigned two yeeres: and in him the prophetic of *Iehu* was fulfilled.

1. King. 16.

Zambri succeeded *Ela*, and assumed the name of a King seuen dayes; But *Ambri* in reuenge of the Kings Murther, let vpon *Zambri*, or *Zimri*; and inclosed him in *Thersa*, and forst him to burne himselfe.

2. King. 16.

Ambri or *Homri* succeeded *Ela*, and transferred the Regall seat from *Thersa* to *Samaria*: which he bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambri* was also, an Idolater, no lesse impious than the rest: and therefore subiect to *Tabremmon*, King of *Syria*; the Father of *Benadad* according to *Eusebius*, *Nicethorus*, and *Zonaras*: but how this should stand, I doe not well conceiue, seeing *Benadad* the Sonne of *Tabremmon* was inuited by *Asa* King of *Iuda*, to assaile *Bascha* King of *Israel*, the Father of *Ela* who forewent *Ambri*. This *Ambri* reigned twelue yeeres, sixe in *Thersa*, and sixe in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*.

2. King. 25.

2. III.

Of *ACHAB* and his Successors, with the captiuitie of the ten Tribes.



CHAB of *Ahab* succeeded *Omri*, who not only vp-held the Idolatrie of *Ieroboam*, borrowed of the *Egyptians*: but hee married *Iezabel* the *Zidonian*: and as *Ieroboam* followed the Religion of his *Egyptian* Wife: so did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*; and erected an Altar and a Grove to *Baal* in *Samaria*. He suffered *Iezabel* to kill the Prophets of the most high God. God sent famine on the Land of *Israel*. *Achab* met *Elias*: *Elias* prevailed in the trial of the Sacrifice, and killeth the false prophets: and afterward sitteth for feare of *Iezabel*.

Benadad, not long after, besieged *Samaria*: and taken by *Achab*, was by him set at libertie: for which the Prophet (whom *Glycias* calleth *Nichaeas*) reproveth him: afterward hee caused *Naboth* by a false accusation to bee stoned. Then ioyning with
Iosephat

Iosephat in the warre for the recouerie of *Ramoth*, hee was slaine as *Micheas* had foretold him.

Hee had three sonnes named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Ioram*, and *Ioa*: besides seueritie other sonnes by sundry wiues and Concubines.

Ochozias succeeded his father *Achab*. The *Assabites* fell from his obedience: hee bruiſed himselfe by a fall: and sent for counsaile to *Beelzebub* the God of *Acharam*, *Elisha* the Prophet meeteth the messenger on the way: and misliking that *Ochozias* sought helpe from that dead Idoll, asked the messenger, If there were not a God in *Israel*? *Ochozias* sendeth two Captaines, and with each fiftie souldiers to bring *Elisha* vnto him, both which with their Attendances were consumed with fire. The third Captaine be sought mercie at *Elishas* hands, and hee spared him, and went with him to the king; auowing it to the king that he must then die, which came to passe in the second yeere of his raigne.

Ioram the brother of *Ochozias* by *Iezabel*, succeeded: He allured *Iosephat* king of *Iuda*, and the king of *Edom* to assit him against the *Moabites*, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000. sheepe. The three kings wanted water, for themselves and their horses, in the Deserts. The Prophet *Elisha* causeth the ditches to flow. The *Assabites* are ouerthrowne: their king flieth to *Kirharaseth*, and being besieged, according to some Expositors, burnt his sonne on the walles as a Sacrifice, whereat the three kings moued with compassion returned and left *Moab*, wasting and spoyling that Region. Others, as it seemes with better reason, vnderstand the Text to speake of the sonne of the king of *Edom*, whom they suppose in this irruption to haue beene taken prisoner, by the *Moabites*, and that the king of *Moab* shewed him ore the walles, threatening, vnlesse the siege were dissolved, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his Gods. Whereupon the king of *Edom* besought those of *Iuda* and *Israel* to breake off the siege for the safetie of his sonne: which when the other kings refused to yeeld vnto, and that *Moab* according to his former threatening had burnt the king of *Edom* vpon the rampire, that all the assailants might discern it, the king of *Edom* being by this sad spectacle enraged, forsooke the partie of the other kings; for want of whole assistance the siege was broken vp.

After this the king of *Aram* sent to *Ioram*, to heale *Naaman* the Captaine of his Armie of the leproisie. The answer of *Ioram* was, Am I God to kill, and to giue life, that hee doth send to heale a man from his leproisie? adding, that the *Aramite* sought but matter of quarrell against him. *Elisha* hearing thereof, wilked the king to send *Naaman* to him; promising that hee should know that there was a Prophet in *Israel*, and so *Naaman* was healed by washing himselfe seuen times in *Iordan*. *Elisha* refused the gifts of *Naaman*. But his seruant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the sellers of spirituall gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians* of *Simon Magus*.

Afterward *Benhadad* king of *Aram* or *Damascus*, having heard that this Prophet did discouer to the king of *Israel* whatsoever the *Aramite* consulted in his secrettest counsell, sent a troupe of horse to take *Elisha*: all whom *Elisha* strooke blinde, and brought them captiues into *Samaria*: *Ioram* then asking leaue of the Prophet to slay them, *Elisha* forbade him to harme them: but caused them to be fed and sent backe to their owne Prince in safetie.

The king of *Aram* notwithstanding these benefits, did againe attempt *Samaria*, and brought the Citizens to extreme famine. *Ioram* imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet *Elisha*. *Elisha* by prayer caused a noise of Chariots and armor to sound in the ayre, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the siege: an act of great admiration as the same is written in the second of *Kings*. After this, when *Azad* obtained the kingdom of *Syria* by the death of his Master, *Ioram* entring vpon his frontire tooke *Ramoth Gilead*: in which warre hee received diuers wounds, and returned to *Israel* to be cured. But whilest hee lay there, *Iehu* (who commanding the armie of *Ioram* in *Gilead*, was annoyed king by one of the children of the

K k

Prophets

Beelzebub was
the same with
Belus and *Phlo-*
tes, saith *Plu-*
nius vpon *Lini-*
2. Kings 1.

2. Kings 3.

2. Kings 15.

2. Kings 7.

Prophets sent by *Elisba* surprized and slew both him and all that belonged vnto him, routing out the whole posteritie of *Ahab*.

Iehu who raigned after *Iehoram*, destroyed not onely the race of his foregoers, but also their Religion; for which hee receiued a promise from God, That his seede should occupie the Throne vnto the fourth generation. Yet hee vpheld the idolatrie of *Ieroboam*, for which hee was plagued with grieuous warre, wherein he was beaten by *Hazeel* the *Aramite*, who spoiled all the Countreies to the East of *Iordan*; in which warre he was slaine, saith *Cederuus*: whereof the Scriptures are silent. *Iehu* raigned 28. yeeres.

Pag. 86.

2. King. 13.

Ioachaz or *Iehoahaz* the sonne of *Iehu* succeeded his father, whome *Azael* and his 10 sonne *Benhadad* often inuaded, and in the end subiected, leauing him onely 50. horse, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot; and as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. *Ioachaz* raigned 17. yeeres.

After *Ioachaz* *Ioa* his sonne gouerned *Israel*, who when hee repaired to *Elisba* the Prophet as he lay in his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories ouer the *Aramites*: and first commaunded him to lay his hand on his bowe, and *Elisba* couered the kings hands with his, and bad him open the window westward (which was toward *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence out. He againe willed him to beare the ground with his arrowes, who smote it thrice, and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that hee should haue smitten five or sixe times, and then hee should 20 haue had so many victories ouer the *Aramites* as hee gaue strokes. And so it succeeded with *Ioa*, who ouerthrew the *Aramites* in three battells, and recouered the Cities and Territorie from *Benhadad* the sonne of *Azael*, which his father *Ioachaz* had lost. He also ouerthrew *Amazias* king of *Juda*, who prouoked him to make the war, whereupon hee entred *Hierusalem*, and sacked it with the Temple. This *Ioa* raigned sixteene yeeres and died; in whole time also the Prophet *Elisba* exchanged this life for a better.

2. King. 14.

Ieroboam the third from *Iehu*, followed *Ioa* his father, an Idolater as his predecessors; but hee recouered all the rest of the lands belonging to *Israel*, from *Hamath* which is neere *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and raigned one and fortie yeeres.

Zacharias the fift and last of the house of *Iehu*, slaine by *Shallum* his vassall, who raigned in his stead, gouerned six moneths. *Shallum* held the kingdome but one moneth, being slaughtered by *Menabem* of the *Gadites*.

Menabem who tooke reuenge of *Shallum*, vsed great crueltie to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were with child. This *Menabem* being inuaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with ten thousand talents of siluer, which he exacted by a Tribute of fittie shekels from euery man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menabem* gouerned twentie yeeres.

2. King. 16. 19.

Pekabiah or *Phaceia*, or after *Zanarus* *Phaceia*, succeeded, and after hee had ruled two yeeres, hee was slaine by *Phace* or *Pekab* the Commander of his armie, who 40 raigned in his place. In this *Pekab* time *Phulassar* or *Tiglat-Phlassar* inuaded the kingdome of *Israel*, and wan *Lion*, *Abel-Bethmaaca*, *Ianoach*, *Kedesb*, *Hajor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Galilee*, carrying them captiues into *Assyria*: he was drawn in by *Achas* king of *Iudaea* against *Pekab* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being waikd by *Pekab* of *Israel* and by *Rezin* of *Damascus*, did a third time borrow the Church riches, and therewith ingaged the *Assyrian*, who first suppressed the Monarchie of *Syria* and *Damascus*, and then of *Israel*: and this inuading of the great *Assyrian*, was the vtter ruine of both States, of *Israel* and of *Iudaea*. *Pekab* raigned twentie yeeres.

2. King. 27. 29.

Then *hoshea* or *Osea*, who slew *Pekab*, became the vassall of *Salmanassar*; but ho- 50 ping to shake off the *Assyrian* yoke, he fought aide from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebus* king of *Egypt*: which being knowne to the *Assyrian*, he call him into prison, besieged *Samaria*, and maistred it: carried the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Ninuite* in *Assyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Easterne Regions, and there disperfed them: and

and re-planted *Samaria* with diuers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthae* (inhabiting about *Cutha* a Riuer in *Persia*, or rather in *Arabia Deserta*) and with the people *Canaan* bounding vpon *Syria*, and with those of *Seppharaim* (a people of *Sepphar* in *Mesopotamia* vpon *Euphrates*, of whose conquest *Senecherib* vaunteth) also with those of *Philistines* in *Ara*: which were of the ancient *Aims* who inhabited the Land of the *Philistines* in *Abraham*s time, dwelling neere vnto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphorims* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the *Desart*, called *Hauai*, willing to returne to their ancient seates. To these he added those of *Chamath* or *Iturae*, the ancient enemies of the *Israelites*, and sometime the Vassalls of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, which so often afflicted them. And thus did this *Assyrian* aduise himselfe better than the *Romanes* did. For after *Titus* and *Vespasian* had waikd the Cities of *Iudea*, and *Hierusalem*, they carried the people away captiue: but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their owne thin Garrisons, which soone decayed: and thereby they gaue that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who neuer could be driven thence againe to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, hapned in the yeare of the world 3292. the sixth yeare of *Ezekias* King of *Iuda*: and the ninth of *Hoshea* the last King of *Israel*.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

1.	<i>Ieroboam</i> , Raigned	22	Yeares.
2.	<i>Nadab</i> ,	2	Yeares.
3.	<i>Bascha</i> ,	24.	Yeares.
4.	<i>Ela</i> ,	20.	Yeares.
5.	<i>Zambria</i> ,	7.	Daies.
6.	<i>Omri</i> ,	11.	Yeares.
7.	<i>Achab</i> ,	22.	Yeares.
8.	<i>Ochozias</i> ,	2.	Yeares.
9.	<i>Ioram</i> ,	12.	Yeares.
10.	<i>Iehu</i> ,	28.	Yeares.
11.	<i>Ioachaz</i> ,	17.	Yeares.
12.	<i>Ioa</i> ,	16.	Yeares.
13.	<i>Ieroboam</i> ,	41.	Yeares.
14.	<i>Zacharias</i> ,	6.	Moneths.
15.	<i>Shallum</i> ,	1.	Moneth.
16.	<i>Menabem</i> ,	10.	Yeares.
17.	<i>Pekabiah</i> ,	2.	Yeares.
18.	<i>Phace</i> ,	20.	Yeares.
19.	<i>Hosca</i> .	9.	Yeares, about whose time writers differ.

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K k 2

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of DAN, SIMEON, IUD, RUBEN, GAD, and the other halfe of MANASSE.

§ I.

Of DAN, where of Ioppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and other Townes.



V. 46.

Now following the coast of the *Mediterran* Sea, that portion of Land assigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, ioyneth to *Ephraim*, whereof I spake last: of which familie there were numbered at Mount *Sinai* 62700. fighting men, all which leauing their bodies with the rest in the *Deserts*, there entred the Holy Land of their sonnes 66400. bearing armes. The first famous Citie in this Tribe on the Sea coast was *Ioppe*, or *Iapho*, as in the 19. of *Iosua*: one of the most ancientest of the World, and the most famous of others on that coast, because

it was the Port of *Hierusalem*. From hence *Ionas* imbarked himselfe when he fled from the seruice of God, towards *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Macchabees* this Citie receiued many changes: and while *Iudas Macchabeus* governed the *Iewes*, the *Syrians* that were Garrifond in *Ioppe*, hauing their fleet in the Port, inuited 200. principall Citizens aboard them, and cast them all into the Sea: which *Iudas* reuenged by 30 firing their fleet, and putting the companies which sought to escape to the sword.

It was twicetaken by the *Romanes*, and by *Cestius* the Lieutenant vtterly burnt and ruined. But in the yeare of *Christ* 1250. *Lodouick* the French King gaue it new Walls and Towers: It is now the *Turkes*, and called *Iaffa*. There are certaine Rocks in that Port, whereunto it is reported that *Andromeda* was fastned with chaines: and from thence deliuered from the Sea-Monster by *Perseus*. This fable (for so I take it) is confirmed by *Iosephus*, *Solinus*, and *Plinie*. *Marcus Scarus* during his office of *Edileship*, shewed the bones of this Monster to the people of *Rome*. *S. Hierome* vpon *Ionas* speaks oft indifferently.

The next vnto *Ioppe* was *Iamnia*, where *Iudas Macchabeus* burnt the rest of the *Syrian* fleet: the fire and flame whereof was scene at *Hierusalem* 240. furlongs off. It had sometime a Bishops seate, faith *Will. of Tyre*; But there is no signe of it at this time that such a place there was.

After *Iamnia* is the Citie of *Geth* or *Gath*, sometime *Anithedon*, faith *Volaterran*. And so *Montanus* seemes to vnderstand it. For he sets it next to *Egypt*, of all the *Philistim* Cities, and in the place of *Anithedon*. But *Volaterran* giues neither reason nor authority for his opinion; for *Plotomie* sets *Anithedon* farr to the South of *Ioppe*: And *Geth* was the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the *Philistims*: and about fixtene miles from *Ioppe*; where *S. Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the same name. It was sometime the Habitation and *Seminarie* of the *Anakims*: strong and Giant-like-men, whom *Iosua* could not expell, nor the *Danites* after him: not any of the *Israelites*, till *Dauids* time: who slew *Goliath*, as his Captaines did diuers others not much inferior in strength and stature vnto *Goliath*.

Reboam

L. 3. v. 1. de bel. Iud. Salome. 47. Plin. l. 5. c. 9.

2. Macc. 12. De Bell. sac.

7. 244.

Hieron. in Michem.

Reboam the Sonne of *Salomon* rebuilt *Geth*: *Ozias* the sonne of *Amazias* destroyed it againe. It was also laid waste by *Azel* King of *Syria*. *Falke* the fourth King of *Hierusalem*, built a Castle in the same place out of the old ruins. Whether this *Geth* was the same that *Will. of Tyre* in the holy Warre calls *Ibghin*, I much doubt: the error growing by taking *Geth* for *Anithedon*.

Nor farr from *Geth* or *Gath* standeth *Bethsemes* or the house of the *Sanne*. In the fields adioyning to this Citie (as is thought) was the *Arke* of God brought by a yoke of two Kine, turned loose by the *Philistims*: and the *Bethsemites* presuming to looke therein, there were slaine of the Elders 70. and of the people 50000 by the ordinance of God. After which slaughter and the great lamentation of the people: it was called the great *Abel*, faith *S. Hierome*. *Benedictus Theologus* finds three other Cities of this name; one in a *Nephthim*: another in *Iuda*: and another in *Iachar*. *Hierome* finds a fifth in *Beniamin*.

Keeping the Sea-coast, the strong Citie of *Accaron* offereth it selfe, sometime one of the five *Satrapies*, or Governments of the *Philistims*. *S. Hierome* makes it the same with *Casaria Palaestina*. *Plinie* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of those that defended it selfe against the *Danites* and *Iudeans*. It worshipped *Beel-zebub* the God of Hornets or Flies. To which Idoll it was that *Absaziah* King of *Israel* sent to enquire of his health: whose Messengers *Elrab* meeting by the way caused them to returne, with a sorrowfull answer to their Master. This Citie is remembered in many places of Scripture.

Christianus Schrot placeth *Azotus* next to *Geth*, and then *Accaron* or *Ekron*. This *Azotus* or *Asdod* was also an habitation of the *Anakims*, whose *Iosua* failed to destroy, though he once possessed their Citie. Herein stood a sumptuous Temple dedicated to the Idoll *Dagon*: the same Idoll which fell twice to the ground of it selfe, after the *Arke* of God was by the *Philistims* carried into their Temple; and in the second fall it was vtterly broken and defaced. Neere it was that famous *Iudas Macchabeus* slaine by *Bacchides* and *Alcimius*, the Lieutenants of *Demetrius*. Afterward it was taken by *Ionathas*: and the rest of the Citizens being put to the sword, all that fled into the Temple of *Dagon*, were with their Idoll therein consumed with fire: neere which also he ouerthrew *Apollonius*.

Gabinus the *Romane* rebuilt it. It had a Bishops seate while *Christianitie* flourished in those parts. But in *S. Hieromes* time it was yet a faire Village. And this was the last of the Sea-Townes within the Tribe of *Dan*.

The Cities which are within the Land Eastward from *Azotus*, and beyond the Fountaine of *Ethiopia*, wherein *Philip* the *Apostle* baptized the *Eunuch*, are *Tjorah*, or *Sarara*, and *Eshbaol*, and betwene them *Casra* *Dania* neere *Hebron*: though this place where *Samson* was borne, may seeme by the words *Iud. 18. 12.* to bee in the Tribe of *Iudab*, as the other also were bordering Townes betwene *Dan* and *Iuda*.

After these within the bounds of *Iuda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they finde *Gador*, or as it is *1. Mac. 15. Cedron*, which *Cenachab* the Lieutenant of *Antiochus* fortified against the *Iewes*, and neere which himselfe was by the *Macchabees* ouerthrowne.

Then *Modin* the Native Citie of the *Macchabees*: and wherein they were buried, on whose Sepulcher the seven Marble Pillars, which were erected of that height as they serued for a marke to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeares after their first setting vp, as *Brochar* and *Breidenbach* witness.

There are besides these the Citie of *Cariathiarim*, that is, the Citie of the woods: seated in the border of *Iuda*, *Beniamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the *Arke* of God remained twentie yeeres in the house of *Amiadab*: till such time as *Dauid* carried it thence to *Hierusalem*: Of this place (as they say) was *Zacharias* the sonne of *Eurachias*, or *Iehoids*, who was slaine betwene the Temple and the Altar: also *Prius* whom *Iechim* King of *Hierusalem* slaughtered as we finde in *Jeremie*. Many other places which

K k 3

L. 2. c. 18.

Sam. 1. c. 6. v. 18.

* Or rather not the citie it selfe, but the great stone in the field, vpon which stone the *Philistims* set the *Arke*, the charge being easie from *Eben* or *Abeu*, which signifieth a stone, to *And* which signifieth mounting.

a See in *Nepht. c. 7. d. 4. f. 6.* b King. 1. c. 2. It was besieged by *Pharaon* with the father of *Pharaon* Nece for 20 yeeres together whence *Jeremy* 23. v. 20. speaks of the residue of *Asdod*, to wit, the great towne which perished in this siege.

c 1. Sam. 4. d. 1. Macc. 1. c. 9. Macc. 1. c. 10. 10. 10. 1. 1. Ind. 13. 25. c. 18. v. 2.

1. Macc. 15. 16.

Alies *Cariath* *basel* and *basel*, or *basel* *barofin* 2. Sam. 7. 1. c. 2. 2. Chron. 2. 32. Macc. 2. 33. 1. c. 20. 20.

but *David* followed them ouer the Riuer of *Befor*, and put them to the slaughter, and recovered the prey.

Next *Dabir* sometime *Cariath-Sepher*, the Citie of Letters, the Vniuersitie, as they say, or *Academie* of old *Palestine*. In *S^t. Hieromes* time it seemes it had the name of *Dama*: *Iofua* 15. 49. it is called *Vrbs Sanna*: from the name, as it seemes, of some of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Vrbs Arbabi*. For euen hence also were these Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Othaniel*, incouraged by *Caleb* promise of his Daughter in marriage: but that *Iofua* and the Host of *Israhel* were at the siege, it appears *Iof.* 10. 39. This Citie *Iof.* 21. 15. is named among those which out of *Simoon* and *Juda* were given to the *Leuites*. And hence it seemes they attribute it to this Tribe.

Besides these, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simoon*, but of lesse fame, as *Hajir*, of which *Iof.* 19. 7. which also *Iof.* 21. 16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Leuites*, giuen out of the portion of *Juda* and *Simoon* (for which *Iunius* thinks *Hisham* is named 1. *Chron.* 6. 59. though * in the place of *Iofua* these two are distinguished) also *Tholad* so named 1. *Chron.* 4. 29. for which *Iofua* 19. 4. wee haue *Eltholad*. *Chatear-Susa* so named *Iofua* 19. 5. for which *Iofua* 15. wee haue *Chatear-Gadda*, both names agreeing in signification: for *Gadda* is *Turme*, and *Susa* *Eziquitatur*.

In the same places of *Iofua* and of the *Chronicles* *Chorma* is named, which they thinke to be the same with that of which *Numb.* 14. 45. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* pursued the *Israelites*. But that *Chorma* cannot bee in *Simoon*, nor within the Mountaines of *Edumaea*. For *Israhel* fled not that way: but backe againe to the Campe, which lay to the South of *Edumaea*, in the Desert.

The same places also name *Beerseba* in this Tribe: so called of the Oath betwene *Abraham* and *Abimeles*: neere vnto which *Hagar* wandered with her Sonne *Ismael*. It was also called the Citie of *Isac*, because hee dwelt long there. While the *Christians* held the Holy Land, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the *Arabian Desert*, and in the South bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*. The other Cities of *Simoon* which are named in the places of *Iofua*, and of the *Chronicles*, aboue noted, because they helpe vs nothing in storie, I omit them. In the time of *Ezekia* King of *Juda*, certaine of this Tribe being strightened in their owne Territories, passed to * *Gedor*, as it is 1. *Chron.* 4. 39. (the same place which *Iof.* 15. 36. is called *Gedera* and *Gederothaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the issue of *Cham*: where they seated themselves: as also five hundred others of this Tribe, destroyed the Reliques of *Amalec* in the Mountaines of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

* As it seemes in the Land of *Juda*. See in the first Paragraph of this Chapter in the Cities of *Dan*. *Iud.* 1. 63.

The Mountaines within this Tribe are few, and that of *Sampson* the chieft: vnto which he carried the Gate-post of *Gaza*. The Riuiers are *Befor*, and the Torrent of *Aegypti* called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Affer*.

THE

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§. III.

THE TRIBE OF JUDA.



F *Juda* the fourth Sonne of *Iacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Aegypt* 74600. all which (*Caleb* excepted) perished in the Desarts. And of their sonnes there entred the Land of *Canaan* 76500. bearing armes: Agreeable to the greatnesse of this number was the greatest Territorie giuen, called afterward *Judea*: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to *Dan* and *Simoon* included. And many Cities named in these Tribes, did first, as they say, belong vnto the children of *Juda*: who had a kind of Soueraigntie ouer them: as *Succoth*, *Cariathiarim*, *Labis*, *Bethemes*, *Tijleg*, *Beerseba*, and others. The multitude of people within this small Prouince (if it be meant by that ground giuen to this Tribe onely) was incredible, if the witness of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *Dauid* numbered the people, they were found five hundred thousand fighting men.

The Cities of *Juda* were many. But I will remember the chieft of them: beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which standeth in the entrance of *Judea* from *Idumaea*: whose King first surpris'd the *Israelites* as they passed by the border of *Canaan* towards *Moab*, and tooke from them some spoiles, and many prisoners: who being afterward ouerthrowne by the *Israelites*, the sonnes of *Keniz*, the Kinsmen of *Moses*, obtained a possession in that Territorie: who before the coming of the *Israelites*, dwelt betwene *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Following this Frontier towards *Idumaea* and the South, *Asensu* *Scorpionis*, or *Arabbim* is placed, the next to *Arad*: so called because of *Scorpions*, which are said to be in that place: from which name of *Arabbim*, *Hierome* thinks that the name of the *Teparchie* called *Arabatena* was denominated: of which we haue spoken in *Massifer*. On the South side also of *Judea* they place the Cities of *Iagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Asna*, *Iethnam*, and *Asor* or *Chasfor*, most of them Frontier Townes.

And then *Zipp*: of which there are two places so called: one besides this in the body of *Juda*, of which the *Desart* and *Forreit* adioyning tooke name: where *Dauid* hid himselfe from *Saul*. After these are the Cities of *Efron*, *Adar*, *Karkab* and *Asmona*, or *Hafmon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumaea* towards the North, we finde the Cities of *Danna*, *Shebah*, *Amam*, the other *Asor*, or *Chasfor*, *Behaloith*, and the two *Seches*: of all which see *Iof.* 15. also *Cariath* by *Iofua* 15. v. 25. called *Kerioth*: whence *Judas* the Traitor was called *Iscariath*, as it were a man of *Cariath*. Then *Hetham* the abode of *Sampson* which *Reboboam* reedified. Beyond these towards the North border, and towards *Eleutheropolis*, is the Citie of *Iethar*, or *Iathir*, belonging to the *Leuites*. In Saint *Hieromes* time it was called *Iethira*: and inhabited altogether with *Christians*: neere vnto this Citie was that remarkable battaile fought betwene *Afa* King of *Juda*, and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight: *Afa* following the victorie as farre as *Gerar*, which at the same time he recovered.

Not farre from *Iethar*, Randeth *Iarmuth*, whose King was slaine by *Iofua*, and the Citie returned. Next vnto it is *Marefa* the native Citie of the Prophet *Micha*: betwene it and *Odolla*, *Judas Machabeus* ouerthrew *Gorgias*: and sent thence ten thousand *Dryagmas* of silver to be offered for Sacrifice.

Odolla or *Hadullam* it selfe was an ancient and magnificent Citie, taken by *Iofua*, and the King thereof slaine. *Jonathas Machabeus* beautified it greatly. Then *Cela* or *Zeila* afterward *Echela*, where *Dauid* sometime hid himselfe: and which afterward

Numb. 21. v. 3.
Iof. 15. v. 14.
Iud. 1. v. 16.

Numb. 24. 4.
Deut. 8. 15.

Iudg. 15. 8. 1.
Chron. 11. 6. *Iun.*
out of the 1.
Chron. 4. 32.
notes that this
Ietham though
it were within
the bounds of
Juda belonged
to *Simoon*.
Iof. 15. 49.
Hierom. in loc.
Hebr.

2. *Macc.* 12. 35.

Gen. 38. v. 1.
Iof. 15. 15.

1. *Sam.* 23. 2.

afterward he deliuered from the assaults of the *Philistims*: neere which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried: whose monument remained and was scene by *St. Hierome*.

Neere it is *Hebron* sometime called the *Citie of Arbab*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Caristharbe*: the reason of this name they giue as if it signified the *Citie of foure*: because the foure *Patriarchs*, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but supposed: and it is plaine by the places *Iofua* 14. 14. and 15. 13. and 20. 11. that *Arbab* here doth not signifie *foure*, but that it was the name of the Father of the *Giant* called *Anakim*, whose sonne as it seemes *Anak* was: and *Achim*, *Shelbui*, and *Talmai* (whom *Caleb* expelled *Iof.* 15.) were the sonnes of this *Anak*, *Nam.* 13. 23. The name of *Anak* signifieth *Torquem*, a chaine worne for ornament: and it seemes that this *Anak* enriched by the Spoiles which him selfe and his Father got, wore a chaine of gold, and fogot this name: and leauing the custome to his posteritie, left also the name: so that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not amisse be expounded by *Torquati*.

The *Citie Hebron* was one of the ancientest *Cities of Canaan*, built seven yeeres before *TJoan* or *Tanis* in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chiefe *Citie* of the *Anakim*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part giuen, to wit, the Villages adioyning, and thereto the *Leuites*. It had a *Bishop* in the *Christian* times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the Mother of *Constantine*.

Not farre hence they finde *Eleutheropolis* or the free *Citie*, remembered often by *St. Hierome*. Then *Eglon* whole King *Dahir* associated with the other foure Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Hierusalem*, *Hebron*, *Iarmuth*, and *Lachis*, besieging the *Gubenites*, were by *Iofua* utterly ouerthrowne. From hence the next *Citie* of fame was *Emsus*, afterward *Neopolis*, one of the *Cities of Government* or *Presidencies of Iudas*. In sight of this *Citie Iudas Machabaeus* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gaue a third ouerthrow to *Gorgias* Lieutenant to *Antiochus*.

In the yeare 1301. it was ouer-turned by an earth-quake, saith *Eusebius*. In the *Christian* times it had a *Bishops* seate of the *Diocesse of Casaria* of *Palestine*.

From *Emsus* toward the West Sea there are the *Cities of Nabatae*, *Bethdegan*, and *Gader* or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which and of *Gederoth* * *Iof.* 15. v. 36. & 41. 30. Then *Azecha*, to which *Iofua* followed the slaughter of the five Kings before named, a *Citie of great strength* in the Valley of * *Terebith* or *Turpintine*, as the *Vulgar* readeth 1. *Sam.* 17. 2. whence (as it seemes) they feat it neere vnto *Soco*, and vnto *Laba* of the *Leuites*. It reuolted from the subiection of the *Iewes* while *Toram* the sonne of *Iofaphat* ruled in *Hierusalem*: And next vnto this standeth *Maceda*, which *Iofua* utterly dispeopled.

On the other side of *Emsus* towards the East standeth *Bethsur*, otherwife *Bethfura*, and *Bethsur*: one of the strongest and most sought for places in all *Iuda*. It is seated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethsur* (the house on the Rocke, or of strength.) It was fortified by *Reboam*, and afterward by *Iudas Machabaeus*. *Lyfias* fortit it, and *Antiochus* 40. *Eupator* by famine: *Ionathas* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the *Syrian* Kings.

Bethleem is the next vnto it within fixe miles of *Hierusalem*, otherwife *Lechem*: sometime *Ephrata*; which name, they say, it had of *Caleb* wife, when as it is so called by *Moses* before *Caleb* was famous in those parts *Gen.* 38. 16. Of this *Citie* was *Abesjan* or *Ibzam*, Judge of *Israel*, after *Iephthab*, famous for the thirtie Sonnes and thirtie Daughters, begotten by him. *Elimelis* was also a *Bethleemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* sojourned in *Moab* during the famine of *Iuda* in the time of the *Judges*, with whom *Ruth* the daughter in law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*: and married *Boaz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Isai*, of whom *Dauid*. It had also the honour to be the native *Citie* 50 of our Sauour *Iesus Christ*: and therefore shall the memorie thereof neuer end.

In *Zabulon* of *Gallilee* there was also a *Citie* of the same name: and therefore was this of our Sauour called *Bethleem Iuda*.

From *Bethleem* some foure or five mile standeth *Thecna*, the *Citie* of *Amos* the Prophet:

Iof. 10. 2. 11.

Mat. 1. 3.

Euseb. in Chron. Buch. 11. 6.

* Allo 1. Chron.

4. 19. as is aboue remem-
bered in the
Tribe of Si-
mon.a Iudias fo. in
Vall. Terrou-
shi hath in uall
quercet.Vatinius keeps
the Hebrew
reading in val-
le Elish.

Iof. 13. 2. 9.

Mat. 1. 6.

Gen. 35. 48.

Ruth. 1.

Hieron. in comm.

super Math. 2. 2.

Math. 2. 1.

Amos 1. v. 1.

Prophet: and to this place adioyning is the *Citie of Bethzaccaria*, in the way between *Bethfura* and *Hierusalem*: on whose Hills adioyning the glorious gilt Chieles of *Antiochus* shined like lamps of fire in the cies of the *Iewes*. The *Citie* of * *Bezek* was also neere vnto *Bethleem*, which *Adoni-bezek* commanded; who had during his raigne tortured 70. Kings, by cutting off the ioynts of their Fingers and Toes: and made them gather bread vnder his Table: but at length the same end befell him selfe by the sonnes of *Iuda*, after they had taken him prisoner.

The rest of the *Cities* in this part (most of them of no great estimation) wee may passe by until we come to the magnificent *Castile of Herodinum*, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting therunto with 200. Marble steps, exceeding beautifull and strong. And towards the Dead Sea, and adioyning to the Desert of *Ieruel*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *clitus floridus*, where in the time of *Iohaphat*, the *Iewes* flood and lookt on the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, massacring one another, when they had purposed to ioyne against *Iuda*: neere which place is the Valley of blessing, where the *Iewes* the fourth day after, solemnely came and blessed God for so strange deliuerance.

Now the *Cities of Iuda* which border the Dead Sea, are these: *Achora* beautified by *Reboam*: and *Teshar* which the *Vulgar* calleth * *Segor*: so called because *Lorin* his praiser for it vrge that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Teshar*, which signifieth a little one: when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen.* 14. 2. In the *Romans* times it had a Garrison, and was called (as they say) *Pannier*: in *Hieromes* time *Bale-20. zma*. Then *Engaddi* or *Hen-gaddi*, first *Asaphonbamar*: neere vnto which are the Gardens of *Balsimum*, the best that the world had called *Opobalsimum*: the most part of all which Trees *Cleopatra* Queene of *Egypt* sent for out of *Iuda*, and *Herod* who either feared or loued *Antonie* her husband, caused them to be rooted vp and presented vnto her: which shee replanted neere *Helipolis* in *Egypt*. This *Citie* was first taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable *Cities of Iudas*: and one of the *Presidencies* thereof.

The rest of the *Cities* are many in the In-land, and among them *Iezrael*; nor that 30 which was the *Citie of Naboth*, of which already: but another of the same name, the *Citie of Achinoam*, the wife of *Dauid*, the mother of that *Amnon*, whom *Asaph* slew: also as some thinke the *Citie of Amasa*, *Abshalom* Lieutenant, and the commander of his Armie. But this seemeth to be an error grounded vpon the neecessite of the words, *Israel* and *Iezrael*: and because the 2. *Sam.* 17. 25. *Amasas* father is called a *Israhelie*, who first of the *Chron.* 2. 17. is called an *Israhelie*: indecde the Hebrew Orthographie sheweth that *Amasas* Father is not said to be of the *Citie Iezrael*, but an *Israhelie* in Religion, though otherwife an *Israhelie*.

In this Tribe there were many high Hills or Mountains, as those of *Engaddi* vpon the Dead Sea: and the Mountains of *Iuda*, which begin to rise by *Emsus*, and 40 end neere *Taphna*, and these part *Iuda* from *Dan* and *Simon*. Of others which stand single there is that of *Hebron*: at the foote whereof was that Oake of *Mambre*, where the three *Angels* appeared to *Abraham*, which *St. Hierome* calleth a Fir-tree; and saith, that it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that Mountain called *Collis Achille*, on the South side of *Zippor*: on the top whereof the great *Herod*, inclosing the old Cattle, erected by *Ionathas Machabaeus*, and called *Masfada*, garnished it with seven and twentie high and strong Towers: and therein left Armour and furniture for an hundred thousand men; being as it seemeth a place vnc-
accessible, and of incomparable strength.

In the Valley afterward called the Dead Sea, or the Lake *Asphaltitis*, this Countrey 50 had foure *Cities*, *Adama*, *Sedom*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorra*, destroyed with fire from Hea-
ven for their vnnaturall finnes.

1. Mat. 6. 32.

Iof. 14. 2. 12.

1. Mat. 6. 32.

See in Mat. 1.

c. 7. 7. 1.

Ind. 1. 2. 6. 7

1. Mat. 6. 32.

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S. IIII.

THE TRIBE OF REUBEN
and his Borderers.

†. I.

The seats and bounds of Midian, Moab, and Ammon,
part whereof the Reubenites wanne from SEHON
King of Hebron.

ON the other side of the Dead Sea, *Reuben* the eldest of *Jacobs* sonnes inhabited : of whose children there were numbered at Mount *Sinai* 46000. who dying with the rest in the *Desarts*, there remained to possess the Land promised 43700. bearing armes. But before wee speake of these or the rest that inhabited the East side of *Jordan*, something of their borderers : to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whose land in our writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first we care to remember that out of *Abrahams* kindred came many mightie Families : as by *Isaac* and *Jacob* the Nation called *Israel*, and afterward *Jewes* : by *Esau* or *Edom* the *Idumaeans* : by *Ismael* the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, the *Ismaelites* : and by *Rebekah* his last wife the *Midianites*. And againe by *Lot*, *Abrahams* brothers sonne, those two valiant Nations of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites* : all which being but strangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly posselt by the *Canaanites*, and by the Families of them descended) these issues and alliances of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whose children were bred in *Egypt*, inhabited the frontier places adjoining.

Esaue and his sonnes held *Idumaea*, which bounded *Canaan* on the South. *Ismael* tooke from the South-east part of the Dead Sea ; stretching his possession over all *Arabia Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia the Desart*, as farre as the Riuer of *Tigris*, from *Sur* to *Huileh*.

Moab tooke the rest of the coast of the Dead Sea, leauing a part to *Midian*, and passing ouer *Arnon*, inhabited the plaines betwene *Jordan* and the Hills of *Abarim* or *Arnon*, as far North as *Essebon*, or *Cheybon*.

Ammon late downe on the North-east side of *Arnon*, and posselt the Tract from *Rabbah* afterward *Philadelphia*, both within the Mountaines of *Gilhead*, and without them as far forth as *Arroer*, though in *Moses* time he had nothing left him in all that Valley : for the *Amorites* had thrust him ouer the Riuer of *Iaboe*, as they had done *Moab* ouer *Arnon*. As these Nations compassed sundrie parts of *Canaan*, so the border betwene the Riuer of *Iaboe* and *Damascus* was held by the *Amorites* themselves, with other mixt Nations : all which Territorie on the East side of *Jordan*, and on the East side of the Dead Sea, was granted by *Moses* to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and halfe *Manasse* ; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first posselt by the *Emims* : a Nation of Giants weakned and broken by *Chedorlahomer*, after expelled by the *Moabites*, as before remembred. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the Territorie and ancient possession of the *Zamzummims* or *Zurais*, who were also beaten at the same time by *Chedorlahomer*, *Amraphel*, and the rest : and by them an easie way of conquest was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Now where it is written that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the same is to be understood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Ancestor beaten the *Moabites* out of the plain Countries, betwene *Abarim* and *Jordan*, and driven them thence from *Hebron* ouer *Arnon*, and this happened not long before

before *Moses* arrivall vpon that border, when *Vabeb* gouerned the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab* when *Moses* past *Arnon*, was not the sonne of *Vabeb*, but his name was *Balac* the sonne of *Zipper*. And it may be that those Kings were elective, as the *Edumaeans* anciently were.

Now all that part of *Moab* betwene *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as farre North as *Essebon* was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Israel* arrivied there out of *Egypt*, it was in the possession of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan* by *Amoreus* : and therefore did *Israhel* the Judge of *Israel* iustly defend the regaining of those Countries against the claime of the *Ammonites* : because (as hee alleaged) *Moses* found them in the possession of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab* or *Ammon* : who (saith *Ioshua* 11.) *Israhel* had three hundred yeeres time to recover them, and did not : whence he inferreth that they ought not to claime them now.

And lest any should maruaile why the *Ammonites* in *Israhels* time should make claime to these Countries : whereas *Moses* in the place *Numb.* 21. verse 26. rather accounts them to haue bene the ancient possession of the *Moabites* then of the *Ammonites* : it is to be noted that *Deut.* 3. 11. when it is said that the yron bed of *Og* was to be seene at *Rabbath*, the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites*, it is also signified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Israelites* possessed, was by him or his Ancestors got from the *Ammonites*, as much of *Sehons* was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* Nations were scated so confusedly together that it was hard to distinguish them : so also were the sonnes of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Midian*, *Amalek*, and *Ismael*. Yet the reason seemeth plaine enough why *Ammon* commanded in chiefe, in *Israhels* time ; for sometime the one Nation, sometime the other of all those borderers acquired the Soueraigntie : and againe that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely within the Mountaines of *Gilhead*, or *Gilhead*, and as farre South as *Arroer* belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then sought to recover it againe. Yet at such times *Moses* overthrew *Sehon* at *Iabaz*, the *Ammonites* had lost to the *Amorites*, all that part of their possession which lay about *Arroer*, and betwene it and *Iaboe* : *Sehon* and *Og* two Kings of the *Amorites* hauing displanted both *Moab* and *Ammon* of all within the Mountaines. For it is written in the one and twentieth of *Numb.* v. 24. that *Israel* conquered the Land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* vnto *Iaboe*, euen vnto the children of *Ammon*, so as at this time the Riuer of *Iaboe* was the South bound of *Ammon*, within the Mountaines, when as anciently they had also possessions ouer *Iaboe* which atlength the *Gadites* posselt, as in the thirteenth chapter of *Isaia* verse 25. it appears.

†. II.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

THE chiefe Cities belonging to *Reuben* were these, *Kedemoth*, for which the *Vulgar*, without any shew of warrant, readeth *Iethion*. The *Vulgar* or *Hierome* followed the *Septuagint* those two verses 36. and 37. and 21. *Isa.* being wanting in the old *Hebrew* Copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedson* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedson* by writing slip into *Iethion*.

This Citie which they gaue to the *Leuites*, imparts her name to the *Desart* adjoining : from whence *Moses* sent his Embassage to *Sehon*. In the same place of *Isaia* where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the *Vulgar* for *Besser* & *villa ciuis*, reads *Bozor* in *Solitudin* *Adisor*, without any ground from the *Hebrew* : whence *Adrichemius* makes a Towne called *Adisor*, in the border betwene *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth* nere the Dead Sea (for the Countrie betwene being Mountainous hath fewe Cities) they place two Townes of note, *Lafa* or *Lefab* of which *Genes.* 10. verse 19. the *Greekes* call it *Callirhoe* : nere which

Isa. 13. vers. 25. *Iosua* notes that the one halfe of the Land of *Hammon* which in this place of *Isaia* is said to haue bene giuen to the *Gadites*, was taken from the *Ammonites* by *Sehar* : but the place *Deut.* 31. ysaith that *Israhel* had gotten Lands out of the hands of the *Ammonites*.

Isa. 21. vs.

Deut. 3. 6. It was a marginal note out of the 3. *Deut.* where the 70. kept the word *Adisor*, signifying a plaine which after crept into the Text.

The *Soldans of Egypt*, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of *Egypt* and *Arabia*: of which it is the first and strongest Citie: the same perhaps which *Plinie* and *Strabo* call *Nabathæa*, whence also the Province adjoining tooke name: which name seemes to haue been taken at first from *Naboth* the sonne of *Abraham* by *Kezura*. For *Nabathæa* is no where vnderstood for all *Arabia Petrea*, (at least where it is not misvnderstood) but it is that Province which neighboureth *Iudea*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Ismael*, whose people *Ptolomie* calleth *Pharanites*, in stead of *Ismaelites*, and all those Territories of the *Cusites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*, *Ismaelites*, *Edomites*, or *Idumeans*; the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hus*, *Sim*, and of *Og King of Basan*, were parts of *Arabia Petrea*: though it be also true, that some part of *Arabia* the 10
Desert belonged to the *Amalekites*, and *Ismaelites*: all which Nations the Scriptures in the first of *Chronicles* the fifth calleth *Hagarims* of *Hagar*.

This Citie *Petra*, *Scavrus* besieged with the *Roman* Armie, and finding the place in shew impregnable, he was content by the perualion of *Antipater*, to take a composition of monie, and to quit it, Yet *Amasis* king of *Iuda* (after he had slaughtered 10000. of the *Arabians* in the valley called *Salinarum*) wanne also this Citie. *S. Hierome* finds *Ruth* the *Moabit* to be naturall of this Citie. In the time when the *Christians* held the Kingdome of *Iherusalem*, it had a *Latine* Bishop, hauing before beene vnder the *Greeke Church*. It is seated not far from *Hor* where *Aaron* died, and on the other side towards the North is the riuer of *Zared* or *Zered*, by which *Moses* incamped in the 38. Station. 20
Adrichome describeth the waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuen*, not far hence, and betweene *Zared* and *Arnon*: and so be doth the Valley of *Sane*: but the waters of *Nimra* or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it seemes *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refresh the plaines of *Moab*: and the confluence of those waters of *Nimra* are in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Sane* also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of *Arnon*, and vnder *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the pursuit of the *Affryan* and *Persian* Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Sane*, or *Shaneh*, which is the Kings Dale, where *Abraham* set vp his Monument, as it seems, not farre from *Iherusalem*. And at the same time *Melchizedek* King of *Salem* also incountered him. But *Abraham* coming from the North, and *Melchizedek* inhabiting, either neere *Bethan* 30
otherwise *Soythopolis* in the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, or in *Iherusalem* (both places lying to the West of *Jordan*) could not incounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Sane* which was also called the Kings Dale, could not be in these parts.

T. IIII.

Of the Dead Sea.

NOW because the Sea of *Sodom* or the Dead Sea, called also the Lake of *Aphlatitis*, and the salt Sea (in distinction from the Sea of *Tiberias* which was fresh 40
water) also the Sea of the Wildernesse, or rather the Sea * of the plaines, is oftentimes mentioned in the Scriptures, and in this storie also, therefore I thinke it not impertinent, to speake somewhat thereof. For it is like vnto the *Calpian* Sea, which hath no out-let or disburthening. The length of this Lake *Iosephus* makes 180. furlongs (which make two and twentie miles and a halfe of ours) and about 150. in breadth which make eighteene of our miles and somewhat more. *Plinie* makes it a great deale lesse. But those that haue of late yeres scene this Sea, did account it (with a *Weyssenburg*) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirtie of ours) in length: and two and a halfe of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea *Tacitus* maketh this report: *Lacus est immensis ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, granitate odoris accolis pestifer: neque vento impellitur, neque pisces aut fauces aquis volucrium patitur, incertum vnde superest, ut solida ferantur peritis imperitijs, mandis perinde ac-*

* So *Lacius* reads for the Hebrew *Hara-both* euery-where, and so also the edition of *Vatablus*, *Deuter* 3. 17. though *Deuter* 4. 44. hath more *salutudinis* in alio *1. Regum* 25. the reason of this name seemes to be, because it loynes to the plaines of *Moab* which are called *Harbath* *Moab* *Deut* 34. 1. as also wee haue *Cephath* in *Harbath*, that is in the plaines, to wit, of *Zabulon*, *1. Mach* 9. 2. whence *Adrichomius* imagines a City in *Zabulon* called *Araba*, a *Desert*, *terr. Sandia*.

tolluntur,

tolluntur, &c. That it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt taste: of smell infectious, and pestilent to the borderers. It is neither moved nor raised by the winde: nor induceth fish to live in it, or fowles to swimme in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the vnkitchfull of swimming, as well as the skiffull, are borne up by this water. At one time of the yere it calleth vp *Bitumen*: the Art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath also taught. It is vsed in the trimming of ships, and the like buildings.

And then of the Land, hee speaketh in this sort: The fields not farre from this 10
Lake, which were sometime fruitful and adorned with great Cities were burnt 10
with lightning: of which the ruines remaine, the ground looking with a sad face as 10
hauing lost her fruitfulness: for whatsoever doth either grow or is set thereon, be it 10
fruits or flowers, when they come to ripenesse, haue nothing within them, but 10
moulder into ashes: Thus saith *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that those 10
Pomegranates and other Apples or Oranges, which doe still grow on the bankses of 10
this cursed Lake, do looke faire and are of good colour on the out-side, but being cut 10
haue nothing but dust within. Of the *Bitumen* which this Lake casteth vp, it was 10
by the *Greekes* called *asphaltitis*. *Vespassian* desirous to be satisfied of these reports, 10
went of purpose to see this Lake, and caused certaine Captiues to be cast into it, who 10
were not onely vnkillfull in swimming, but had their handes also bound behind 10
them, and notwithstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could 10
not sink.

T. V.

Of the Kings of Moab, much of whose Countrie within Arnon Reuben possesse.

OF the Kings of *Moab*, whose Countrie (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* possesse (though 30
not taken from *Moab* but from *Sehon* the *Amorite*) few are knowne. *Ianinus* in the 21. of *Numbers* verse 14. nameth *Yabeb*, which seemeth to bee the Ancestor or 30
Predecessor of *Balaam*, the sonne of *Zippor*: which *Balaam* sent for *Balaam* to curse *Israel*. For fearing to contend with *Moses* by armes by the examples of *Sehon* and *Og*, hee hoped by the helpe of *Balaams* curlings or incantments, to take from them all 30
strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though *Balaam* at the first moved by the Spirit of God, blest *Israel* contrarie to the hope and desire of *Moab*: yet being desirous in some sort to laesifie him, and to doe him seruice, he aduised *Moab* to send *Maadianish* Women among the *Israelites*: hoping by them, 30
as by instruments of mischief, to draw them to the Idolatrie of the Heathen: but in the end hee receiued the reward of his falling from God, and of his euil counsaile, and was slaine among the rest of the Princes of *Midian*.

After these times the Kings of the *Moabites* are not named: sauing that wee finde in the first of *Chron* the fourth, that *Iokim*, and the men of *Chozabab*, and *Iasub*, and *Sareph*, all being of the issue of *Iuda*, sometime had the Dominion in *Moab*: but as it is written in the same Verse, *These also are ancient things*: to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these mens Governments are no where extant or remaining: or as others, *hacprius fure*, these Families of *Iuda* were once thus famous: but now their posteritie chuse rather to abide in *Babylon*, and bee Clay-workers to the King there.

Then wee finde *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who with the helpe of *Ammon*, and *Amalec*, 10
mastered *Israel* and commanded them eightene yeres: which *Eglon*, *Ehud* slew in his owne house, and afterward 10000. of his Nation. What name the King of *Moab* had vnto whom *Dauid* fled fearing *Saul*, it doth not appeare: or whether it 10
were the same against whom *Saul* made *Warre*, it is not manifest, for neither are na- 10
med.

Iunius refers the name of the Citie *Rephan*, 1. *Maacab. 37.* of this question it were hard to resolve. But touching *Iulius* (according to *Iosephus* sometimes *Bataramphla*) the same *Iosephus* placeth in the Region of *Perea*, beyond *Jordan*, which *Regio Perea*, as the *Greeke* word significeth, is no more then *Regio vltior*, the Countie beyond the River; and therefore they which labour to set downe the bounds of this *Perea*, take more paines than needes. Fourteene Villages this *Iulias* had belonging vnto it, according to *Iosephus*. He makes it to haue been built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Iulias*, in honour of the adoption of *Livia*, Augustus his Wife, into the *Iulian* familie: by which adoption she was called *Iulia*. Another *Iulias*, hee saith, was built by *Philip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Galanitis*, which, hee saith, is the same as 10 *Bethaida*.

Vpon the Sea of Galilee neere to *Iulias* in *Perea*, (that is, in the Region ouer *Jordan*) they finde *Petesobra*, as it is called in *Iosephus*, for *Beth-esob*, which is as much as *domus hisopii*. Of a noble woman of this Citie, which for safegard in the time of Warre with the *Romans*, came with many others into *Hierusalem*, and was there besieged, *Iosephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable History; how for hunger they ate her owne child, with other Tragical accidents hereupon ensuing.

Of *Succoth* (which we said *Ios. 13.* is placed with *Beth-baran*, in the Valley of the Kingdome of *Sehon*) it is plaine by the Story of *Gedeon* that it is neere vnto *Jordan*: where it is said, that as hee was past *Jordan* with his three hundred, weariest in the pursuit of *Zebib* and *Salmunsh*, hee requelled reliefe of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gedeons* returne were by him tortured, as it seemes vnder a thesling. Carre of *Tribulum*, betwene which and their flesh he put Thornes to teare their flesh as they were prest and trod vnder the *Tribulum*, and after which fort also *Dauid* vied some of the *Ammonites*, though not with Thornes, but with yron teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which significeth such Tabernacles as were made in halte, either for Men or Cattel, *Moses*, *Gen. 33. 17.* witnesseth that the originall of the name was from such harbours, which *Iacob* in his returne from *Mesopotamia* built in that place: as also the place beyond the Red Sea, where the children of *Israel*, as they came from *Rameses* in *Egypt*, had their first Station, was vpon like reason called *Succoth*: because there they set vp their first Tabernacles or Tents: which they vsed after for fortie yeeres in the Wilderness. In remembrance where of, the Feast of *Succoth*, or Tabernacles was instituted.

Other foure Cities of *Gad* are named, *Ios. 21. 38.* *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, *Machanaim*, *Cheshbon*, and *Iabzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* giuen to the *Leuites*, of which *Iabzer*, as *Cheshbon* or *Heshbon* was a chiefe Citie of *Sehon*, whence *Num. 32. 1.* his Countie is called the Land of *Iabzer*. It was taken by *Moses*, hauing first sent spies to view it. In the first of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilead*. In later times (as it may be gathered by the prophetic of *Esaie*, touching *Isaiah*) it was possessed by the *Moabites*: to which place of *Esaie* also *Jeremie* in a like prophetic alludes. It was at length re-gained (but as it is from the *Ammonites*) by *Isaiah Maachabaeus*: as it is, 1. *Maac. 8.* where *Iunius* out of *Iosephus* reads *Iabzer*, though the *Greeke* hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer* or *Gezer* (as hee gathereth out of *Iosua 16. 3.* & *8.* and *Ind. 1. 29.*) was farre from these Counties of *Sehon*, seated in the West border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the *Israelites*, vntill *Salomons* time, for whom the King of *Egypt* wan it from the *Canaanites*, and gaue it him as a Dowrie with his Daughter.

Of *Cheshbon* it may be marvelled that in the place of *Iosua*, and 1. *Chron. 6. 81.* it should be said to haue been giuen to the *Leuites* by the *Gadites*, seeing *Iosua 13. v. 17.* it is reckoned for a principall Citie of the *Reubenites*: *Adrichomius* and such as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding *Caishon*, 1. *Maac. 5. 36.* among the Cities of *Gilead*, taken by *Isaiah Maachabaeus*, makes two Cities of one: as if this *Caishon* had been the *Cheshbon* of *Gad*: and that of *Reuben* distinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering Citie, betwene *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gaue their part to the *Leuites*: for so also it seemeth that

that in like reason *Dibon* is said in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another giuen to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaim*, which word significeth a double Armie, we read *Gen. 32. 2.* that it was therefore so called, because the *Angels* of God in that place met *Isaac* in manner of another Hoste or company, to ioyne with his for his defence: as also *Luke 2. 13.* we read of a multitude of the Hoste of Heaven, which appeared to the sheep-herds, at the time of our Saviours birth: and so vnto the Godly King *Ofwald* of *Northumberland*, when hee was soone after to ioyne battaile with the *Pagan* Penda of middle-England, *Beda* reports, that the like comfort appeared: whence the field where the battaile was fought in the North-parts of 10 England, is called *Heuuen-field*. In this Citie of *Machanaim* *Dauid* abode during the rebellion of *Abshalom*: and the same for the strength thereof *Abner* chose for the seat of *Abshalom*, during the warre betwene *Dauid* and the house of *Saul*.

Of the fourth Towne which was *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, we read often in the Scripture, for the recovering of which King *Achab* lost his life. *Iunius* thinks that *Ramoth-Mitpha*, of which *Iosua 13. 26.* was this *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Jacob* (ware one to the other, as it was called *Gilead*, which is as much as a witnessing heape, because of the heape of stones which *Laban* and his sonnes left for a monument; so also that it was called *Mitphab*, which significeth ouer-looking (because there they called God to ouer-see and be witness to their covenant) it is plaine by the place, *Gen. 31. 49.* that in these parts there was not only a Towne, but likewise a Region called *Mitpha*, it appears, *Ios. 11. 3.* where we read of the *Chinuties* vnder *Herman*, in the Countie of *Mitpha*, * the Towne of *Mitpha*, as it seems both by this place, and in the eighth verse following, being not in the Hill Countie, but in the valley. But seeing that *Iephtha* the Iudge of *Israel*, who after hee came home from *Tob*, (whither his brethren had driven him) dwelt in this Towne of *Mitpha*, who doubtlesse was of the Tribe of *Manasse*, and thence at first expelled by his brethren, it may seeme that they doe not well which place this Towne of *Mitpha* rather in *Gad*, than in *Manasse*. By *Isaiah Maachabaeus* this Towne of *Mitpha* (whether in *Gad* or in *Manasse*) was vtterly spoiled and burnt, and all the males of it 30 slaine: for it was then possesed of the *Ammonites*.

Betweene *Succoth* (of which we haue spoken) and the River *Iaboc* was that *Peniel* or *Penuel*, which name significeth *Locum faciei Dei*; A place where the face of God was seene: so called for memorie of the *Angels* appearing to *Jacob*, and wrestling with him there: the churillthnesse of which Citie, in refusing to relieue *Gideon*, was the cause that in his returne hee ouerthrew their Tower, and slew the chiefe Aldermen thereof. To these places of the *Gadites*, they adde *Regelim*, the Citie of that great and faithfull subiect *Barsilai*, as it seemes, not farre from *Mahanaims*, where he sustained King *Dauid*, during *Abshaloms* rebellion. To these they adde the Townes of *Gadai*, *Arnon*, and *Alimus*, of which *Gadai*, being in *Hebrew* no more then *Gaddita*, is 40 ignorantly made a name of a place. *Arnon* also no where appears to bee the name of a Towne, but fill of a River. *Alimus* *Adrichomius* frames of *Isaiah*, 1. *Maac. 5. 26.* so that the name should rather be *Alema*, but *Iunius* out of *Iosephus* reads *Malle*, for this in *Alimus*: and vnderstanding *Malle* to bee part for *Millo*, and to be as much as *Munilio*, (as we haue shewed touching the *Millo* of the *Sichemites*) hee takes this *Malle*, to be *Mitpha* *Moabitum*, of which 1. *Sam. 22. 3.* As for that *Mogel* which *Adrichomius* findes in this Tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mahacath*, which *Moses* noteth to be as farre as the furthest of *Manasse*, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So also *Dathema*, of which 1. *Maac. 5. 10.* (which *Iunius* takes to bee a *Rithma*, of which *Num. 33. 18.* a place of strength in the Territory of the *Ammonites*) and in like maner *Minnith*, and 50 *Abel zinnaim*, though by some they be attributed to the *Gadites*, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last we read in *Iephtha* s pursuit of the *Ammonites*: seated as it seemes by that place of the booke of *Iudges*, the former of them in the South border, and the other in the East border, both farre removed from the *Gadites*. But the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites* was neerer, and not farre from

* Of other townes of this name, see in the Tribe of Benjamin.

Ind. 1. 36.

1. Maac. 5. 35.

Gen. 32. 30.

Ind. 8. 17.

1. Sam. 29. 33.

Deut. 3. 14.

10. 12. 5. a The letters D and K in the Hebrew are very like, so that one is oft mistaken for another; & sometimes without mistaking one is put for another: as for *Kadaiim*, 1. *Chir. 7.* we haue *Dadaiim*, *Gen. 10. 4.*

* Other names of this Citie according to Stephanus were *Ammon* and *Affarte*: but in this later perhaps he mistooke, which might seem to be the same as *Starab* one of the chiefe Cities of *Og*, of which in that which remaineth to be spoken of *Manasse*, *Atrichimus* sayes, it was also called *Ythasaram*, because of the river *Taboc* winding about it, but in the place 2. Sam. v. 27. whence he gathers this opinion, *Iunius* reads *interceptio* *ab urbe amon*, if we must read with others, *cepi urbem aquarum*, yet it cannot be taken of *Rabbath* (este, but of some Fort aduoyning. a. Gen. 14.

Deut. 3.

2. Sam. 12.
1. Reg. 15. cap. 11.

Pto. Strab. 1. 6.
* Exod. 30.
is, locus super calcitrosum: whence it appears that *Trachonitis* regio in these parts was properly the hill country Deut. 3. v. 9.
Hieron. 23.

from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures sometime *Rabbath*, as Deut. 3. 11. but more often *Rabba*. It is supposed to be that * *Philadelphia* which *Ptolemy* findes in *Celestria*, *Hierome* and *Calistus* in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the *Ammonites*: but as it seemes neuer possit by the *Israelites*, after the ouerthrow of *Og*, but left to the *Ammonites*: whereupon at length it became the Regall seate of the *Ammonites*, but of old it was the possession of the *Zamzammims*: which is as much to say, as men for all manner of craft and wickednesse intamous. The same were also called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the *Ammonites* had got from his Ancestors: who hauing been first beaten by the *Affrysians*, and their affilants (as the *Emims* in *Moab*, and the *Horims* in *Seir* had 10 becene) were afterward the easier conquered by the *Ammonites*, as the *Emims* were by *Moab*, and the *Horims* by the *Idumeans*. Yet did the races of *Emoreu*, of whom these Giants were descended, contend with the Conquerours for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Heshon* had dispossest *Moab*, so had *Og* of *Basan* the *Ammonites*, and betweene them recovered the best part of all the Valley, betweene the Mountaines and *Jordan*. For this *Og* was also master of *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*: And in the possession of the one or the other of these two, *Moses* and *Israel* found all those Cities and Countreys which were given to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*. So that though it were 450. yeeres since that these *Zamzammims* or *Raphaim* were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but hauing these two Kings of one kindred, and both valiant and vnder-taking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon*, both *Amorites*, they recovered againe much of their lost possessions, and thrust the sonnes of *Lot* over the mountaines, and into the *Desarts*. And as the Kings or Captaines of *Peris* and *Affrysia*, (remembered in the 14. of *Genesis*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*, so by that great conquest which *Moses* had ouer those two *Amorites*, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* take opportunity to looke backe againe into those plaines, and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and *Manassites* forlooke the worship of the liuing God, and became slothfull and licentious, they taking the aduantage invaded them, and callt them out of their possessions: and were sometime their masters, sometime their tributaries, as they pleased 30 or displeased God: and according to the wisdom and vertue of their Commanders.

In this Citie of *Rabba*, was the yron bed of *Og* found, nine cubites of length, and foure of breadth. The Citie was taken in *Dauid*s time, and the inhabitants slaine with great cruerty, and by diuers torments. At the first assault thereof *Fris* was shot to death, hauing been by direction from *Dauid* appointed to be employed in the leading of an assault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Armie perished: and wherein *Dauid* so displeased God, as his affaires had ill successe afterward, euen to his dying day. From hence had *Dauid* the waigritic and rich crowne of gold, which the Kings of *Ammon* ware: or which as some expound it, was vled to be set on the head of their Idoll, waighing a talent, which is 60. pound waight after the common talent. In the time of *Christians* it had a Metropolitan Bishop, and vnder him twelue others.

The Mountaines which are described within this Tribe, and that of *Manasse*, with a part of *Reuben*, are those which *Ptolemy* calleth the hills of *Hippus*, a Citie of *Celestria*: and *Strabo* * *Trachones*: the same which continue from nere *Damascus* vnto the *Desarts* of *Moab*: and receiue diuers names, as commonly mountaines do, which neighbour and bound diuers Countries: For from the South part, as farre Northwards as *Aleroth*, the chiefe Citie of *Og*, they are called *Galaad* or *Gilead*, from thence Northward they are knowne by the name of *Hermom*, for so *Moses* calleth them: 50 The *Sidonians* name them *Shirion*, but the *Amorites* *Shenir*, others *Seir*: of which name all those Hills also were called, which part *Iudea* and *Idumea*: and lastly, they are called *Libanus*, for so the Prophet *Hieremie* makes them all one, calling the high mountaines of *Galaad*, the head of *Libanus*. These mountaines are vere fruitful, and full

full of good pastures, and haue many trees which yeeld *Balsamm*, and many other medicinable drugs. The Riuer of this Tribe are the waters of *Nimrah*, and *Dibon*, and the Riner *Taboc*: Others doe also fancie another Riuer, which rising out of the Rockes of *Armon*, falleth into *Jordan*.

Hier. 8. & in

§. VI.

Of the *Ammonites*, part of whose Territories the *Gadites* swanne from
Og the King of *Basan*.

10 His Tribe of *Gad* posselt halfe the Countrie of the *Ammonites*, who together with the *Moabites*, held that part of *Arabia Petraea* called *Nabat*, as well within as without the mountaines of *Gilead*: though at this time when the *Gadites* waite, it was in the possession of *Sehon* and *Og*, *Amorites*: and therefore *Moses* did not expell the *Ammonites*, but the *Amorites*, who had thrust the illues of *Leu* over the mountaines *Trachones* or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othaniel* the first Iudge of *Israel*, the *Ammonites* ioyned with the *Moabites* against the *Hebrewes*, and so continued long. *Iephtha* Iudge of *Israel* had a great conquest ouer one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Sammel* they were at peace with them againe.

10 Afterward we find that cruell King of the *Ammonites*, called *Nabhus*: who besieging *Iabes Gilead*, gaue them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right eyes. The reason why he tendred so hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame vpon *Israel*) because those *Gileadites* vsing to carrie a Target on their left armes, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by losing their right, be verterly disabled to defend themselves: but *Saul* came to their rescue, and deliuered them from that danger. This *Nabhus*, as it may seeme, became the confederate of *Dauid*, hauing friended him in *Saul*s time, though *Iesephus* thinks that this *Nabhus* was slaine in the battaile, when *Saul* raised the siege of *Iabes*, who affirmeth that 30 there were three Kings of the *Moabites* of that name.

Hanan succeeded *Nabhus*: to whom when *Dauid* sent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirme the former friendship which he had with his Father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut off the Ambassadors garments to the knees, and shaued the halfe of their beards. But afterward notwithstanding the aydes receiued from the *Aramites* subiect to *Adadexer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rehob*, and *Maacah*, and from *Isab*, yet all those *Arabians*, together with the *Ammonites*, were ouerturned: their chiefe Citie of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, was taken, the Crowne which weighed a talent of gold was set on *Dauid*s head, all such as were prisoners, *Dauid* executed with strange seueritie; for with Sawes and Harrowes hee care them in pieces, 40 and cast the rest into Lime-kills.

Iosaphat governing *Iuda*, they assisted the *Moabites* their neighbours against him, and perished together. *Osias* made them Tributaries, and they were againe by *Iotham* inforced to continue that Tribute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundredth talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley: which the *Ammonites* continued two yeeres.

The silt King of the *Ammonites*, of whose name we read was *Baalis*, the confederate of *Zedechie*: after whose taking by *Nabuchodonosor*, *Balis* sent *Ismael* of the bloud of the Kings of *Iuda*, to slay *Gedaliah*, who serued *Nabuchodonosor*.

1. Sam. 11.

1. Reg. 16. Ant. 5. 66.
2. Sam. 10. 4. 18.
Ishb, that is the men of *Thob*: *Thob* is a small Territory vnder *Armon* hills. *Rehob* is another between *Haror* & *Sidon*, in the North bound of *Canaan*, Num. 13. 22. of which see in the tribe of *Affer*. Hieron. 40. & 41.

2. Chron. 20.
2. Chron. 26.
2. Chron. 24. 27.

§. VII.

Joseph. 18. ant. 3.
& alibi.

Gen. 14. 5.

See chap. 2.
3. 1. 2.

* Because Horne when it is polished, shineth: hence it is that there be of this Nowne is sometime Luere: as it were cornum eff: whereupon the Vulgar, Exod. 34. 19. reading *coru- tan cornum*, or lucidan- fici-um, gave oc- casion to the fabulous pain- ters to paint Moise with Hornes. Iudith. 18. 1. Cant. 5.

Rap. 12. an. Ole- oil. in Gen. Bell. in Cam. lib. de vo. Del. S. ant. 19. 1. 2. ad Rom. Aug. de civi. Dei 1. 8. c. 4. Chryf. Hom. 2. De pati- entia Job. Greg. Cor. in Job. For so and ay are often chan- ged one into the other: whence they vied *Ausitis* for *Ousitis*, &c. Hence also by Iunius and o- there it is cal- led *Ausitis*, & so as it seemes they made it in the *Septuagint*. Iun. in Gen. 10. 23.

South. It was sometime a Village, and not long after the birth of *Christ* it was com- passed with a wall by *Philip* the *Tetrarch* of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*: and after the name of *Julia*, the wife of *Tiberius*, called *Iulias*, as hath bene farther spoken in the Tribe of *Gad*: where it was noted that *Iosephus* makes this *Julias*, to be the same as *Reb- saida*. Vpon the East side of the same Lake of *Tiberius* liands *Corezaim*, or *Corazim*, of which *Christ* in *Matthæw* 23. we be unto thee *Corazim*.

But the principall Cite of all these in ancient time was *Asteroth*: sometime peopled with the *Giantes* & *Raphaim*: and therefore the Countrie adioyning called the Land of *Giantes*, of whose race was *Org*, King of *Basam*. In *Genesis* this Cite is called *Asteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence 1. *Maac*, 5. 26 it is called simply *Carnaim*, as *Ios* 13. 21. it is called to *Asteroth* without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* signifieth a paire of Hornes, which agree well with the name of their Idoll *Asteroth*, which was the I- mage of a sheepe, as it is elsewhere noted, that *Asteroth* in *Deut*. signifieth sheepe. O- thers from the ambiguity of the Hebrew take *Carnaim*, to haue bene the name of the people which inhabited this Cite: and expound it *heroes* * *radiantes*. For of old the *Raphais* which inhabited this Cite (*Gen*. 14. 5.) were Giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words *Deut*. 3. 11. *Og rex refiduo gigantum*, with the words *Ios* 13. 12. *Og rex reliquus Raphasorum*: but if the *Carnaim* (or *Karnaim*) were these *Raphai*, the word would not haue bene in the duall number: neither would *Moses* in the place of *Genesis* haue said the *Raphai* in *Asteroth* of the *Carnaim*, but either the *Raphai* 20 in *Asteroth* of the *Raphai*, or some other way fittest for perspicuie: for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth one from the other.

Not farre from *Asteroth* *Adrichomus* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar*, in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, foure miles from *Corazim*. This Cite (saith hee) is remembered in the *Canticles*, and in the booke of *Iudith*, and there are that of this Cite vnderstand *Dauid* in his 120. *Psalme*: and heere the Sepulchre of *Iob* is yet to be seene, saith *Breidenbach*.

Now concerning the Texts which hee citeth, it is so that the *Greeke* hath *Galaad* in stead of the word *Cedar*, which the *Vulgar* doth vse in that place of *Iudith*, and ioyn- neeth *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Psalme* doe rather proue that *Cedar* was not heereabout, than any way helpe *Adrichomius*. For that they speake of *Semite Cedar*, it is apparent, and asseident by the place in the *Canticles* that they were decolores, much more than any vnder the *Climates* of the land of *Canaan*: whence *Iunius* out of *Lampridius* and *Plinie* placeth them in *Arabia Petrea*, farre from these parts. Touching the Sepulchre of *Iob*, it is certain that the *Arabians* and *Saraceni* (holding those places) saue many things to abuse the *Christians*, and to get mo- ney. Further, it may well be affirmed that many (if not all) the historical circum- stances of *Iob* are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his Countrie seek to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded vpon him, inferre what his Countrie was, and build vnto him a Cite by coniecture.

Of *Iob* himselfe whether he were the same *Iobab* remembered in the 36. of *Gene- sis*, descended from *Esaú*, and King also of *Idumæa*, though *Rupertus*, *Lyranius*, *Olester*, and *Bellarmino* are of another opinion, yet S. *Ambrósio*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, and *Gregorie*, with *Athanasius*, *Hypollitus*, *Iraneus*, *Eusebius Emisenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Euse- bius* & other, cited by S. *Etherom* in his 126. Epist. to *Eugarius*, take him for the same.

The Land of *Hus* or *Hus* wherein *Iob* dwelt is from the *Greeke* *Os*, which the *Septuagint* vse for the word *Hus*, translated by the *Vulgar* sometime *Hus*, as *Iob* 1. v. 1. sometime *Ausitis*, as *Etherom* 5. 20. This Land is placed by *Iunius* between *Palastina* and *Calefrya*, besides *Chamatha* (or *Hamath*) vnder *Palmyrene* in the Countrie cal- led by *Ptolomie* *Trachonitis* or *Bathansa*, the bounds of which Countries are confound- ed with *Basam* in this halfe Tribe of *Manasses*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus so- leated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Ieremie* the 25. 20. where he reckons the *Hittites* among the promiscuous borderers of the *Israelites*, whom hee therefore calleth promiscuous or *miscellaneous turbam*, because their bounds were not

not onely ioyned but confounded, and their *Seignories* mingled one with the other, but of this place the wordes of *Ieremie*, *Lamentations* 4. 21. Speaking of the same prophete, of which hee speaketh in the five and twentieth Chapter, must needs be expounded: as *Iunius* reads them, distinguishing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edom, i. quæ habitas in terra Hutz; O Daughter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the Land of Hus*. Now because the *Vulgar* doth not so distinguish, but readeth *Filia Edom quæ habitas in terra Hus; Daughter of Edom which dwellest in the Land of Hus*: Hence, as it seemes, some of the learned haue thought that *Iob* was an *Edomite*, as we haue said, and King of *Edom*, which if they vnderstand by it *Idumæa* or *Edom*, so called in *Mo- ses* time, they are greatly millaken, making this Land of *Hus* to be in *Edumæa*. For it is very probable that *Esaú* when hee first parted from *Isaac*, did not leaue himselfe in *Edom*, or *Seir*, which lieth on the South border of *Iudæa*, but inhabited *Seir* farre to the East of *Jordan*, and held a part of those Mountaines otherwise called *Galaad*, and *Hermom*, which by corruption the *Sidamians* call *Skirion*, and the *Amorites* *Shemir* for *Seir*, and from this his habitation did *Esaú* encounter *Isaac* when he returned out of *Mesopotamia*, who passed by the very border of *Esaú* his abiding. It is true that at such time as *Moses* wandered in the *Deserts*, that the posteritie of *Esaú* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Iudæa*: for it is like that the *Amorites* who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did also driue the *Edomites* out of those parts, who thence forward leaied themselves to the South of *Iudæa*, bordering the *Desart* *Paran*, and stretched their habitations ouer the *Desarts* as farre as *Hor* where *Aram* died.

Now for this *Hus* which gaue the name to a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whe- ther it were *Hus* the sonne of *Aram*, as *Iunius* thinks in his note vpon *Gen*. 10. 23. or rather *Hus* the sonne of *Nachor*, *Abraham*'s brother, the question is doubtfull. For my part I rather incline to thinke, that it was *Hus* the sonne of *Nachor*: partly be- cause these Families of *Aram* seeme long before to haue bene lost: and partly be- cause in *Iob* 4. 2. 2. *Elihu* the fourth of *Iob*'s friends, which seemes to be of *Iob*'s owne Countrie, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz*, the brother of *Hus*, the sonne of *Nachor*: as also *Ieremie* 2. 5. in the same continuation (though some other Nations named between) 30 where *Hus* is spoken of, there *Buz* is also named: Neither doth it hinder our conie- cture, that in the place of *Iob* 32. *Elihu* the *Buzite* is said to bee of the Familie of *Ram*: (which *Iunius* expounds to bee as much as of the Familie of *Aram*) for that by this *Aram* we are not to vnderstand *Aram* the sonne of *Sem*, *Iunius* himselfe maketh it plaine, both in his annotation vpon the beginning of his booke, where he saith that one of *Iob*'s friends (which must needs be this *Elihu*) was of the posteritie of *Nachor* (as also in this place he confesseth so much expressely) and in as much as hee readeth note familiâ *Aram*, or *Ram*, but 2 familiâ *Syra*; like as elsewhere *Laban* who sprung of *Nachor* is called a *Syrian*.

As for the other three of *Iob*'s friends (of whom by this note of *Elihu* his being of the *Syrian* Familie, or of the Familie of *Nachor*) it is implied that they were of other kindreds; as also by the *Septuagint*'s addition, that this *Elihu* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Ausitis*, it is implied that they thought onely *Elihu* to haue bene of *Iob*'s owne Countrie.

Franciscus Brochard the *Monke*, in his description of the holy Land in the journey from *Acon* Eastward, findeth *Suetha*, and *Theman* on the East of the Sea of *Galilee*: both very neere to the Land of *Hus*: whereof the one may seeme to haue denomi- nated *Bildad* the *Shuchit*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*: two of the three friends of *Iob*, of the which *Iob* 2. 11. But *Iunius* thinks that the *Shuchits* were inhabitants of *Arabia* the *Desart*, descended of *Shuach* the sonne of *Abraham* and *Keeturah* of whom 50 *Gen*. 52. 2. perhaps, saith he, the same whom *Plinie* calls *Saccar*. So also he thinketh the *Themanites* of whom *Eliphaz* was, to haue bene of *Arabia* the *Desart*: and *Eliphaz* himselfe to haue bene of the posteritie of *Theman* the sonne of *Eliphaz*, which was the sonne of *Esaú*. And so also *Nabamah* whence *Tophar* the third of *Iob*'s friends (which in this place of *Iob* c. 2. v. 11. are mentioned) is by the same learned expolitor

thought either to be named of *Thimnath* by transposition of letters (which *Thimnath* Gen. 36. 40. is named among the sonnes of *Esaui* that gaue denomination to the places where they were seated) or elscto bee the same *Nahamah*, which *Ios. 15. 41.* is reckoned for a Citie of *Juda* in the border, as he thinkes, of *Edom*. And yet I denie not but that neere to the Land of *Hus*, in *Basán*, as it seemes, in the Tribe of *Manasses*, there is a Region which at least in latter times was called *Suitis*, or of some like name. For this is euident by the Historie of *Willicimus Tyrius*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Suita* or *Suites* (as hee calls it diuersly) of exceeding great strength and vñe for the retaininge of the whole Countrie: which, in the time of *Baldwin* the second King of *Hierusalem*, was with great digging through rocks recovered by the *Christians*: hauing not long before been lost to the great disadvantage of the Countrie, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The situation of this Fort is by *Tyrius* described to be sixteene miles from the Citie *Tiberias*, on the East of *Jordan*: by *Adrichomius* foure miles Northward from the place where *Jordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

Other Cities of this part of *Manasses* named in the Scripture are these: *Golan*, *Beheshtera*, *Mitpa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the comming of the *Israelites* was called *Nabach*. Of *Nabach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitpa* of *Gilead*, we haue spoken by occasion among the Cities of *Gad*: The two other were giuen to the *Leuites*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of refuge: from which *Golan* wee haue both *Gaulanitis superior* and inferior, oft in *Iosephus*. *Beheshtera* is accounted the chiefe Citie of *Basán* by some, but the writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Betser* or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Hierameath* *Arga*, a name of a Citie placed by some about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Iosua*) which make the Lake *Samachonitis*, as *Iosephus* calls it. This Lake being as it were in the midst betwene *Cesaria Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this halfe Tribe on the West. When the snow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, saith *Brocard*: otherwise more contract, leauing the marish ground on both sides, for Lyons and other wild beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Adioyning to this Lake in this Countrie of *Manasses*, *Iosephus* names two places of strength fortified by himselfe in the beginning of the *Iewes* rebellion: *Selenia* the one, and *Sogana* the other. In the North side of this halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, and in the North-east, the Scripture nameth diuers bordering places toward *Damascus*, as *Tsedad*, *Chauran*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, lying in a line drawne from the West; of which three Cities we reade *Ezek. 47. 15.* with which also agrees the place *Namb. 34. 8.* where for *Chauran*, betwene *Tsedad*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, *Ziphran* is named. From this *Chauran* is the name of *Auranitis regio*, in *Iosephus* and *Tyrius*, whose bounds (as also the bounds of *Gessur* and *Mabaath* or *Macati*, which were likewise borderers to *Manasses* toward the North-east) are vnknowne: only that *Gessur* was of might, it appears in that *Dauid* married *Mabaca* the Daughter of *Tholmay* King of *Gessur*: by whom he had the most beautiful, but wicked, and vnfortunate *Abisalon*.

(*)

CHAP. XI.

The Historie of the Syrians the chiefe borderers of the *Israelites* that dwell on the East of *Jordan*.

§. I.

Of the Citie of *Damascus* and the diuers fortunes thereof.

DAMASCUS of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in beauty, antiquitie, and riches, and was therefore called the Citie of ioy or gladnes, and the House of pleasure; and is not onely remembered in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The Hebrewes, saith *Iosephus*, thinke it to haue been built by the sonne of *Adam*: of which opinion *S. Hierome* vpon *Esa* seemeth to be: though in his Hebrew questions hee affirmeth that it was founded by *Damascus*, the sonne of *Eliezer Abrahams* Steward, a thing very

vnlikelie, seeing the citie was formerly knowne by that name, as appeares by *Abrahams* calling this his Steward *Eliezer of Damascus*. *Dauid* was the first that subiected it to the Kingdome of *Juda*, after the ouerthrow of *Adad* their King, but in *Solomons* time, *Rezon* recovered it againe, though he had no title at all or right to that principallie: but *Dauid* hauing ouerthrowne *Hadad* their king of *Sephena*, (otherwise *Siba* or *Zobab*) *Rezon* or *Rezon* with the remainder of that broken armie, invaded *Damascena*, and posselt *Damascus* it selfe, and became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life.

The next King of *Damascus* was *Adad* the Edomite, who flying into *Egypt* from *Dauid*, and *Isab*, when they slew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of *Egypt*s wiues sister: of whom *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was so called. This *Adad* returning againe, became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life, and (as some writers affirme) invaded *Damascus*, and thrust *Rezon* thence out. In the life of *Adad* that Kingdome continued nine descents (as hereafter may be shewed in the catalogue of those Kings of *Syria*) to whom the *Assyrians* & then the *Grecians* succeeded. This citie was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the riuers

of *Abanath*, and *Parpar*: whereof one of them prophane writers call *Chrysorrhoas* the golden riuer. *Iunius* takes it for *Adonis*. The countrey adioyning is very fruitful of excellent wines and wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong Castle, built as it seemes by the *Florentines*, after it became *Christian*: the lillies being found cut in many marbles in that Citadell. Against this Citie the Prophets *Amos*, *Esa*, *Hieremy* and *Zacharias*, prophesied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heape of stones. In the time of the last *Rezon* and tenth King of the *Damascens*, *Toglatphalassar* inuited by *Achaz* King of *Juda*, carried away the naturals of *Damascus* into the East: leauing of his owne nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, saith *Hieremy* vpon *Esa*: which thing

was performed by *Salmanassar*, according to *Iunius* in his note vpon that place, siue yeeres after the prophecie. In time it was restored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Ptolomies*; but long after when *Syria* fell into the bandes of the *Romans*, it was taken by *Metellus* and *Lollius*. In the time of the *Christians* it had an Archbishop: *S. Elic* some liuing, as hee affirmeth vpon the *Alles*, it was the Metropolis of the *Saracens*:

Onuphrius in
Chron.Vitruv. de Arch.
Tyr. Bell. Sacul.
17. c. 1. 23. 4. 5.Herold. Bell.
Sam. 4. c. 14.

Herold. 1. c. 4.

being taken by *Hammar* their King from the *Remanes*, in the yeere of our redemption 636. And in the yeere 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperour of *Rome*, *Lewes* King of *France*, *Baldvine* the third King of *Hierusalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Aufres*, brother to *Conrad*, *Frédéric* *Barbarossa* afterward Emperour, *Theodorick* Earle of *Flanders*, and other Princes assembled at *Prionois Acon*, on the sea coast, determined to recover *Damascus*: but being betrayed by the *Syrians*, they failed of the enterprize.

In the yeere 1262. *Halon* the *Tartar* incompass it, and having formerly taken the King, brought him vnder the walls, and threatened extreme torture vnto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refusing it, the King was torne asunder before them, and in fine the Citie taken, *Agab* the sonne of *Halon* was by his father made King thereof.

In the yeere 1400. *Tamberlaine* Emperour of the *Parthians*, invaded that region, and besieged the citie with an armie of 1200000. (if the number be not mistaken) He entred it and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners, those that retired into the Castle which seemed a place impregnable, hee ouertopped with another Castle adioyning: he forbore the demolishing of the citie in respect of the beautie of the Church, garnished with 40. gates or sumptuous porches. It had within it 9000. lanternes of gold & silver: but while hee invaded *Egypt*, they againe surprized *Damascus*. Lastly in his returne after three moneths siege hee forsook it: the *Mahometans* prostrating themselves with their priests, desired mercie: But *Tamberlaine* commanding them to enter the Church, he burnt them, and it, to the number of 30000. and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their houses, knew them not by the foundations. And as a *Trophey* of his victorie he raised three towers with great Arte, builded with the heads of those whom hee had slaughtered. After this it was restored and repossessed by the *Seldane* of *Egypt*, with a garison of *Mamaluques*: And in the yeere 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the *Turkes* wreke it out of the hands of the *Egyptians*: in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with *Mahometans*, and *Christians*, of all neighbouring nations.

§. II.

Of the first Kings of *Damascus*, and of the growing up of their power:



Now be it that *Damascus* were founded by *Hus* the sonne of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the sonne of *Eliezer* *Abrabams* steward, we finde no relation of their Kings, or Common wealth till *Dauid*'s time. For it stood without the boundes of *Canaan*: and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Iosua*, and the *Judges*, as impertinent to that *Storie*: But were it so that it had some *reguli*, or pettie Kings ouer it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *Dauid* ouerthrew *Adadazer* prince of *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*: the same Nation which *Plinie* calleth *Nubai*, inhabiting betwene *Batanea* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to vnderstand the historie of those *Syrian* Princes, whom soone after the Kings of *Damascus* made their vassals, the reader may informe himselfe, That on the North-east parts of the holy land there were three chiefe principalities whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Common wealth of *Israel*, namely *Damascus* or *Aram*, *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath-Zoba*, of which these were the Princes in *Dauid*'s and *Salomons* times: *Rezon* or *Rezon* of *Damascus*, *Adadazer* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Tobu* of *Chamath*. But it seemeth that *Damascus* was one of the cities subiect to *Adadazer* when *Dauid* invaded him, though when *Saul* made warre against *Zoba*, *Damascus* was not named. And as *Iosephus* affirmeth, *So* the leader of those luccours, which were leuiued and sent to *Hadad-Elzer* from *Damascus*, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battaile slaine with 22000. *Aramites* of *Damascus*: whereof, as of the ouerthrow of *Adadazer*, *Rezon*, the Comander of his

Plin. 1. c. 13.

1. Sam. 14. 47.

308.

2. Sam. 8.

his armie, taking aduantage, made himselfe King of *Damascus*: *Adadazer* and *Adad* of *Damascus* being both slaine. About the same time *Tobu* King of *Chamath* or *Isuraa*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadazer* was utterly ouertrowne, sendeth for peace to *Dauid*, and presenteth him with rich gifts, but in dole saith *S. Hierome*, it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the West of *Damascus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited: but they for the most part were in league and peace with the *Indeans* and *Israelites*. But to returne to the Kings of *Syria*, I mean of *Syria*, as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damascus*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath* or *Isuraa*, to which I may adde *Geshur*, because it is so accounted in the 2. of *Sam. 5.* as ioyning in the Territorie to *Damascus* (for *Syria* at large is farre greater, of which *Palestina* it selfe is but a Prouince, as I have said in the beginning of this Tract.) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our later writers, who was the first of those *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damascus*.

Some account *Rezon*, other *Adad* of *Idumea*: of whome it is written in the first of Kings, that *Dauid* hauing invaded that Region, and leitt *Isab* therein to destroy all the male childreen thereof: *Adad* of the Kings feed, fled into *Egypt*; and was there married to *Taphnes* the Queenes sister, as before, who hearing of *Dauid*'s death, and of the death of his Captaine *Isab* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he returned againe, and as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expell *Rezon* out of *Damascus*; and was the first of the *Syrian* Kings. To mee it seemeth otherwise. For I take it, *Adadazer* the sonne of *Reboby*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the founder of that Principallitie: and the first of *Adads*, who forsaking his Fathers name, as hee grew powerfull, tooke vpon him the stile of *Adad*, the great God of the *Assyrians*, saith *Marobius*, which signified onenesse or *Frinitie*. I also finde a Citie called *Adad* in the same part of *Syria*: of which, whether these Princes tooke the name, or gaue it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-azer*, *Ben-adad*, *Eli-adad* were the same in name, with the difference of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli*, adioyned. And that *Adadazer* was of greatest power, it appeareth first, because it is against him, that *Dauid* vnderooke the warre: secondly, because he leuiued 22000. *Aramites* out of the Territorie of *Damascus*: as out of his proper Dominions: for had the *Damasceni* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would haue given vs his name: thirdly, because *Syria Zoba*, of the most of which *Adadazer* was King, was an exceeding large Territorie, and contained of *Arabia* the Desert as farre as to *Euphrates*, according to *Plinie*: and the greatest part of *Arabia* *Petrea* according to *Niger*. Whosoever was the first, whether *Adadazer*, or *Adad* of *Idumea*, *Rezon* was the second: who was an enemy to *Israel* all the dayes of *Salomon*. Besides the euill that *Adad* did, the euill that *Hadad* did, seemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumea*, lately returned out of *Egypt*: to wit, 23. yeeres after he was carried thither.

The third king of *Damascus*, and of *Zobab* both, was *Hezion*, to *Hezion* succeeded *Tabriimon*, or *Tabriemon*, to him *Benhadad*, as is proued in the first of Kings. For *Afa* King of *Iuda* the sonne of *Abiam*, the sonne of *Roboam*, the sonne of *Salomon*, being vexed and invaded by *Basia*, the succellor of *Nadab*, the sonne of *Ieroboam*, sent to *Benhadad* the sonne of *Tabriimon* the sonne of *Hezion*, King of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damascus*, to invade *Israel* (while *Basia* fought to fortifie *Rama* against *Afa*): thereby to blocke him vp, that he should not enter into any of the Territories of *Israel*: who according to the desire of *Afa*, hauing receiued his presents, willingly invaded the Countrie of *Nepthalim*, and tooke diuers Cities, and spoiles thence: *Afa* in the meane while carrying away all the Materials, which *Basia* had brought to fortifie *Rama* withall, and conuerted them to his owne vfe.

This *Benhadad* Father *Tabriemon* was in league with *Afa*: and so was his Father *So Hezion*; for *Afa* requireth the continuance of that friendship from *Benhadad*, his sonne: though it seemeth that the gold and silver sent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this *Tabriemon* invaded *Israel*, before the enterprize of his sonne *Benhadad*, it is coniectured. For *Benhadad* when he was prisoner with *Achab*, spake as followeth. The Cities which my Father tooke from thy Father, I will restore:

1. Sam. 8. 3.

and 11.

1. Sam. 14. 47.

Plin. 1. c. 13.

1. Reg. 11.

1. King. 15. 18.

1. Reg. 15. 18.

1. Reg. 20. 34.

I will

reflore: and thou shalt make freetes or keepers of the borders, for thee in Damascus: as my father did in Samaria. And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it selfe were of much importance) because Tabremmon was Father indeede to Benhadad which invaded Basba, at the request of Asa; But this Benhadad that twice entred vpon Achab, and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the sonne of Benhadad, the first of that name, the confederate of Asa and Abiam, as before, than the sonne of Tabremmon. For betwene the inuasion of Benhadad the first, in Basba time, and the siege of Samaria, and the ouerthrow of Benhadad by Achab, there past 49. yeeres, as may be gathered out of the raignes of the Kings of Israel. So that if we allow 30. yeeres of age to Benhadad, when hee invaded Basba, and after that 49. 10 yeeres, ere he was taken by Achab, which make eighty lacking one; it is vnlikely that Benhadad at such an age would make warre. Besides all this, the first Benhadad came with no such pompe; but the second Benhadad vaueth, that hee was followed with 32. Kings: and therefore I resolue, that Benhadad the sonne of Tabremmon invaded Basba and Omri; and Benhadad the second invaded Achab, at whose hands this Benhadad receiued two notorious ouerthrowes: the first at Samaria, by a fall of 700. If radites: the second at Aphec, where, with the like number in effect the Israelites slaughtered 100000. of the Aramites; besides 27000. which were crushed by the fall of the wall of Aphec. And this Benhadad, Achab againe setteth at liberty: to whom hee rendreth those townes, that his father had taken from the Predecessour of Achab, 20 but being returned, he refuseth to render Ramoth Gilead, a frontier towne, and of great importance. Now three yeeres after (for so long the league lasted) Ramoth not being deliuered, Achab inuadeth Gilead, and assaileth the Citie, being assisted by Iosephat. The Aramites came to succour and fight: in which Achab is wounded, and dyeth that night. After this, Benhadad sendeth the commander of his forces called Ngaman, to Ioram the sonne of Achab to be healed of the leprosie, and though Elizeu had healed him, yet hee picketh quarrell against Ioram: and when Ioram by Elizeu his intelligence, had escaped his plot, he sent men, and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is before said. After Benhadad besiegeth Samaria againe, and being terrified thence from heaven, he departerh home, and sickneth, and sendeth Azazel with great gifts 30 to Elizeu, to know his estate, if he might line. Azazel returning, smoootherh him. Zonarus and Cedemius call this Benhadad Adar, and the sonne of Adar: Amos and Hieremie mention the towres of Benhadad. Iosephus writeth that Benhadad and his successeur Azazel were worshipped for Gods by the Syrians to his time, for the sumptuous Temples which they built in Damascus. The Syrians also boasted much of their antiquity, ignorant, faith hee, that scarce yet 1100. yeeres are complete since their warres with the Israelites.

Hazael or Asael, the first King of the race of the Adads of Damascus, was anointed by Elifha, or Elizeu, when he was sent by Benhadad to the Prophet, to know whether Benhadad should recouer his present sicknesse: Hee waged warre with Ioram; who receiued diuers wounds at the encounter at Ramoth in Gilead: from whence returning to be cured at Isephat, he and the King of Iuda, Ahaziah, or Ochozias, are slaine by Iehu, as before is said. After the death of Ioram, Azazel continued the warre against Iehu, and waiked Gilead, and all those portions of Gad, Reuben, and Manasse, ouer Iordan. Hee then inuaded Iuda, and tooke Geth, but by gifts from Iosab hee was auerted from attempting Ierusalem: for hee presented him all the hallowed things which Iehosaphat, Iehoram, and Ahaziah his fathers, Kings of Iuda had dedicated; and which hee himselfe had dedicated: and all the gold which was found in the treasures of the Lord, and in the Kings house. This was the second time that the Temple was spoyled to please the Adads of Damascus. For Asa did present Benhadad 50 with those treasures, when hee inuited him to warre vpon Basba King of Israel. And notwithstanding this composition betwene Iosab and Azazel, yet a part of his Armie spoyled the other Prouinces of Iudaea, and slaughtered many principall persons. Lastly, Azazel vexed Iosab the sonne of Iehu, and brought him to that

extremitee

extremitee, as he left him but fifty horsemen, tenne Chariots, and tenne thousand footemen of all his people.

§. III.

Of the later Kings, and decay and ouerthrow of their power.



FTER Hazael, Benhadad the second, or rather the third of that name, the sonne of Hazael, reigned in Damascus: who fought against Israel, with ill successe: for Iosab King of Israel, the sonne of the vnhappy Iosab, as he was foretold by Elifha the Prophet, beat Benhadad in three seuerall battels: and he lost all those Cities to Israel, which his Father Hazael had taken violently from Iosab.

After this Benhadad the sonne of Hazael, there succeeded three others of the same name, of whom the Stories are lost, only Nicholauus Damascus cited by Iosephus, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings times it was that Ieroboam the second, the sonne of Iosab recovered Damascus it selfe, to Iudab saith the Genea, but better in IYNNVS, vñg. recuperabat Damascus, & Chamisham Ichuda pro Israele; that is, And how he recovered for Israel, Damascus and Chamath of Iudaea; for these Cities sometimes conquered by David, did of right belong to the Tribe of Iuda.

And it is likely that this conquest vpon the Adads was performed: the first of these three Adads then liuing, of whom there is no Story. For when as Iehosab the King of the ten Tribes had thrice ouercome the Syrians in the time of Benhadad the sonne of Hazael, and had recovered the Cities which Hazael had wonne from Israel, and so left his Kingdome to his sonne Ieroboam the second, it seemeth that this Ieroboam without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his fathers good fortune, and inuaded Damascus.

Razin, or Rezin, after Iosephus Reser, after Zonarus Raafon, the 10. Adad, maketh league with Pekah, or Phacis King of Israel, against Achaz King of Iuda; both carrie 30 away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege Achaz in Ierusalem: but in vaine. Then Adad alone inuadeth Elath, and beating out the Iewes, maketh it a Colonie of Syrians. Wherefore Achaz brought Tetzlapbalsar against Razin, who tooke him, and beheaded him, and wonne Damascus: with whom ended the line of the Adads and the Kingdome of Damascus: the Assyrians becoming masters both of that and Israel. These Adads as they reigned in order are thus reckoned.

1. Adadazer the sonne of Rehob.
2. Rezin the sonne of Eliadad, or Razin.
3. Hezion.
4. Tabremmon.

405. Benhadad, who inuaded Basba.

6. Benhadad the second, taken prisoner by Achab.

7. Hazael, whom Elifha foretold, with teares, of his aduancement; the same who ouerthrow Ioram King of Israel, at Ramoth Gilead. And that there was a second Hazael which preceded Benhadad the third, it is not improbable, because that Hazael which tooke Geth, and compounded the warre with Iosab, made the Expedition thirty yeeres, and perchance more, after the first Hazael which stifled his master Benhadad, and had slaine Ioram the sonne of Achab King of Israel. For Iosab began to reigne in the 7. yeere of Iehu King of Israel; and after hee had reigned 23. yeeres, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long wee know not) it is said that Hazael 50 tooke Geth, and turned his face towards Ierusalem. It is also some proofe that Hazael which tooke Geth, was not the same with Hazael that murdered Benhadad, because he could not at that time but be of good yeeres, being as it seemeth the second person in the kingdome, and Commander of Benhadads men of warre. To this Hazael, be he the first or second, succeeded

8. Ben-

8 Benhadad the third, whom *Iosif* King of *Israel* thrise ouerthrew.
9 *Rezin* or *Rezin* the last, who ioynd with *Pekab* King of *Israel*, against *Iuda*, at which time *Achaz* King of *Iuda* waged for his defence *Teglatphalassar*.

Now betwene *Benhadad* the third, and *Rezin* the last, *Nicholaus Damascenus* findes three other Kings of the *Adadi*, which make twelue in all.

For the rest of the Princes of *Syria*, which were but reguli, as those of *Emath*, and *Gessur*, we finde that *Tolu* was King of *Emath* or *Chamath* in *Dauid*'s time, to whom he sent his sonne *Ioram* with presents, after *Dauid*'s victory against *Adadazer*. Alfo *Sennacherib* speaketh of a King of *Emath*, but names him not.

2 Sam. 8. 9.

Esa. 37.

10

§. IIII.

Of other lesser Kingdome: of the *Syrians*, which being brought under the *Assyrians*, neuer recovered themselves againe.

OF *Gessur* wee finde two Kings named; to wit, *Talmai*, and his Father *Amminur*. To *Talmai*, whose daughter *Dauid* married, it was that *Abalen* fled, who was his maternall grandfather. Of the Kings of *Sophena* or *Syria*, *Soba* or *Calosyria*, there are two named, *Rehob* or *Rechoh*, the Father of *Adadazer*, and *Adadazer* himselfe, and it is plaine that after his death the seat of the Kings of *Soba* was transferred to *Damascus*, a Citie better fitting their greatnesse. After *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of these Kings of *Syria*, (which became so potent, and ioynd *Soba*, *Damascus*, *Emath*, and the Desart of *Arabia* with other Prouinces into one, vnder *Rezin* the second of the *Adadi*) as it began with *Dauid*, so it ended at once with the Kingdome of *Israel*. For *Achaz* King of *Iuda* waged the *Assyrian Teglatphalassar* against *Pekab* King of *Israel*, and against *Rezin* the last King of *Damascus*: which *Teglat* first invaded *Damascus*, and the region of *Soba*, and tooke *Damascus* it selfe, and did put to death *Rezin* the last, carrying the inhabitants captiue. This was the second time that the *Assyrians* attempted *Israel*. For first, *Phul Belochus* entred the borders thereof (*Menabem* gouerning *Israel*) who stopt the enterprize of *Phul* with a thousand talents of siluer: for this *Phul Belochus*, whose pedigree wee will examine hereafter, being scarce warme as yet in his seat at *Babylon*, which hee, with the helpe of his companion *Arbaces*, had wrested from *Sardanapalus*: hauing besides this King of *Syria* in his way, who seemed to be a great and strong Prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the King of *Israel* for that present time. But his sonne *Teglat* following the purpose of his Father *Belochus*, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the warre begun betwene *Israel* and *Iuda*, *Pekab* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being also wrapt in that warre, and waited in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of *Iuda*, his imprest and entertainment. So first attempting *Damascus*, which lay in his path towards *Israel*, hee carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great ease posselt himselfe of the Cities of *Nephthalim*; leading with him a great part of the people captiue. And his sonne *Salmanassar*, whom *Ptolemie* calleth *Nabonassar*, after the reuolt of *Hofea*, forced *Samaria*: and rent that Kingdome asunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* supplanted; the race and Monarchie of the *Syrian* *Adadi* in *Rezin*: whom *Teglat* slaughtered; the Kingdome of *Israel* in *Hofea*, whom *Salmanassar* ouerturned; happened neere about a time: that of *Ninus* in the dayes of *Belochus*, and the other two in the dayes of *Teglatphalassar*, and *Salmanassar* his sonne. For *Sardanapalus* perished, *Osia* ruling *Iuda*; and the other two Kingdomes were dissolved, *Achaz* yet liuing.

Lastly, the Kingdome of *Iuda* it selfe, being attempted by *Sennacherib*, the sonne of *Salmanassar* in vaine, and preferred for the time by God miraculouly, was length

length vterly ouerturned. *Hierusalem* and the Temple burnt 132. yeeres after the captiuitie of *Israel*, and *Samaria*: the destruction of *Israel* being in the ninth yeere of *Hofea*: that of *Iuda* in the eleuenth of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Assyria* and *Babylon* held also the Kingdome of *Syria*, from the eight yeere of *Salmanassar*, to the last of *Balsassar*, whom *Herodotus* calleth *Labyntus*: in all about 200. yeeres. After these the *Persians* from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their last King, held *Syria* about 200. yeeres.

3603.

3811.

Then *Alexander Macedon* tooke this among other Prouinces of the *Persian* Empire, and his successours the *Seleucide* reigned therein, till it became subiect vnto the power of the *Romanes*, from whom it was wrested long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in possession of the *Turke*, as shall bee shewed in due place. Thus much of the nations bordering vpon the *Israelites*, with whom they had mozt to doe both in warre and peace, being the only people, whose History in those ancient times carried an assured face of truth.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of BENIAMIN, and of Hierusalem.

§. I.

Of diuers memorable places in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, whereof *Hiericho*, *Gilgal*, *Mistpa*, *Bethel*, *Rama*, *Gobah* and *Gilba*.



OF the Tribe of *Beniamin*, the twelfth and yongest sonne of *Iacob*, whom hee had by *Rachel*, there were mustred at Mount *Sinai* 35000. able bodies: all which perishing in the Desarts, there entred the holy Land of their Issues 45600. fit to beare Armes: and these had their Territory on this side *Jordan*, betwene *Iuda* and *Ephraim*: The Cities within this Tribe neerest *Jordan*, are *Lod*, *Hadid*, and *Omo*: of which *Lod* and *Omo* were built by *Shemida Beniamite*: they were all three reinhabited with *Beniamites*, after the returne out of Captiuitie, as is mentioned, *Nehem.*

11. 35. and *Esd.* 2. 35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Omo*, makes besides *Hadid* in *Nehemia*, a Citie called *Lodhadid*: This *Hadid* or *Chadid* was rebuilt by *Simon* *Macc.* 12. 38. *Machabees*.

Samarim or *Tsemarim*, named of *Tsemari*, one of the sonnes of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities; and further into the Land standeth *Tericho*, one of the *Toparchies*, and the last of *Iudas* seated in a most fruitfull valley, adorned with many palme trees: and therefore elsewhere called the citie of *Palmes*. From the time of *Iosv* *h.* who vterly destroyed it, it lay waste vntill the time of *Achab*: in whose dayes *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it, in the losse of *Abiram* his eldest sonne, and built the gates of it in the losse of his youngest sonne *Segub*: according to the curse of *Iosv* *a.* in which and other respects, *Hof.* 12. 14. calleth *Iosv* *a.* a Prophet. In after-times it was destroyed by *Vespasian*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*.

To the Southeast of *Tericho* stood *Halmon* of the *Leuites*, of which *Iof.* 21. 18. To the South *Betharaba*, of which *Iof.* 15. *and* c. 18. Then that *Gilgal* of which there is so

1 Reg. 17. 36.

Iof. 6. 29.

1 Chron. 8. 60.

This Halmon is

called Halo-

mith, whence

they make a

new Citie Al-

moth, as if this

Tribe had gi-

uen five Cities

to the Leuites,

so much mention in the Scripture, where *Iofua* first ate of the fruits of the land, circumcised all those borne in the *Desarts*, and celebrated the *Passeover*.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the *Etymology* of this name (for it seems by the place; *Deut. 11. 30.* that the name was known before the coming of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*) is noted *Iof. 5. 9.* *Ob duo intonem prohi* *Egyptiaci*, because their fore-skins (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled downe the Hill: which from thence was called *Collis preputiorum*. This *Gilgal* was also called *Geliloth*, as appears by comparing the places, *Iof. 15. 7.* and *18. 17.* for it was in the borders of *Jordan*, of which *Iof. 22. 13.* and *Geliloth* signifieth borders. * It stood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, over against the two Hills *Garizim* and *Hebal*: vpon one of which the blessings, and on the other the curfings were to be read to the people, both being the mountaines of *Ephraim*. Further, for the situation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitpa* of *Beniamin* (of which also we read oft in the Scripture) were seated about the midle of the length of the land of *Canaan*: for which reason * *Samuel* chose these two places, to either of which hee came yearly to giue iudgement to the *Israelites*; of which two, *Gilgal* (as is said) was neerer *Jordan* on the East side of this Tribe; and *Mitpa* neerer the West Sea, towards the land of the *Philistims*.

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also *Samuel* vsed yearly to come, is * *Bethel*: which also was seated in this Tribe of *Beniamin*. But to returne to *Gilgal*: which was the first place, where the *Arke* resided, and whither *Jordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-bearim*, &c. at length to *Hierusalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Iofua* pitched vp the twelve stones, which were taken out of the channell of *Jordan*, when it was drie, that the *Israelites* might passe over it: by which Story, as it is set downe *Iof. 4.* it appears, that the same day that they passed ouer *Jordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the same *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitpa*, whither also *Samuel* came yearly to giue iudgement, there also were often the greatest meetings held: as that for the reuenge of the *Leuites* wife against *Gibba*, and the *Beniamites*, *Iud. 20. 1.* and another against the *Philistims*, *1. Sam. 7. 12.* Thither also *Iudas Maccabaeus* gathered the *Lewes*, (when *Hierusalem* was possit by the *Heathen*) as it is *1. Macc. 3. 47.* in which place this reason of their meeting is added; *Quia locus Orationis fuerat Mitpa antea Israelit.* Touching this *Mitpa*, to auoid confusion, it is to be remembered, that the Scriptures mentioned four places of this name: *Mitpa* of *Iuda*, of which *Iof. 15. 38.* * *Mitpa* of *Gilead*, of which we haue spoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*: *Mitpa* of the *Moabites*, where *Dauid* for a while held himselfe, commending his parents to the King of *Moab*, *1. Sam. 22. 3.* and lastly, this chiefe *Mitpa* of the *Beniamites*. And as in this place the chiefe meetings were held both before *Hierusalem* was recovered from the *Iebusites*, and also in the time of the *Maachabees* (as we haue said) when *Hierusalem* was held by the wicked vnder *Antiochus*, so also in the time of *Hieremie*, after the destruction of the Temple by the *Chaldees*, *Gedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonosor* left in *Ierury*, as Governor ouer those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: vntill (to the great hurt of the *Lewes*) he was slaine by the treason of *Ismael*, one of the royall blood of *Iuda*, as it is *Hierem. 41.*

Neere vnto this *Mitpa*, the * Scripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, after called *Aber-Hazer*, that is, the *Storie* of hope: where *Samuel* pitched vp the pillar or Stone, for a *Trophy* against the *Philistims*.

Touching *Bethel* which (as it seems) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chiefe meetings for the ministring of Iustice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the issue of *Ioseph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Beniamin*, as it is *1. Chron. 11. 31.* and *Iof. 18. 22.*) and how another Citie called *Luz* * neere adioyning to it, was built by the man of the Citie which shewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is *Iud. 1.* and of the occasion of the name from *Jacobs* vision: and how

Ierobom

Ierobom, by erecting one of his calves heere, of *Bethel* (which signifieth the house of God) made it * *Beth-amen*, that is, the house of Vanitie, *Hos. 4. 15.* and *10. 5.* as also other memorable things of this place, they are so well known, out of the Histories of the Scripture, that we may well passe them ouer.

The territory of *Bethel*, which at the first belonged to the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes, from the time of the great victorie of *Abia* against *Ierobom* (of which *2. Chr. 13.*) was taken from them, and adioyned to the Kingdome of *Iuda*: and so continued, as appears by the *Storie* of *Iofhua*: which performed the Prophecies against the altar of *Bethel*, *2. Reg. 23.* whence those coales *1. Macc. 11. 34.* are called *Aphel rema*, which Greeke word signifieth as much as, *As thing taken away*, to wit, from the tenne Tribes. It was one of the three *Seignories* or *Prefectures* which *Demetrius* in his Epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Dition* of the *Lewes*, out of the *Samaritan* Country. A part of it, as appears *2. Chron. 13. 19.* was *Ephraim*, which *Iof. 18. 23.* is called *Ephraim*, belonging to this Tribe of *Beniamin*.

Not farre from this *Bethel*, in this Tribe, we finde three other Cities often mentioned in the Scriptures, *Rama*, *Gibba*, and *Gelah*. Of the name *Rama*, * it is noted already, in the description of *Ephraim*, that there were many townes so called, because of their high situation. But whereas they finde out *Rama* in the Tribe of *Iuda* (as it seems because *Mat. 2.* it appears that it bordered *Bethlelem*) and also out of *Brochard* and *Brudenbach* make *Silo* to haue bene called *Rama*, and finde yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; these three haue no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama* in the Tribe of *Asser*, as it seems, we haue testimony *Iof. 19. 29.* and of another in *Nephthalim*, *Iof. 19. 36.* of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in Mount *Ephraim* *1. Sam. 25. 11.* which more often is called * *Ramatha*, and *1. Sam. 1. 1.* *Ramathaim Tophim*: for which the *Septuagint* haue *Aramathaim-tophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they thinke *Ioseph* of *Aramathaim* *Mat. 2. 27.* was denominated.

Of a fourth *Rama* we read *2. Reg. 8. 29.* which is *Ramath in Gilead*. The first, which is most often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Beniamin*, seated as we said, neere *Bethel* the uttermost South-border of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes: for which cause *Basbas* in the time of *Afa* King of *Iuda*, fortified it, to hinder those that did flic from him to *Afa*. Of this *Rama* or *Ramatha* I should rather thinke *Ioseph* was, that buried *Cherif*: because it was neerer to *Hierusalem*, and after the captiuitie belonged to *Iudas*, as it appears *Esd. 2. 26.* where in that it is ioyned with *Gelah*, it is plaine that he speakech of that *Rama* with whole stones (after *Basbas* had ceased to build it) *Afa* (as it is *1. Reg. 25. 22.*) built *Gelah* adioyning to it: both being in *Beniamin*. And as *Rama* was the South-border of the tenne Tribes, so was *Gelah* the North-border of the Kingdome of *Iuda*: whence *2. Reg. 23. 8.* we read that *Iofab* through all his Kingdome, euen from *Gelah*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-sheba* which was the South-border, destroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third Citie *Gibba* which was the Citie of *Saul* (the wickednesse of which Citie in the time of the *Iudges* had almost vtterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichimius* confounds with *Gelah*, making one of two (as they are evidently distinguishing *1. Chr. 10. 27.* of which word * *Gibba*, in another forme *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gabaath* another Citie in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinitie of this citie also to *Rama* of *Beniamin*, appears *Iud. 19. 13.* where the *Leuite* with his wife notable to reach to *Rama*, tooke vp his lodging at *Gibba*. By that place of *1. Sa. 22. 6.* it seems that there was in this *Gibba* some towne or Citie called *Rama*, where *Iamius* redress in *exceles*, for in *Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings place in this citie, was *Rama*: as it is some that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chiefe place where *Samuel* with the *Colledge* of *Prophets* abode, was *Naiath*. The great Citie of *Hai* ouerthrowne by *Iofab*, which *Iof. 7. 2.* is placed neere *Beth-amen* vpon the East of *Bethel*, was in this Tribe, as is proued *Nehe. 7. 10. 30.* though it be not named by *Iofab. 18.* for it was burned by him and laid desolate, as it is *Iof. 8. 28.* *In solitudine in tumultum perperamus*; Another

N n

Citie

* *Deut. 11. 30.*
* *1. Sam. 7. 12.*
* *Iamius* in this place, for *Bethel* reads *Dum Dei fortis*, and interprets it *Kiriath-bearim* where the *Arke* abode. For (faith he) by the Law, *Exod. 23. 17.* the greatest meetings in their annual feasts were to be, where the *Arke* was, but this place doth not speake of (festi- uall, but of iudicial meetings) and be- sides the Priests did vsue to bring the *Arke* to their great meetings: whereto- ever they were, as appears *1. Sam. 12. 11. 16.* *1. 14. 2. 8.* nei- ther is it easie to expound *Bethel* otherwise then for the Citie *Bethel*: though *Iamius* also saie it for the place where the *Arke* was, *1. Sam. 10. 3.*
* It is no o- ther than this *Mitpa* of *Gilead*, of which *Iof. 21. 8.* as ap- pears by that which is added *Profusurion*, for *Iofua* notes the three quar- ters North, West, and East, to which hee followed the *Canaanites*, though *Adrichimius* & others out of this place imagine a *Mitpa* or *Mitpa* (as they write it) in the Tribe of *Asser*.
* *1. Sam. 7. 12.* *Iof. 18. 21.*

* Borrowing the name of a neighbour towne in the confines of the Kingdome of *Iuda* and *Issachar* betweene *Hai* and *Bethel*, *Iof. 7. 2.* and *18. 2.* *1. Macc. 11. 34.*
* Of this *Rama* I haue plac- ed the place *1. Macc. 11. 34.* where it is na- med for one of the three *Prefectures* which *Demetrius* yeelds to the Lewes out of the Country of *Samaria*, this lying toward the East to *Te- tidis*: and *Iud. 19.* toward the West: and *Aphrama* of which euen now we speake) lying in the midle between the two other. A first *Rama* it seems there was in the Tribe of *Simeon* toward the South, which *Iof. 19. 8.* is cal- led *Rama* of the South, and otherwise *Bathath-deer*. * *Gibba* in con- struction, that is, Governering a gentile citie is *Gibbath*. Whence the *Septuagint* out of the *Septuagint* made *Iof. 24. 33* *Gibbath Ph- 10.* which *Iamius* hath cal- led *Phincafi* (for this word is oftentimes an Ap- pellative signi- fying a Hill) but *Adrichimius* taking notice of this, builds his Citie *Gabaath* vpon this Text & placeth it in *Beniamin*, when as the words adioyn- ed, note that this Hill was in the Mount- ains of *Ephraim*.

* The word *Nethinim* or *Nethinies*, is as much as *dut* (as were a *Dut* dut) for as *Inim* expounds it *dut*, it is vied, *1. Chr. 9. 2.* and in *Esdra* and *Nehemiah* often.

Citie of chiefe note reckoned *Iof. 18. 25.* in this Tribe was *Gibhon*, the chiefe Citie of the *Heuites*: whose cunning to bind the *Israelites* by oath to saue their liues, is set downe *Iof. 9.* whence they were reckoned among the * *Nethinai* or *Profetites*: and were bound to certaine publique seruices in the house of God: which oath of faining the *Gibeonites* broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God punished by a famine *2. Sam. 21. 1.* This *Gibon* or *Gibhon* with *Almon* and *Iebah* (of both which we haue spoken) and with *Hanoth* the natall place of *Hieremie* the Prophet, were said *Iof. 21. 18.* to be given to the *Leuites* by the *Beniamites*. Neere to this *Hanoth* was *Nob*, as appears *1. Reg. 2. 26.* where *Eliab* the Priest, which was of *Nob* before it was destroyed by *Saul*, is sent to his grounds at *Hanoth*: It is reckoned in the Tribe of the *Beniamin*, *Nehem. 9. 31.* and though in the time of *Saul* the residing place of the *Arke* was at *Kirish-barim*: yet by the lamentable tragedie of bloudshed, which *Saul* raised in this place (as it is set downe *1. Sam. 21. and 22.*) in the iudgement of *Iehoue*, it is proued that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

Almon is also in this Tribe *Nehem. 9. 31.* was a place of fame, of which *Esa. 10. 28.* where also he nameth *Galim*, and *Magrim* in this Tribe. In *Almon* *Saul* had his Campe *1. Sam. 13. 2.* (when he left *Gibha* to *Ionathan*) and there also was *Ionathas Macchabeus* his abode *1. Mac. 9. 73.* Of *Gisala* in *Galilee* *Iosephus* makes often mention, but of any here in *Beniamin*, which they make the natall place of *S. Paul*, whence (they say) when it was taken by the *Romans*, hee failed with his parents to *12 Ioharfa*, of this I finde no good warrant. Other places of lesse importance I omit, and come to the Citie of *Hierusalem*, and the Princes and Gouvernours of this Citie: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, whence *Iof. 18. 28.* it is named among the Cities of *Beniamin*.

§. II.

Of diuers memorable things concerning Hierusalem.

* See in the higher halfe of *Almon*.



At what time *Hierusalem* was built (which after ward became the Princesse of all Cities) it doth not appeare. Some there are who imagine that *Melchisedec* was the founder thereof in *Abrahams* time. But* according to others, that Citie out of which *Melchisedec* encountered *Abraham* (in his returne from the overthrow of the *Affirian* and *Persean* Kings or Captaines, when *Lot* was made prisoner) standeth by the riuer of *Iordan*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* bordering *Zabulon*, which was also called *Salem*, and by the *Greekes* *Solima*.

2. Sam. 5. v. 6.

Hierusalem (whensoever or by whomsoever built) was a principall Citie in *Iesus* his time: yet not so renowned as *Hazor* or the *Metropolis* (in those dayes and before) of all the *Canaanites*. *Adonisedeck* (whom *Iesus* slew) was then King of *Hierusalem*. That it was belonging to the *Iebusites* it is manifest: for how long soever they held it before *Moses* time, they were Masters and Lords thereof almost 400. yeeres after him: euen till *Dauid* wanne it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Iebusites* him: euen till *Dauid* wanne it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Iebusites* him: (the children of *Iebus* was the sonne of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called *Iebus*. And so much did that Nation relye on the strength of the place, as when *Dauid* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blinde, and impotent people should defend it.

9. aut. App. 12. Strab. geog. 16.

Dauid, after he had by Gods assistance possesed it, and turned out the *Iebusites*, gave it an exceeding great increase of circuit: strengthened it with a Citadell or Callee: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from *Iebusalem*, the Citie of the *Iebusites*, to *Hierusalem*, which the *Greekes* call *Hierosolima*. After *Dauid* time *Salomon* amplified, beautified and strengthened it exceedingly. For besides the worke of the Temple, which was no lesse admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, gates, and walles, could not any where in the world

see

bee exemplad: and besides that it had 150000. inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60. fote of depth, cut out of the very rocke: and 250. fote of breadth: whereof the like hath seldom beene heard of, either since or before.

After the death of *Salomon*, and that the Kingdome of the *Iewes* was cut asunder, *Shishac* King of *Egypt*, and his predecessour, hauing bred vp for that purpose, *Adad the Iamman*, and *Ieroboam*, *Salomons* seruants; and both married to *Egyptians*: the State by the one disturbed, by the other broken: *Sishac* first invaded the Territorie of *Iuda*, entred *Hierusalem*, and lackt it, and became Master not onely of the riches of *Salomon*, but of all those spoiles which *Dauid* had gotten from *Adadazer*, *Tobit*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was againe lackt and a part of the wall throwne downe by *Ioas* King of *Israell*; while *Amasias* the twelfth King thereof gouerned *Iuda*.

Not long after *Achaz* the fiftenth King of *Iuda* impouerished the Temple, and presented *Teglaphtassar* with the treasures thereof. And *Manasse* the sonne of *Ezekiah*, the sonne of *Achaz*, by the vaunts made by *Ezekiah*, to the Embassadors of *Achaz*, lost the remaine, and the very bottom of their treasures. It was againe spoiled by the *Babylonians*, *Iakim* then reigning. But this vngratefull, Idolatrous, and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but persisting in all kinde of impietie, filling the Citie euen to the mouth with innocent blood, God raised vp that great *Babylonian* King *Nabuchodonosor*, as his scourge and reuenger, who making this glorious Citie and Temple with all the Palaces therein, and the walles and towers which embraced them, euen and leuell with the dust, carried away the spoiles with the Princes and people, and crused them with the heauie yoke of bondage and seruitude full 70. yeeres, inasmuch as *Sion* was not onely become as a torne and plowed vp field, *Hierusalem* a heape of stone, and rubble, the mountaine of the Temple as a groue, or wood of thornes and briars, but (as *Hierome* speaketh) Euen the birds of the ayre scorned to flie ouer it, or the beasts to tread on that defiled soile.

Then 70. yeeres being expired, according to the Prophecie of *Daniel*, and the *Iewes* by the grace of *Cyrus* returned: the Temple was againe built, though with interruption and difficultie enough: and the Citie meanelie inhabited, without walls or other defences, for some 60. and odde yeeres, till *Nehemiah* by the fauour of *Artaxerxes* rebuilt them. Then againe was the Temple and Citie spoiled by *Bagozes*, or *Vagozes*, the Lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by * *Ptolomaeus* the first; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and againe by *Apollonius* his Lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though *Craffus* in his *Parthian* expedition tooke as much as hee could of that which *Pompey* spare.

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompened by the industrie or bounty of good Princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberalitie of strangers. Before the captiuitie, the people of the land through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repaire the Temple of *Salomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomaeus* *Lagt* to the second Temple, was requited by the bounty of his sonne *Ptolomaeus* *Philadelphus*. The mischiefe wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great Offerings which were sent to *Hierusalem* out of other Nations. Finally all the losses, which either the Citie or Temple had endured, might well seeme forgotten in the reigne of *Herod* that vsurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous workes did so adorne them, that hee left them farre more stately and glorious than they had beene in the dayes of *Salomon*.

p. III.

Of the destruction of Ierusalem by the Romans.

IN this flourishing estate, it was at the coming of our Saviour Christ Iesus: and after his death and ascension, it so continued about 40. yeeres. But then did Titus the Roman, being stirred vp, by God, to be the reuenger of Christ his death; and to punish the Iewes sinfull ingratitude, incompasse it with the Roman armie, and became Lord thereof. Hee began the siege at such time as the Iewes, from all parts, were come vp to the celebration of the Passouer: so as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts; and no manner of prouision or store for any such multitudes. An extreme famine, with the ciuill dissension, opprest them within the walles; a forcible enemie assailed them without. The Idumeans also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the Iewes Kingdome, thrust themselves into the Citie, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when Nabuchodonosor took it. And to be short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging to the consummation of the victorie, eleuen hundred thousand soules: and the Citie was so beaten downe, and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly beleue that there had beene any such place or habitation. Onely the three Herodian towres (workes most magnificent, and ouertopping the rest) were spared: as well for lodgings for the Roman garrisons, as that thereby their victorie might be the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and State remaining, after ages might iudge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater and more shining that thereouer became victorious.

After this, such Iewes as were scattered here and there in Iudea, and other Prouinces, beganne againe to inhabit some part of the Citie; and by degrees to rebuild it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the Roman State: but after 65. yeeres, when they againe offered to revolt, and rebell, *Adrianus* the Emperour slaughtered many thousands of them, and ouerturned those three Herodian Towres, with all the rest, making it good which Christ himselfe had foretold; That there should not stand one stone vpon another, of that vngratefull Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appeased, and the Prophecie accomplished, he tooke one part without the wall, wherein stood Mount Caluarie, and the Sepulchre of Christ, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, hee againe made it a Citie of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, *Alia Capitolia*. In the gate toward Bethel, he caused a Sowe to be cut in marble, and set in the front thereof, which he did in despite of the Iewes Nation: making an Edict, that they should not from thenceforth euer enter into the Citie, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place ouertopping it.

But the Christian Religion flourishing in *Palestina*, it was inhabited at length, by all 40 Nations, and especially by Christians; and so it continued 500. yeeres.

It was afterward in the 636. yeere after Christ, taken by the Egyptian Saracens, who held it 400. and odd yeeres.

In the yeere 1099. it was regained by Godfrey of Bullion, by assault, with exceeding slaughter of the Saracens, which Godfrey, when hee was elected King thereof, refused to be crowned with a Crowne of gold, because Christ, for whom hee fought, was therein crowned with thornes. After this recovery, it remained vnder the successours of Godfrey 88. yeeres: till in the yeere 1197. it was regained by Saladin of Egypt: and lastly, in the yeere 1517. in the time of Selim, the Turke cast out the Egyptians, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbarce*, or the Holy Citie. Neither was it Ierusalem alone that hath so oftentimes beene beaten downe and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the world haue with their inhabitants, in severall times and ages, suffered the same shipwracke. And it hath bene Gods iust will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to punish the

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impie of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slaughter; but hee hath reuenged himselfe of the very places they possesse: of the walls and buildings, yea of the loyle and the beasts that fedde thereon.

For, euen that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect, lost all her fertilitie, and fruitlesse; witnesse the many hundreds of thousands which it fedde in the dayes of the Kings of Iuda and Israel; it being at this time all ouer, in effect, exceeding stony and barraine. It also pleased God, not onely to consume with fire from heauen the Cities of the Sodomites; but the very soile it selfe hath felt, and doth feele the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beast that belonged to Amalek, no not any small number of them to be sacrificed to himselfe, neither was it enough that Achan himselfe was stoned, but that his moueables were also consumed and brought to ashes.

p. IIII.

Of the vaine and malicious reports of Heathen writers, touching the ancient Iewes.

IF the original of the Iewes, prophane writers haue conceived diuersly and inuiously. *Quintilian* speaks intamously of them; and of their leader; who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them Egyptians. Others affirme that while *Moses* gouerned Egypt, the people were so increased, as *Ierosolymus*, and *Iudaea* ledde thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions; which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moses* was accidentall, because hee was taken vp and saued out of the waters. But *Iulius*, of all other most malicious, doth deriue the Iewes from the Syrian Kings; of whom, *Damasus*, saith hee, was the first: and to him succceeded *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Israel*. He againe supposeth (somewhat contrary to himselfe) that Israel had tenne sonnes, among whom hee diuided the land of Iuda; so called of *Iudas* his eldest, who had the greatest portion. The yongest of the sonnes of Israel hee calleth *Ioseph*: who being brought vp in Egypt, became learned in magical Arts, and in the interpretations of Dreames, and signes prodigious, and this *Ioseph* (saith hee) was father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their foule diseases, and lest they should infect others, were banished Egypt. Further, hee telleth how these men thus banished, when in the Deserts they suffered extreme thirst and famine, and therein found reliefe the seuenth day, for this cause euer after obserued the seuenth day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themselves, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. Hee addeth also that they might not marrie out of their owne Tribes, lest discouering their vnchastitie, they might also be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the Egyptians. These and like fables hath *Iulius*.

Cornelius Tacitus doth as grossly belie them, in affirming, That in the inmost Oratorie of their Temple, they had the golden head of an Asse, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himselfe, hauing in the first booke of his owne Historie truly confessed of the Iewes, that they worshipped one onely God: and thought it most prophane to represent the Deitie by any materiall figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature; and they had therefore in their Temples, no Image or representation, no not so much as in any Citie by them inhabited. Somewhat like 30 to this hath *Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Stephanus*; who also makes *Iudas* with *Idumaea*, the first parents of the Iewes.

Claudius Iolius drawes them from *Iudaea*, whose parents were *Spartan* and *Thebis*; whence it came that the Spartans or Lacedaemonians challenged kindred of the Iephonians in Iudaea: but they did it as descended of *Abraham*, saith *Iosephus*. Some of these re-

ports

ports seeme to haue been gathered out of diuine letters; though wrestled and peruer-
 ted, according to the custome of the Heathen. For so haue they obscured and al-
 tered the Storie of the Creation, of *Paradise*, of the Flood; and giuen new names to
 the children of *Adam* in the first age: to *Noah* and his sonnes, in the second: and so
 to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moses*, and the rest of the fathers, and leaders of the *He-*
brewes: all which fainings, as touching the *Jewes* and their originals, *Iosephus* against
Appion, and *Tertulian* haue sufficiently answered. For that the *Hebrewes* were the
 Children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and so *Chaldeans* originally,
 taking name either of *Heber*, the sonne of *Sale*, or else (saith *Montanus*) of wandering,
 as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the *Greeke Grammarian*, to
 deriue the *Hebrewes* or *Jewes*, from *Abraham*; hauing mistaken the name of *Abra-*
ham, who was the sonne of *Heber*, in the sixth descent. Their ancient names were
 first changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*: for after *Jacob*, otherwise *Isra-*
el, the chiefe part were called *Israel*, another part after *Esau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at
 length the remnant of *Jacob*, being most of the Tribe of *Juda*, honoured the name
 of *Judas*, the sonne of *Jacob*, and became *Judeans* or *Jewes*: as also for a time in the
 name of *Ephraim* the sonne of *Ioseph*, the chiefe of the *Patriarches* of the ten Tribes;
 the rest of the tenne Tribes were comprehended: but were first rooted out when
 the Kingdome of *Israel* fell. The *Judeans* continued their names, though they suf-
 fered the same seruitude not long after, vnder *Nabuchodonosor*.

The gouernement which this Nation vnder-went, was first paternall: which
 continued till they serued the *Egyptians*. They were secondly ruled by their
 Captaines and leaders, *Moses* and *Iosua*, by a policie Diuine. Thirdly, they
 subiected themselves to Iudges. Fourthly, they desired a King, and
 had *Saul* for the first: Of whom and his successours, before
 wee intreate, wee are first to speake of their Gouern-
 ment vnder Iudges, after the death of *Iosua*:
 with somewhat of the things of
 Fame in other Nations about
 these times.

Saccæa

The desert Arabia

Agræi

Sauc or Saba from whence the Sabæans spyed Job

Arabia the stonie

Agubeni



CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the world, from
the death of IOSVA to the Warre of Troy:
which was about the time of

I E P H I A.

§. I.

Of the inter-regnum after IOSVA's death: and of
OTHONIEL.



HEN Iosua was now dead, who with the ad-
vice of the 70. Elders, and the high Priest, held
authoritie ouer the people, and ordered that
Common-weale: It pleased God to direct the
Tribe of Iuda (in whom the Kingdome was
afterward established) to undertake the Warre
against the Canaanites, ouer whom (with Gods
fauour, and the assistance of Simeon) they be-
came victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they
not only slew ten thousand, but made Adoni-
bezek prisoner: the greatest and cruellest Com-
mander, both of the Canaanites and Perizzites.

This tyrants crueltie as else where hath been signified, they returned in the same
kinde vpon his owne head: and so by the torments which hee now felt in his owne
person (before no otherwise knowne vnto him but by his malicious imagination)
made him confesse and acknowledge Gods iust iudgement against himselfe.

The tribes of Iuda and Simeon did also master and possesse during this inter-
regnum (or as some thinke, before the death of Iosua) the Cities of Azotus, Ashdod,
Ekron and Hierusalem, which they burnt, and the Jebusites afterward reedified.
They tooke also the Cities of Hebron, Debir, or Kiriatsepher, and Zephath, after-
wards Horma. And although it bee not set downe in expresse words that any one
person commanded in chiefe ouer the people, as Moses and Iosua did: yet it seemeth
that Caleb was of greatest authoritie among them: and that hee with the aduice of
Phinees directed and ordered their warres. For if any thinke that they proceeded
without a chiefe, the good successe which followed their undertakings witnesseth
the contrarie. And it was Caleb euen while Iosua gouerned, as appeares Ios. 10. 39.
that propounded the attempt of Debir, to the rest of the Captaines: for the per-
formance of which enterprise, he promised his Daughter Achisb: which hee performed
to Othoniel his younger brother after the conquest: whose behaviour in that service
was such, as (next vnto the ordinance of God) it gaue him the greatest reputation
among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election
for their first Iudge soone after. But while those of Iuda made warre with their bor-
ders, from whom they onely recovered the mountainous Countries (for they
could not driue out the inhabitants of the Vallies, because they had Chariots of Iron)
The rest of the Tribes sought also to enlarge and establish their owne Territories:
in which warre they laboured with variable successe: for as the house of Joseph re-
covered Bethel, or Luz, from the Hittites, so did the Amorites recover from Dan all
the plaine Countries, and forkt them to saue themselves in the Mountaines. And
now

Ind. 239.

Ind. 1. 25.

Ind. 3. 37.

Jud. 3. 10.

2608.

2648.

Jud. 17. & 18.
Ch. 19.

now the *Israelites* vnmindfull of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculously a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious ouer their enemies (the *El* ders being also consumed, who better aduiled them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not on-ly ioyne themselves in marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was more detestable) they serued the Idols of *Baal*, and *Astereth*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the Lord God whom they had prouoked with their *Idolatrie*, deliuer them into the handes of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*: whom *Chusban Rishathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight yeeres, it pleased him to haue compassion on his people, and to raise vp *Othniel* to bee their Iudge and Leader: who by Gods assited, deliuered his brethren from oppression: and infort the *Aramites* to returne into their owne *Deserts*, and into *Mesopotamia* adioyning, after which the *Israelites* had peace fourtie yeeres, during all the time of *Othniels* go-vernment. This *Othniel* is thought by *Talsatus* to haue been the younger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the booke of *Judges* he is twice called *Othniel* the Sonne of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother. Others doe rather interpret those wordes (*Caleb* younger brother) as if they signified the meane of his kined. Indeed it is not like-ly, that *Calebs* Daughter should marrie with her owne Vncle; yet it followes not therefore that *Othniel* should haue bene the meane of the kined. Wherefore we may better thinke that he was the Nephew of *Caleb*, (as some learned men ex- pound it) and as the very wordes of Scripture seeme to enforce. For *Caleb* was the sonne of *Iephunneh*, and *Othniel* the sonne of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his younger brothers sonne; to whom it was not on-ly lawfull, but commendable to marrie with his Cousin German *Calebs* daughter.

How long it was from the death of *Ioshua* to the government of *Othniel*, it is not to be found: but it seemes to haue been no short time. For many Warres were made in that space against the people of the Land. *Isaiah* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the best writers are of opinion, that betwene the times of *Ioshua* and *Othniel* that ciuill warre brake out betwene the *Beniamites* and the rest of *Israel*, for the forcing to death of the *Leuites* wife. For it is written that in those dayes there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his owne eyes. And as *Iuda* led the people against the *Canaanites* during the *Inter-regnum*, so was hee commanded to doe against *Beniamin*, euen by the Lord God, whose direction they craued, as wanting a Iudge to appoint what should bee done, which sheweth it to haue been when *Ioshua* was dead, and before the government of *Othniel*, especially considering, that all other times wherein they wanted Gover-nours, were spent vnder such oppression of strangers, as would haue giuen them no leaue to haue attended such a ciuill Warre, if their power had been as great, as it was in the menaging of this action, wherein they so weakened the body of their state, by effusion of blood, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

§. II.

Of the memorable things of this Age in other Nations: and of the difficultie in the computation of times.



Here liued in this Age of *Othniel*, *Pandion* or *Pandareus*; according to *Homer*, the first King of *Athens*: who beganne to rule in the twentieth yeere of *Othniel*, and governed fortie yeeres. Hee was Father to *Erichon* theus: his Daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly men-tioned in fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whose Daughter *Semele* was borne *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater*: vnder whome *Linus* the *Musician* liued. In his time

time also the Cities of *Meius*, *Paphus*, and *Thorus*, were built.

Ida and *Dactylus* flourished in this age, who are said to haue found out the vse of iron: but *Genesis* hath taught vs the contrary, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunningly both in iron and brasie. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zeubus* governed *Thebes*: whom diuers *Chronologers* finde in *Ebnus* time. But *S. Augu- stine* making a repetition of those fables, which were deuised among the *Gracians* of whole Nations, during the government of the Iudges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whose parentage there is a little agreement. Vnes vpon the thirteenth Chapter of *S. Augu- stine de Cinitate Dei*, and the eighteenth booke, hath gathered all the opi- nions of this mans progenie, where he that desires his pedigree may finde it. *La- stantius* and *Euclerus* make him native of *Attica*: and the sonne of *Elenus* King of *Eleusina*: which *Elenus* by carefull industrie had fed the people of that Citie in the time of a great famine. This, when vpon the like occasion *Triptolemus* could not performe, fearing the furie of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kinde of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prowe a grauen or carued Serpent; who because he made exceeding great speed to returne and to relieue his people with Corn, from some neighbour Nation: it was tained by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the ayre.

Whether the times of these Kings which liued together with *Othniel*, and after him with the rest of the Iudges and Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, be precisely set downe, I cannot auow; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars, to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I desire to be excused, if in these comparisons I erre with others of bet- ter iudgement. For whether *Euclerus* and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselves so conuerfant with these ancient Kings, and with the very yeere when they beganne to rule) haue hit the marke of time of all other the farthest off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors them- selves, from whom the ancientest *Chronologers* haue borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their owne workes, but coniecture. Secondly, because their owne disagreement and contention in those elder dayes, with that of our owne age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any mans vnderstanding, saue his owne, but that he is greatly distracted, after what patterne to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not only in the reignes of Heathen Kings and Prin- ces; but euen in computation of those times which the indisputable authoritie of holy Scripture hath summed vp, as in that of *Abrahams* birth; and after in the times of the Iudges and the oppressions of *Israel*, in the times from the egression to the building of *Solomons* Temple, in the *Persian* Empire, the fuentie Weekes, and in what? Wherefoeuer the account of times may suffer examination, the arguments are opposite, and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men haue fought by so many wayes to vncouer the Sunne, that the dayes thereby are made more darke, and the clouds more condense than before: I can therefore giue no other warrant, than other men haue done in these computations: and therefore that such and such Kings and Kingdomes tooke beginning in this or that yeere, I auow it no otherwise than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a private opinion: which I submit to better iudgements. Nam in pricis rebus veritas non ad vnguem quærenda; In ancient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth, sayes *Diodore*.

ϕ. III.

*Of EHYVS time, and of PROSERPINA, ORITHYA, TEREVS,
TANTALVS, TITYVS, ADMETVS, and others that
liued about thofe times.*

After the death of *Othniel*, when *Israel* fell backe to their former Idolatry, God incouraged *Moab* to invade and supresse them: to performe which he ioyned the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* vnto his owne, and so (as all kinde of miserie readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawne his helpe from, thereby to make them feele the difference betweene his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations had an easie conquest ouer *Israel*: whom God himselfe exposed to those perils: within which they were so speedily folded vp. In this miserable estate they continued full eightenee yeeres vnder *Eglon* King of the *Moabites*, and his confederates. Yet as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his hatred from their crying repentance: but raised vp *Ehud* the sonne of *Gera* to deliuer them: by which weak man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the iustice of his quarrell, and fearing that the *Israelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, heeresolued to attempt vpon the person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguish, he assured himselfe of the following victorie: especially giuing his Nation no time to reestablish their government, or to chooseth a King to command, and direct them in the Warres. According to which resolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embaſſadour to *Eglon*, loaden with presents from the *Israelites*, as to appease him, and obtaining priuate access vpon the pretence of some secret to be reuealed, he pierst his body with a Poniard, made of purpose with a double edge: and shutting the doores of his closet vpon him, escaped,

It may seem that being confident of his good success, hee had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readinesse. For suddenly after his returne, he did repaile *Jordan*, and invading the Territorie of *Moad*, overthrew their Armie consisting of 10000³⁰ able and strong men: whereof not any one escaped. After which victory, and that *Sangar* his Successour had miraculously slaine 600. *Philistims* with an Oxe goade: the Land and People of *Israel* lived in peace vnto the end of fourecore yeeres from the death of *Orhanli*, which terme expired in the Worlds yeere 2601.

In the dayes of *Ehud*, *Naomi* with *Elimelech* her husband, and with her two sonnes, trauiailed into *Mobab*, and so the storie of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourscore yeeres which are giuen to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcau* King of the *Melosiasts*: otherwile *Pluto*, false *Proserpina*, as shee walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hyppionius* in *Stellia*: or (according to *Pausanias*) by the Riuer *Cephissus*, which elswhere he calleth *Chemer*; if he meant not two distinct Riuers. T his health being made knownte *Pyrrhus*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* ioynd themselves, they agreed together to recouer her: but *Pluto* or *Orcau* (whom others call *Adonius*) had (as they say) a very huge Dogge, which fastened on *Pyrrhus*, and tare him in pieces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily rescued him: and by strength tooke and mastered the Dogge *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his deliuering of *Theseus* out of Hell. But *Zeus*, as I take it, hath written this storie somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrrhus*, saith he, attempted to steale *Proserpina* Daughter to *Adonius*, King of the *Melosiasts*, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proserpina*. *Proserpina* being a generall name also for all faire women. This purpose of theirs being knownte to *Adonius*, *Theseus* and *Pyrrhus* were both taken; and because *Pyrrhus* was the principall in this conspiracie, and *Theseus* drawne on by a kinde of affection or enforcement, the one was giuen for foode to *Adonius* his great Dog *Cerberus*, the other held prisoner, till *Hercules* by the insligation of *Euristheus* deliuered him by strong hand. The *Melosiasts* which

which *Stephanus* writes with a single (*S*) were a people of *Epirus* inhabiting neere the Mountaines of *Pindus*: of which Mountaines *Oeta* is one of the most famous, where *Hermes* burnt himselfe. The River of *Acheron* (which the *Poets* describe to be in Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is another Nation of the *Molops* in *Thessali*: but these are neighbours to the *Caſſopaei*, saith *Plutarch* in his Greeke questions.

fitions.
 The rape of *Oribys* the Daughter of *Erichon*, King of *Athens*, taken away by
Boreas of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Eubolus*. The Poets ascribe this rape to the
 North winde, because *Thrace* is situate North from *Athens*. In his time also *Tereus*
 10 to ransomed *Philomela*, of which the fable was devised of her conversion into a Nightingale.
 For *Tereus* having married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens*
 to see her sister, forth her in the passage, and withall cut out her tongue, that shee
 might not complaine; perfwading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the
 mid-way: all which her brother in law's mercilesse behaviour towards her, *Philomela*
 exprest by her neede upon cloth, and sent it *Progne*. In reuenge whereof *Progne*
 caused her onely sonne *Irys* to be cut in pieces, and yet before *Tereus* her husband, so
 dreft as it appeared to be some other ordinary foode: of which when he had eaten
 his fill, shee caused his head, hands, and feete, to be presented vnto him: and then
 fled away with speede towards *Athens* where her Father *Pandion* yet liued, and
 20 the Poets faigned, that shee was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was
 performed, *Strabo* findes to be *Daulis* in *Phocis*: and the Tomb of *Tereus*, *Pausanias* L. 9.
 hath built nere the Rocks *Mergi*, in the Territory of *Athens*. By which, as also by
Pan. in Att.
 the name *Daulis*, where these things are supposed to have beene done (whence also
Philomela is called *Daulias ales*) it appeares that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by Time 12.
 way of digression in his *Peloponnesian* Warre, That this *Tereus* was not King in that
 which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryse*, (as the Poets call him *Odryseus*) but that
 30 *Phocis* a Countie in Greece not farre from *Asticia* a Citie whereof is called *Daulis*, was
 in *Pandions* time inhabited by *Thracians*: of which this *Tereus* was King: whence
Pandion to haue amitie with his neighbours, made him his sonne in law: as it is good
 to beleue, faith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens* made that alliance with
 a neighbour King, from whom hee might haue succour, rather than with any *Tereus*,
 that should haue held the Kingdome of *Odryse*, which was greatly distant from
 thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into,
 may seeme to haue beene partly because, as *Pausanias* sayes; *Daulide nec mirificanti, nec*
hospitum in tota circum regione Hircundines; As if a Swallow, remembering the wrong
 that was there done to her, and to her sister, did for euer eate that place.

Nere this time *Melampus* (who is said to have vnderstood the voyces of Birds and Beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. Hee reformed their former health the Daughters of *Pereus* King of the *Argives*, who (as the
40 Poets please) were made mad by *Iuno*: and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to be constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries, where the ground was light, they did vs. often to plough with Kine.

In the 47. yeere of *Ebud*, *Tros* began to raigne in *Dardania*, and gaue it his owne name; about which time *Pheomone* the chiefe Priest of *Apollo* in *Delfos*, deuiled the

Of the fame date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*: whom *Euſebius* makes King of *Pergis*; and alſo of that part of which the people were anciently *Meſones*. Of *Tantalus* was deuifed the fable that ſome Poets haue applied to the paſſion of loue: and ſome to the couetouſ that dare not inioy his riches. *Euſebius* calls this *Tantalus* the ſonne of *Iupiter*, by the *Nymph Pleſta*: *Diogenes* and *Didymus* in *Zetes*, giue him another Mother. He was ſaid to be the ſonne of *Iupiter*: as ſome will haue it; becauſe he had that Planet in his aſcendent, betokening wiſedome and riches. It is ſaid that when he made a feaſt to the Gods, hauing nothing more precious: he cauſed his own Sonne to be ſlaine and dreſt for the banquet: of whom *Ceres* ate part of one of the ſhoulders;

L. 9.
Pan. in Alt.

Thuc 1.2.

Ранс. l. i.
Homer, Odiss. II

Ранг

Ensch. præp. E-
hang. 1. 2. Zetzi
1- biß. 10. Chil. 5.

shoulders: whereby was signified that those men which seeke after Diuine knowledge, preferre nothing on earth before it: no nor the care of their owne children, of all else the most deare. And where it was deuised, that hee had alwayes Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacie of the world, yet his minde being otherwife and to higher desires transported, he enioyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom *Ouid*:

Quarit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat
TANTALVS, hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.

Here TANTALVS in water seekes for water, and doth misse
The fleeting fruit hee catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted vpon him, for that hee discouered the secrets of the Gods: that is, because he taught wisdom and vertue to mortall men: which storie *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly exprest in Verse. Others expound this fable otherwife and say, That *Tantalus*, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirstie of more abundance, was neuer satisfied. Of whom *Horace* against couetousnesse:

TANTALVS à labijs sitiens fugientia captat
Flumina quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirsting TANTALVS doth catch at streames that from him flee.
Why laughest thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceiue where it is fained of *Tantalus*, that he gaue the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* of the Gods to vaine and vnworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that sort punished. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*:

Immortalitatem quid furatus,
Coëtanjs conuinit
Nectar Ambrosiamq; dedit.

Because that stealing immortalitye,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* giue
To guests of his owne age to make them liue.

Whereby it was meant, that the secrets of Diuinitie ought not to be imparted to the vnpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneſt meates in a foule stomake, are therein corrupted, so the most high and reſerued myſteries are often peruerſed by an vncleane and deſiled minde.

Mark. 4. 11. *Totum itis quoniam (saith Christ in MARKE) to know the myſterie of the Kingdome of God, but vnto them that are without, all things bee done in parables.* So is it ſaid of him, that he expounded all things to his Diſciples apart. And therefore doth *Gregory Nazianzen* inferre vpon a place of S. PAVL: *Quod si PAVLO licuisset effari ea, quorum ipsi agnitionem celum tertium & usque ad illud progressio suppeditauit, fortasse de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius constaret.* If PAVL might haue vttered the things, the knowledge whereof the third heauene, and his going thither did bring vnto him, peradventure we might know somewhat more of God.

Mark. 4. 34.
Greg. in Ora. de
reſta ratione diſ-
de Deo.
2. Cor. 12.

Pythagoras, saith *Reuclin*, thought it not the part of a wife man, *Admo lyram experire, aut myſteria, quae ita reciperet, ut Sui tubam, & ſidem graculis, & vnguenta Scarpae*:

hem: quare silentium indixit discipulis, ne vulgo diuinorum arcana pateſcerent, quae mendaculo facilius, quam loquendo apprehenduntur; To ſet an Aſſe to a harpe, or to learne myſteries: which he would handle as a Swine doth a trumpet, or a Iay a viall, or Scarabies and vncleane flies ſoueraigne oiniment. Wherefore he commanded ſilence to his diſciples, that they ſhould not diſcloſe diuine myſteries to the common ſort, which are eaſie learnt by meditation than by babbling. And therefore did the *Egyptians* communicate their myſteries among their Priests in certaine hieroglyphick letters, to the end that their ſecrets might bee hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might beſtow the more time in the contemplation of their couered meanings.

But to proceede with the contemporaries of *Ao*, or *Ehnd*, with him it is alſo ſaid, that *Tityus* liued whom *Apollo* ſlew, becauſe he fought to force his Mother *Ladona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tityus* was the Sonne of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloued of *Iupiter*, to auoid *hans* reuenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where ſhee was deliuered of *Tityus*: whole Mother dying, and himſelfe therein nourished, he was therefore called the ſonne of the earth. *Pausanias* ſpeaking of the graue of this *Gyan*, affirms that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tribullus* hath a louder lie of his ſtature out of *Homers*.

Porcelluſq; nouem TITYVS per iugera terra,
Aſſiduis atro viſcere paſcit aues.

Hom. Od. 11.

Nine furlongs ſtretcht lies TITYVS, who for his wicked deeds,
The hungrie birds with his renewing liuer daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; that *Apollo* killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a Citie in *Phocis*, it was fained by the Poets to the terrour of others, that he was ſtill eaten in Hell by birds, and yet ſtill liued; and had his fleſh renewed.

Admetus King of *Theſſalie* liued alſo in this Age, whom it is ſaid that *Apollo* firſt ſerued as a Herd-man, and afterward for his excellent wit was by him advanced; but hauing ſlaine *Hyacinthus*, he croſt the *Helleſpont*, and ſled into *Phrygia*: where together with *Neptune*, hee was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in bricke, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricks leape into their places by playing on his Harpe: according to him in *Ouid*, which ſaith:

Iliou ſpicias, firmataq; turribus altis
Mantia, APOLLINEAE ſtructa canore lyra.

Strong Iliou thou ſhalt ſee with walls and towers high
Built with the harpe of wife APOLLO's Harmonie.

Thus the Poets: but others, that hee laboured with his hands, as hired in this worke. And that he alſo laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megarians* witneſſe, ſaith *Pausanias*.

In theſe daies alſo of *Ehnd*, or (as ſome finde it) in the daies of *Deborah*, liued *Perſus*, the ſonne of *Iupiter* and *Danae*, by whole Souldiers (as they failed out of *Peloponneſus*, to ſeek their aduenture on *Africa* ſide) *Meduſa*, the Daughter and Succellor of *Phorcus*, being weakly accompanied as ſhee hunted, neare the Lake *Triton*, was ſurpriſed and ſlaine: whole beautie, when *Perſus* beheld, he cauſed her head to be embalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beautie whereof was ſuch and ſo much admired, and the beholders ſo aſtoniſhed which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Meduſa's* head, were turned into ſtones.

Pausanias

Triton's Lake of Africa, which Phoebe calleth Pallanar.
Diuim. in peregr. liſt.

Cecrops, the second of that name and 7. King of *Athen*, and *Acrisius* the 13. or 14. King of the *Argives*, began also their reigns, as it is said, in the time of this Iudge: of which the first ruled 40. yeares, and the second 31 yeares. Also *Bellerophon* lived in this age, being the sonne of *Glaucus*, the sonne of *Sisyphus*: who inticed by *Antea* or *Stenobolia*, the wife of *Pratus* of the *Argives*, to accompany her, but refusing it, shee accused him to her husband that he offered to force her: whereupon *Pratus* sent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about some affaires of weight, between him and his Sonne in law *Iobates*: giuing secret order to *Iobates* to dispatch him: but *Iobates* thinking it dishonorable to lay violent hands on him, imployed him against *Chimæra*, a Monster, vomiting or breathing fire. Now the Gods (as the report is) pitying his innocencie, sent him the winged Horse *Pegasus*, spring vp of the blood of *Medusa*, formerly slaine by the Souldiers of *Persus* in *Asitia*: to transport him, a horse that none other could master or bridle but *Minerva*: vpon which beaſt *Bellerophon* ouer-came *Chimæra*: and performed the other seruices giuen him in charge: which done, as he returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambush to haue slaine him: but being victorious also ouer all those, he arrived to *Iobates* in safetie: whom *Iobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdom: after which he grew so insolent, as he attempted to flie vp to heauen vpon his *Pegasus*: whose pride *Iupiter* disdainig, caused one of his flaming flies so to vex *Pegasus*, as he cast off *Bellerophon* from his back, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blinde: of which burthen *Pegasus* being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to heauen: and being fed in *Iupiters* owne stable, *Aurora* begd him of *Iupiter* to ride on before the *Sunne*. This tale is diuersly expounded, as if by some, That it pleaseth God to relieue men in their innocent and vnderstanded aduersitie, and to cast downe those which are too high minded: according to that which is said of *Bellerophon*: that when he was expoled to extreme hazard, or rather certaine death, he found both deliuerance and honor: but waxing ouer-proud and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was againe throwne downe into the extremitie of sorrow, and euer-during miserie. Secondly by others, That vnder the name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruell *Pyrate* of the *Lycians*, whose ship had in her prow, a Lyon, a Goate in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the stearne, of which three beasts this Monster *Chimæra* was said to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* pursued with a kinde of Galley of such swiftnesse, that it was called the flying Horse: to whom the inuention of sailes (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other expolitions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not vnlikely, that *Chimæra* was the name of a ship, for so *Virgil* calleth one of the greatest ships of *Athenas*.

Plutar. in claris mulier.

L. 5. Æneid.

Homer. in Ilymo ad apoll.
Lilb 18. c. 12. de Gid. 1. 1. 8. c. 15

Ion also, from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquitie of their parent *Iauan*) deriue their name of *Iones*, is said to haue bene about *Ehuds* time: *Homer* calls them *Iaones*, which hath a neere resemblance to the word *Iauan*. Perhaps it might be so that *Ion* himselfe tooke name from *Iauan*: it being a custome obseruable in the Histories of all times, to reuiue the ancient name of a fore-father, in some the principall of his issue.

The inuasion of *India* by *Liber Pater*, is by some reported as done in this age: but *S. Augustine* makes him farre more ancient: placing him betwene the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Iosua*.

About the end of the 80. yeares, ascribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelopon* flourished: who gaue name to *Peloponnesus* in *Greece*, now called *Morcia*.

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

Of *DEBORA* and her Contemporaries.



After *Israel* had liued in peace and plentie to the end of these 80. yeares, they againe began to forget the giuer of all goodnesse, and many of those being worne out, which were witnesses of the former miserie, and of Gods deliuerance by *Ehud*, and after him by *Samgar*, the rest began to returne to their former neglect of Gods commandments.

For as Plentie and Peace are the parents of idle securitie; so is securitie as fruitfull in begetting and bringing forth both danger and subuersiō: of which all estates in the world haue tasted by interchange of times. Therefore when their sinnes were againe ripe for punishment, *Iabin* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, inuaded the Territorie of *Israel*, and hauing in his seruice 900. yron Chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subiection twentie yeares, till it pleased God to raise vp *Deborah*, the Prophetesse, who encouraged *Barac* to leuie a force out of *Nephthalim*, and *Zabulon*, to incounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nephthalim* were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seeme to haue proceeded partly from the authoritie that *Barac* had among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievance, which in them was more sensible, than in others, because *Hazor* and *Haroseth* the chiefe holds of *Iabin*, were in *Nephthalim*. So in the daies of *Iephtha* the *Gileadites* tooke the greatest care, because the *Ammonites* with whom the Warre was, pressed most vpon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliuer *Israel* from the *Moabites*: and by the counsaile and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Sisera* by *Iael* the *Kenites* wife: so was it his will at other times, to worke the like great things by the weakest means. For the mighty *Affiryan Nabuchodonosor*, who was a King of Kings, and resistlesse, he ouerthrew by his owne imaginations, the causes of his brutish melancholy: and changed his matchlesse pride into the base humilitie of a Beast. And to approue that he is the Lord of all power, he sometime punisheth by inuisible strength, as when he laughred the Armie of *Senacherib* by his Angell: or as he did the *Egyptians* in *Moses* time: sometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharao* by the waues of the Sea: and the *Canaanites* by haile-stones in the time of *Iosua*: sometimes by the ministerie of men, as when he ouerthrew the foure Kings of the East, *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the household seruants of *Abraham*. He caused the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to set vpon their owne confederate the Armie of the *Edomites*; and hauing slaine them to kill one another in the sight of *Iebelaphat*: and of the like to these a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Prophetesse speake vnto *Barac* in these words: But this journey that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, for the Lord shall sell *Sisera* into the hands of a Woman. In which victorie all the strength of the *Canaanite Iabin* fell to the ground, euen to the last man: in the end of which Warre it seemeth that *Iabin* himselfe also perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of the fourth of *Iudges*.

Chron. 2. 20.

Jud. 4.

After all which *Deborah* giueth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgment of all his powerfullnesse and great mercies, shee sheweth the weak estate whereinto *Israel* was brought for their Idolatrie by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering Nations, in these words: Was there a shield or speare scene among fortie thousand of *Israel*? Iudas. 5. 17. she also sheweth how the *Israelites* were leuened and amaled, some of them confined ouer *Jordan*, and durst not ioyne themselves to the rest; as those of *Reuben* in *Gilead*: 17. 17. that the *Assiries* kept the Sea-coast, and forooke their habitations towards the Land, and the children of *Dan* who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ships for safetie, shewing thereby that all were disperfed, and all in effect lost. Shee then curseth the inhabitants of *Asteroz*, who dwelling neare the place of the battaile (be-like fearing the successe) came not out to assist *Israel*, and then bleisseth *Iael* the

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the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who nailed *Sisera* in her Tent: shewing the ancient affection of that race to the *Israelites*. For though the Familie of *Heber* were informed in that miserable time of subjection, to hold correspondence with *Jabin* the *Canaanite*, yet when occasion offered them means, they witnessed their love and faith to their ancient friends. Lastly, these derideth the Mother of *Sisera* who promised her sonne the victorie in her owne hopes: and fancied to her selfe, and described the spoiles both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, these directeth her praises and thanks to God only victorious.

From the beginning of *Jabins* oppression to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchased vnto *Israel*, there passed 40. yeares. In which time the Kingdom of *Argos* which had continued 544. yeares was translated to *Mycene*: The translation of this Kingdome *Vies* out of *Pausanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lyncus* succeeded in *Argos*, after whom the children of *Abas* the sonne of *Lyncus* diuide the Kingdome: of which *Acrisius* being eldest held *Argos* it selfe: *Prattus* his brother posselt *Epbyra* or *Corinthe*, and *Tyrinthos*, and other Cities with all the Territorie towards the Sea, there being many monuments in *Tyrinthos*, which witness *Prattus* possession, saith *Pausanias*.

Now *Acrisius* was foretold by an Oracle, that hee should be slaine by the sonne of his Daughter *Danae*: whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompanie her. But the Ladie being exceeding faire, it is said that *Iupiter* turned himselfe into a golden shower: which falling into her lap, begat her with child: the meaning whereof was, that some Kings sonne, or other Worthie man, corrupted her keepers with gold: and enioyed her, of whom *Perseus* was borne; who when he grew to mans estate, either by chance (saith *Ctesias*) or in shewing his grand-father the inuention of the *discus*, or leaden ball, slew him unwillingly. After this *Perseus*, to auoide the infamie of *Patricide* in *Argos*, changed Kingdomes with his Vncle *Prattus*: and built *Mycene*. This imprisonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwise: and that shee was inclosed in a brasse vault, vnder the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Vpon this close custodie *Horace* hath this witty obseruation.

*Inclusam DANAEN, turris ahenae,
Robustaeq; fores, & vigilum Canum
Tristes excubiae, munerant satis*

*Nocturnus ab adulteris:
Si non ACRISIUM Virginis abdita
Custodem pauidum, IVPITER & VENUS
Risissent, fore enim tutum iter & patens,
Conuerso in pretium Deo.
Aurum per medios ire satellites,
Et perumpere amat saxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.*

The brasse Tower with doores close bar'd,
And watchfull bandogs frightfull guard,
Kept safe the Maidenhead
Of *DANAe* from secret loue:
Till smiling *VENUS*, and wife *IOVE*
Beguild her Fathers dread.
For chang'd into a golden shower,
The God into her lap did powre
Himselfe, and tooke his pleasure
Through gardes, and stonie walls to breake,
The thunder-bolt is farre more weake,
Then is a golden treasure.

The

The first Kings of the Argiues were these.

Inachus the fifth King, who beganne to raigne in the first yeare of *Jacob*, and the 61. of *Isaac*: from which time to the end of *Sthenelus*, *Caesor* misreckoneth 400. yeares. This Kingdome before the translation, *Eusebius* accounteth to haue stood 544. yeares, others: but at 417. it was the Daughter of this *Inachus*: whom the *Egyptians* called *Apis*.

Phoroneus,

Agis,

Argus,

Phryxus,

Phorbas,

Triopas,

Crotopus,

Sthenelus,

Danaus,

Lyncus,

Abas,

Acrisius,

Pelops.

After the translation to *Mycene*, *Mar. Scotus* finds these Kings.

Perseus,

Sthenelus,

Eurytheus,

Atreus and *Thyestes* The sonnes of *Pelops* by *Hippodamia*: *Atreus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.

Agamemnon,

Egeus,

Orestes,

Tisamenus,

Pentilus and

Cometes.

Of these Kings *Mercator* and *Buning* leaue out the two first, and the last: beginning with *Eurytheus*: and ending with *Pentilus*. In *Tisamenus* time the *Heracleide* returned into *Peloponnesus*: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Deborah*, were *Midas* who reigned in *Phrygia*: and *Ilium* who built *Ilium*: with others mentioned in our *Chronological* table, as contemporaries with *Deborah*.

P. V.

Of *GIDEON*, and of *DAEDALVS*, *SPHINX*, *MINOS*, and others
that liued in this Age.



DE *DEBORAH* and *Barac* being dead: the *Midianites* assisted by the *Amalekites* infested *Israel*. For when vnder a *Judge* who had held them in the feare of the Lord, they had enioyed any quiet or prosperitie: the *Judge* was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious Idolatrie. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did so master them in a short time (the hand of God being withheld from their defence) as to saue themselves, they crept into caues of the mountaines, and other the like places of hardest access: their enemies possessing all the plaines and fruitfull vallies: and in hauest time by themselves, and the multitude of their cattle, destroying all that grew vpon: weering the fields as thick as grasse-hoppers: which seruitude lasted seven yeares.

Jud. 6.

Oo 3

Then

Ind 6. v. 5.

Ind 6. 6. & 7.

Then the Lord by his Angell stirred up *Gideon* the sonne of *Josab*, afterward called *terabass*: whose feare and vntwillingnesse, and how it pleased God to hearken him in his enterprise, it is both largely and precisely set down in the holy Scriptures; as also now it pleased God by a few select persons, namely 300. out of 32000. men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of Hosts; Each of these 300. by *Gideons* appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terror than force, with which he gaue the great Armie of their enemies an alarm; who hearing so loud a noise, and seeing (at the crack of so many pitchers broken) so many lights about them, esteemed the Armie of *Israel* to be infinite, and strucken with a sodaine feare, they all fled without a stroke stricken: and were slaughtered in 10 great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and slaine. In his returne the *Ephramites* began to quarrell with *Gideon*, because he made warre without their assistance, being then greedie of glorie, the victorie being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprise) would no doubt haue held themselves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeasing them with a mild answer, followed after the enemy, in which pursuit being tired with trauaile, and wearie euen with the slaughtering of his enemies, he desired reliefe from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his men being refreshed) he might ouer-take the other two Kings of the *Midianites*: which had saved themselves by flight. For they were four Princes of the Nations, which had invaded and wasted *Israel*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which 20 were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Salmunna* which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth*, fought the like reliefe from the inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatened therefore the reuenge, which in his returne from the prosecution of the other two Princes, he performed: to wit, that hee would teare the flesh of those of *Succoth* with *Tornes* and *Briars*, and destroy the Inhabitants and Citie of *Penuel*: Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse reliefe to their bretheren the *Israelites*, especially after so great a victorie: if I may presume to make coniecture, it seemes likely, first that those Cities set ouer *Jordan*, and in the way of all invasions, to be made by the *Mozabites*, and *Ammonites*, and *Midianites*, into *Israel*, had either 30 made their owne peace with those Nations, and were not spoiled by them: or else they knowing that *Zebah* and *Salmunna* were escaped with a great part of their armie, might feare their reuenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laide to the condition and dispositions of these men: as it is not rare to finde of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the warre, that both enuie and maligne others, if they performe any praise-worthy actions, for the honour and safetie of their owne Countrey, though themselves may be assured to beare a part of the smart of contrarie successe. And such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Countrey should suffer hazzard, and want, than that such men as they mislike, should be the authors or actors of any glorie or good 40 to either.

A place in Be-
son, as it is
thought.
Ind 6. 10.

Now *Gideon*, how or wherefoerer it were that hee refreshed himselfe and his wearie and hungrie Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunitie, and pursued his former victorie to the vttermost: and finding *Zebah* and *Salmunna* in *Karkor* (suspecting no farther attempt vpon them) he againe surprised them, & slaughtered those 15000. remaining: hauing put to the sword in the former attempt 120000. and withall he tooke *Zebah* and *Salmunna* prisoners: whom because themselves had executed *Gideons* bretheren before at *Tabor*, he caused them both to be slaine: or (as it is written) at their owne request flew them with his owne hands: his Son whom he first commanded to doe it, refusing it, and in his returne from the consummation of this meruallous victorie, he tooke reuenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiuing no offence committed against him: either by strangers or by his bretheren the *Israelites*. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his owne children found soon after his death, according to that which hath been said before. The 40 debs

debts of crueltye and mercie are neuer left vnatisfied: for as he slew the 70. Elders of *Succoth*, with great and vnusuall torments, so were his owne 70. sonnes al, but one, murdered by his owne bastard *Abimelec*. The like Analogie is observed by the *Rablines*, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought vpon the *Egyptians*, who hauing caused the male children of the *Hebrewes* to be slaine, others of them to be cast into the riuer and drowned: God rewarded them euen with the like measure, destroying their owne first borne by his Angell, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his armie in the red sea. And hereof a world of examples might bee giuen, both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

10 In the end so much did the people reuerence *Gideon* in the present for this victorie, and their owne deliuerance, as they offered him the Soueraignetie ouer them, and to establish him in the Government; which hee refused, answering; *I will not reigne ouer you, neither shall my childre reigne ouer you, but the Lord shall, &c.* But he desired the people that they would bestow on him the golden eare-rings, which every man had gotten. For the *Israelites*, neighbours, and mixt with the *Midianites*, yfed to wear them: the waight of all which was a thousand and seven hundred Shekels of gold, which makes of ours 2380. l. if we follow the account of the Shekle vulgar. 20 And because he conuerted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blue filke, purple, scarlet, and fine linnen, belonging to the High Priest only, and set vp the same in his owne Citie of *Ophra* or *Ephra*, which drew *Israel* to Idolatrie, the same was the destruction of *Gideon* and his house.

There was another kinde of *Ephod* besides this of the High Priests, which the *Leuites* yfed, and so did *David* when he danced before the *Arke*: and *Samuel*, while he was yet young, which was made of linnen only.

Now if any man demaund how it was possible for *Gideon* with 300. men to destroy 120000. of their enemies, and afterward 15000. which remained, wee may remember that although *Gideon* with 300. gaue the first alarme, and put the *Midianites* in rout and disorder: yet all the rest of the armie came into the slaughter, and pursuite, for it is written; *That the men of Israel being gathered together out 30 of Nephtalie, and out of Alber, and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midianites: for this armie Gideon left in tents behinde him, when hee went downe to view the armie of his enemies, who with the noyse of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution.*

There liued with *Gideon*, *Egeus*, the sonne of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athenes*: *Euristhenes* King of *Mycena*: *Atrous* and *Thyestes* the sonnes of *Pelops*, who bare dominion ouer a great part of *Peloponnesus*, and after the death of *Euristhenes*, the Kingdome of *Mycena* fell into the hand of *Atrous*. This is that *Atrous*, who holding his brother in ialousie, as an attempter, both of his wife and crowne, slew the children of *Thyestes*, and causing their flesh to be drest, did therewith feast their father. But this crueltye was not vireuenged. For both *Atrous* and his sonne *Agamemmen* were slaine by a base sonne of *Thyestes*, yea the grand-children, and all the 40 kinage of *Atrous* died by the same sword.

In *Gideons* time also those things were supposed to haue beene done, which are written of *Dadalus* and *Icarus*. *Dadalus*, they say, hauing slaine his Nephew *Attalus*, fled to *Mimos*, King of *Crete*, for succour, where for his excellent workmanship he was greatly esteemed, hauing made for *Mimos* a *Labyrinth*, like vnto that of *Egypt*. Afterward he was laide to haue framed an artificiall Cowe for *Pasiphae* the Queen, that she, being in loue with a faire Bull, might by putting her selfe into the Cow, satisfie her lust, a thing no lesse vnaturall than incredible, had not that shamelesse *Emperour Domitian* exhibited the like beastly spectacle, openly before the people of *Rome*, in his *Amphitheater*; of purpose, as may seeme, to verifie the old fable. For so it appeares by those verses of *Martial*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable shew, as a goodly Pageant, in those vicious times.

Lun 13. 414

*Inuictum Paspheon Dictæo credite Taurò
Fidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.
Nec se miratur Cæsar longæa uersitas
Quicquid famiscanti, donat menâ tibi.*

But concerning that which is reported of *Paspheas*, *Serius* makes a lesse vnhoëst construction of it, thinking that *Dadalus* was of her counsell, and her Pandar for the enticing of a *Servant* of *Ainos* called *Taurus*, which signifieth a Bull, who begat her with child, and that the being deliuered of two sonnes, the one resembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Ainos*, it was fained that he was deliuered of the *Minotaur*, halfe a Minn and halfe a Bull. But this practise being discovered, and *Dadalus* appointed to be laine, he fled out of *Crete* to *Coelus* King of *Sicily*: in which passage he made such expedition, as it was fained that he fashioned wings for himselfe and his loane to transport them. For whereas *Ainos* pursued him with boats which had gares onely, *Dadalus* framed sailes both for his owne boate, and for his sonnes, by which he ouertwente those that had him in chase. Vpon which new inuention, *Iarus* bearing himselfe ouerbolt, was ouerborne and drowned.

It is also written of *Dadalus*, that he made *Images* that could moue themselves, and goe, because he caried them with legs, armes and hands, whereas those that preceded him, could onely present the bodie and head of those men, whom they cared to counterfeit, and yet the workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had seene some of those that were called the *Images* of *Dadalus*, found them exceeding rude.

With *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the *Theban*, the sonne of *Apollo*, and *Terpsichore*, who instructed *Thamiris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. Hee wrote of the Creation, of the *Summe*, and *Adornes* countries, and of the generation of liuing Creatures, but in the end he was slaine by *Hercules* his scholler with his owne harpe.

Againe, in this age those things spoken of *Sphinx* and *Oedipus*, are thought to haue bene performed: This *Sphinx* being a great robber by sea and land, was by the *Corinthian* *Antis*, led by *Oedipus*, overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles, to those whom shee mastered, was meant by the rocke and vnaccessible mountaine neere *Thibes*, which she defended, and by *Oedipus* dissoluing her probleme his victorie ouer her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the bodie of a Lyon for her cruelrie. But that which *Palaphatus* reports of *Sphinx*, were more probable, did not the time disproue it, for he calls her an *Amazonicke*, and the wife of *Cadmus*: who when by her help he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despitefull part, with her owne troope shee held the mountaine by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharpe warre vpon the *Thebani*, till by *Oedipus* ouerthrowne. About this time did *Minos* thrust his brother out of *Crete*, and held sharpe warre with the *Megarians*, and *Athenians*, because his sonne *Androgeus* was slaine by them. He posselt himselfe of *Megara*, by the treason of *Seylla*, daughter of *Nisus* the King. He was long Master of the sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of deliuering him euery yeere seuen of their sonnes: which tribute *Thebes* released, as shall bee shewed; when I come to the time of the next Iudge *Thala*. In the end hee was slaine at *Camirinus* or *Caminus* in *Sicily*, by *Coelus* the King, while he pursued *Dadalus*: and was esteemed by some to be the first law-giuer to those Ilands.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Anteus* the gyant, who was said to haue 40. and odder cubites of length, which though *Plutarch* doth confirme, reporting that there was such a bodie found by *Sertorius* the Roman, in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* slew *Anteus*; yet for my selfe, I thinke it but a lowd lie. That *Anteus* was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, *Ensebius* affirmeth: and because hee cast so many men to the ground, hee was fained to bee the sonne of the Earth. *Plinie* saith, that he inhabited neere the gardens *Hesperides* in *Mauritania*. S.

Augustine

Augustine affirms that this *Hercules* was not of Greece, but of *Lybia*: and the *Hydra* also which he ouercame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a subtle Sophister.

Aug. de ci. dei
l. 18. c. 12.
Enchir. in Chron.

§. VI.

Of the expedition of the Argonauts.

Bout the eleventh yeere of *Gideon*, was that famous expedition of the *Argonauts*: of which many fabulous discourses haue bene written, the summe of which is this.

Pelias the sonne of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers side to *Aeson*, who was *Iasons* father, reigning in *Iolcus* a towne of *Thessalie*, was warned by the Oracle of *Apollo* to take heede of him that ware but one shoe. This *Belis* afterward sacrificing to *Neptune*, inuited *Iason* to him, who comming hastily, lost one shoe in passing ouer a brooke: whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what course he would take (supposing he were able) against one of whom an Oracle should aduise him to take heede: to which question when *Iason* had briefly answered, that he would send him to *Colchos*, to fetch the golden fleece, *Pelias* immediately commaunded him to vndertake that seruice. Therefore *Iason* prepared for the voyage, hauing a shippe built by *Argus*, the sonne of *Phryxus*, by the Counsell of *Pallas*: wherein hee procured all the bruiet men of Greece to saile with him: as *Typhus* the Master of the shippe, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Castor* and *Pollux* the sonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Telaamon* and *Peleus*, sonnes of *Aacus*, and fathers of *Atax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Thestus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged sonnes of *Boreas*, *Amphiarus* the great Southlayer, *Aleager* of *Calidon* that slew the great wilde boare: *Arcalaphus* and *Ialmenus* or *Almenus* the sonnes of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the last warre of *Troy*, *Laertes* the father of *Ulysses*, *Atalanta* a warlike virgine, *Idas* and *Lyncæus* the sonnes of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Castor* and *Pollux* slew *Castor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were slaine themselves: *Lyncæus* by *Pellux*, *Idas* by *Iupiter* with lightning.

These and many other went with *Iason* in the ship *Argo*: in whose prow was a table of the beech of *Dodona*, which could speake. They arriued first at *Lemnos*, the women of which Iland, hauing slaine all the males, purposing to lead an *Amazonian* life, were neuertheless contented to take their pleasure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the Country about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: ouer whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*: who entertained them friendly: but it so fell out, that loosing thence by night they were driuen by contrary winds back into his port, neither knowing that it was the same Hauē, nor being knowne by the *Doliones*, to be the same men: but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies: by which meanes they fell to blowes, inso much that the *Argonauts* slew the molt part of the *Doliones* together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day light they perceiued, with many teares they solemnized his funeral. Then departed they againe and arriued shortly in *Mysia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polypheumus* the sonne of *Elateus*, who went to seeke *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was rauished by the *Nymphes*.

Palipheumus built a towne in *Mysia*, called *Cios*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*. From *Mysia* the *Argonauts* failed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by the *Bebryes*, the ancient inhabitants of the Country, ouer whom *Aeneas* the sonne of *Neptune* was then King. Hee being a strong man, compelled all strangers to fight with him, at whole battes, in which kinde of fight hee had slaine many, and was now himselfe slaine by *Pollux*. The *Bebryes* in reuenge of his death slew all vpon *Pollux*, but his companions rescued him, with great laughter of the people. They failed from hence to *Samydesus*, a towne in *Thrace* (somewhat out of their way) wherein *Phineus* a Soothsayer dwelt, who was blinde and vexed with the

Herind. Plat.
Enchir. 9.

Strab. 19.

Ar. pol. 1.

Enchir. in Chron.

the *Harpyes*. The *Harpyes* were said to be a kinde of birds, which had the faces of women and foue long claws, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furnished for *Phineus*, came flying in, and deuouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the *Argonautes* craued his aduise, and direction for their voyage: you shall doe well (quoth he) first of all to deliuer me from the *Harpyes*, and then afterwards to aske my Counsaile. Whereupon they caused the table to be couered, and meat set on; which was no sooner set downe, then that presently in came the *Harpyes*, and played their accustomed pranks: when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged young men saw this, they drew their fowls, and pursued them through the ayre; some say so that both the *Harpyes* and the young men died of wearinesse in the flight, and pursuit. But *Apollonius* saith that the *Harpyes* did conenant with the youthes, to doe no moe harme to *Phineus*, and were thereupon dismissed. For this good turne *Phineus* gaue them informations of the way, and aduertised them withal of the dangerous rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of windes running together, did shut vp the passage: wherefore he willed them to put a pigeon before them into the passage: and if that passed safe, then to aduenteure after her: if not, then by no means to hazard themselves in vaine. They did so, and perceiuing that the pigeon had only lost a piece of her taile, they obserued the next opening of the rocks, and then rowing with all their might, passed through safe, onely the end of the poepe was bruised.

From thence forward, (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* haue stood still: for the Gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a shippe, they should be fixed. Thence the *Argonautes* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the riuer *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteously. Here *Limon* a Soothsayer of their company was slaine by a wild boare; also heere *Typhus* died: and *Aeneas* undertooke to steere the ship. So they passed by the riuer *Thermodon*, and mount *Caucasus*, and came to the riuer *Phagis*, which runnes through the land of *Colchos*. When they were entred theauen, *Iason* went to *Aetes* the King of *Colchos*, and told him the Commaundement of *Pelias*, and cause of his coming, desiring him to deliuer the golden Fleece, which *Aetes*, as the Fable goeth, promised to doe, if he alone would yoaake together two brazen hooft bulls, and plowing the ground with them, sowe dragons teeth, which *Minerva* had giuen to him, being part of those which *Cadmus* did sowe at *Thebes*. These bulls were great and fierce, and breathed out fire: *Vulcan* had giuen them to *Aetes*.

Whilest *Iason* was in a great perplexitie about this taske, *Medea* the daughter of *Aetes*, fell into a most vehement loue of him, so farre forth, that being excellent in *Magique*, she came priuily to him, promising her helpe, if he would assure her of his marriage. To this *Iason* agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gaue she to him a medicine wherewith she bad him to anoint both his bodie and his armour, which would preserue him from their violence: further she told him, that armed men would arise out from the ground, from the teeth which hee should sowe, and set vpon him. To remedie which inconuenience, shee bad him throw stones amongst them as soone as they came vp thicke, whereupon they would fall together to blowes, in such wise that he might easily slay them. *Iason* followed her counsaile; whereto when the euent had answered, hee againe demanded the Fleece. But *Aetes* was so farre from approving such his desire, that hee deuised how to destroy the *Argonautes*, and burne their ship, which *Medea* perceiuing, went to *Iason*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung vpon an Oke in the groue of *Mars*, where they say it was kept by a Dragon, that neuer slept. This Dragon was by the *Magique* of *Medea* cast into a sleepe: so taking away the golden Fleece, she went with *Iason* into the ship *Argo*, hauing with her, her brother *Abysrtus*.

Aetes vnderstanding the praefises of *Medea*, provided to pursue the ship, whom when

when *Medea* perceiued to be at hand, she slew her brother, & cutting him in pieces, she scattered his limbs in diuers places, of which *Aetes* finding some, was faine to seeke out the rest, and suffer his daughter to passe: the parts of his sonne hee buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomis*; the *Greeke* word signifieth *banishment*. Afterwards he sent many of his subiects to seeke the ship *Argo*, threatening that if they brought not backe *Medea*, they should suffer in her stead. In the meane while the *Argonautes* were driuen about the Seas, and were come to the Riuer *Eridanus*, which is *Po* in *Italie*.

Iupiter, offended with the slaughter of *Abysrtus*, vexed them with a great tempest, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the *Ilands Abysrtides*, there the ship *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) spake to them, and said, that the anger of *Iupiter* should not cease, till they came to *Ausonia*, and were clesed by *Circe*, from the murder of *Abysrtus*. Now, they thereupon sayling betwene the coasts of *Lybia* and *Cacia*, and passing through the sea of *Sardinia* and along the coast of *Hetruria*, came to the Ile of *Eoa*, wherem *Circe* dwelt, who clesed them. Thence they sayled by the coast of the *Syrens*, who sang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other side sang so well that he stayed them. Only *Butes* swamme out vnto them, whom *Phineus* rauished, and carried to *Lycibetum* in *Sicilie* to dwell.

Hauing past the *Syrens*, they came betwene *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the stragling rocks which seemed to cast out great store of flames and smoke. But *Thetis* and the *Aetrides*, conueyed them safe through at the appointment of *Iuno*. So they coasted *Sicilie* where the beemes of the Sunne were, and touched at *Coreyra*, the Iland of the *Phaeaces*, where King *Alecinous* reigned. Meane while, the men of *Colchos*, that had bene sent by *Aetes* in quest of the ship *Argo*, hearing no newes of it, and fearing his anger, if they fulfilled not his will, betooke themselves to new habitations: some of them dwelt in the mountaines of *Coreyra*, others in the Ilands *Abysrtides*, and some coming to the *Phaeaces*, there found the ship *Argo*, and demanded *Medea* of *Alecinous*: whereto *Alecinous* made answer, that if they were not *Iasons* wife, they should haue her; but if they were already married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arete*, the wife of *Alecinous*, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchos* not daring to returne home, stayed with the *Phaeaces*; so the *Argonautes* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Iland, *Aminas* reigned, who had a man of brasse giuen to him (as some of the Fable say) by *Vulcan*. This man had one veine in his bodie reaching from the necke to the heele, the end whereof was closed vp with a brazen naile, his name was *Talus*: his custome was to runne thrice a day about the Iland for the defence of it. When hee saw the ship *Argo* passe by, hee threw stones at it, but *Medea* with her *Magique* destroyed him. Some say that shee slew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promising to make him immortall, shee drew out the naile that stopp his veine, by which meanes all his blood ranne out, and he died; others there are that say he was slaine by *Pagan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heele. From hence the *Argonautes* sayled to *Egina*, where they were faine to fight for fresh water. And lastly, from *Egina* they sayled by *Eubaea* and *Leontes* home to *Iolus*, where they arrived, hauing spent foure whole months in the expedition.

Some there are that by this iourney of *Iason* vnderstand the mysterie of the Philosophers stone, called the golden Fleece, to which also, other super-fine *Chymists* draw the twelue labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinks that by the golden Fleece, was meant a booke of Parchment, which is of sheepe-skin, and therefore called golden, because it was taught therein how other metalls might be transmuted. Others would signifie by *Iason*, wisdom, and moderation, which ouer-commeth all perils: but that which is most probable is the opinion of *Dervilius*, that the stone of such a passage was true, and that *Iason* with the rest went indeed to rob *Colchos*, to which they might arriue by boate. For not farre from *Caucasus* there are certaine steepe falling

falling torrents which wash downe many graines of gold, as in many other parts of the world, and the people there inhabiting vs to see many flocks of wooll in those descents of waters, in which the graines of gold remaine; and the water passeth through, which *Strabo* witnesseth to be true. The many rocks, straits, sands, and Currents, in the passage betweene *Greece* and the bottom of *Pontus*, are Poetically conuerted into those fierie bulls, the armed men rising out of the ground; the Dragon cast allepe, and the like. The man of brasse, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, were other hazards and adventures which they fell into in the *Mediterran* sea, disguised, as the rest, by *Orpheus*, vnder poeticall morall's: all which *Homer* afterward vsed (the man of brasse excepted) in the description of *Polysses* his traualles, on the 10 same Inland-seas.

§. VII.

OF ABIMELECH, THOLAH, and LAIR, and of the Lapytha, and of THESEVS, HYPOLYTUS, &c.



After the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his base sonne begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembering what offers had been made to his father by the people, who desired to make him and his their perpetuall Princes; and as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modestie) that some of his brethren might take on them the Soueraigntie, practised with the inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was native) to make election of himselfe, who being easily moued with the glorie, to haue a King of their owne, readily condescended: and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed 70. pieces of silver of their Idoll *Baalberith*, with which treasure he hyred a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to assist his first detestable enterprize, to wit, the slaughter of his 70. brethren, the sonnes of *Gideon*, begotten on his wiues, of which he had many, of all which none escaped but *Iotham* the youngest, who hid himselfe from his present furie: all which hee executed on one stone, a crueltie exceeding all that hath beene written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monster that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whose reuenges are without date and for euermore) neither hath it respect to nature, which laboureth the preferuacion of euery being: but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beautie which neuer dieth, and with loue that hath no end. All other passions and affections, by which the soules of men are tormented, are by their contraries oftentimes resisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth euery vice, and is it selfe the childe and darling of *Satan*, looketh only towards the ends by it selfe set downe, forgetting nothing (how fearefull and inhumane soeuer) which may serue it: remembering nothing, what soeuer iustice, pietie, right or religion can offer and alleadge on the contrary. It scribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the error or weaknesse of the vnder takers, and rather praileth the adventure than feareth the like successe. It was the first sinne that the world had, and began in *Angels*: for which they were cast into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his naturall corruption. The punishment also preceeded his creation, yet hath the Deuill which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practise the other, as bestitting euery age, and mans condition.

Iotham, the youngest of *Gideon* sonnes, hauing escaped the present perill, fought by his best persuasions to alienate the *Sechemites*, from the assisting of this mercilesse tyrant, letting them know, that those which were vertuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happie estate of moderate subiection, had refused to receiue as vnlawfull, what others had not power to giue, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his owne peculiar people) had

had appointed them by whom and how to bee governed. This hee taught them by the Oliue, which contented it selfe with it's fatnesse, the Figge tree with sweetnesse, and the Vine with the good iuyce it had: the Bramble onely, who was moit base, cut downe all the rest, and accepted the Soueraigntie. He also foretold them by a Propheticall spirit, what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Bramble, and consume the *Cedars of Libanon*.

Now (as it is an ealie matter to call those men backe whom rage without right led on) *Gai* the sonne of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sechem*, from the seruice of *Abimelech*: who therefore after some assaults entred the place, and mastered it; and an conclusion fired the towne, wherein their Idoll *Baalberith* was worshipped, and put all the people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, in the assault of the Caille or Tower of *Teber*, himselfe was wounded in the head with a stone throwne ouer the wall by a woman, and finding himselfe mortally brused, hee commaunded his owne page to pierce his bodie, thereby to auoid the dishonour of being slaine by so feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* vsurped the Government, the *Lapytha* and *Centaures* made warre against the *Thebanes*. These Nations were descended of *Apollo*, and were the first in these parts that deuiled to mannage horses, to bridle and to fit them: in so much as when they first came downe from the mountaines of *Pindus*, into the plaines, those which had neuer seene horsemen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses; so did the *Mexicans* when *Ferdinando Cortes* the *Spaniard* first inuaded that Empire.

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Thola* of *Isachar* gouerned *Israel* 23. yeeres, and after him *Iair* the *Gileadite* 22. yeeres, who seemeth to bee descended of *Iair* the sonne of *Manasse*, who in *Moses* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the same after his owne name, *Haboth Iair*. For to this *Iair* there remained thirtie of those Cities, which his ancelter had recovered from the *Amonites*. Of these Iudges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument that during all their times, *Israel* liued without disturbance and in peace.

When *Iair* iudged *Israel*, *Priamus* beganne to reigne in *Troy*, who at such time as *Hercules* lacked *Ilium*, was carried away captiue with his sister *Hesione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for ranfome, hee rebuilt and greatly strengthned, and adorned *Troy*; and so farre enlarged his Dominions, as hee became the supreme Lord in effect of all *Asia* the lesse. He married *Heceba* the daughter of *Cisseus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (saith *Cicero*) fiftie sonnes, whereof *Euentene* by *Heceba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recouer his aunt *Hesione*, tooke *Helena* the wife of *Menelaus* the cause of the warre which followed.

The tenth King of *Athens* began likewise to reigne in the beginning of *Iair*: some writers call him the sonne of *Nephteme* and *Aethra*; but *Plutark* in the storie of his life findes him begotten by *Aegeus*, of whom the *Grecian* sea betwene it and *Asia* the lesse tooke name. For when *Athens* had mastered the *Athenians*, so farre as hee forst them to pay him seuen of their sonnes euery yeere for tribute, whom hee inclosed within a *Labyrinth*, to bee deuoured by the monster *Minotaur*: because belike the sonnes of *Taurus*, which hee begat on *Passiphae* the Quene, had the charge of them: Among these seuen *Theus* thrust himselfe, not doubting by his valour to deliuer the rest, and to free his Countie of that flauerie occasioned for the death of *Androgeus*, *Minos* his sonne.

And hauing posselt himselfe of *Ariadnes* affection, who was *Minos* daughter, hee receiued from her a bosome of thred, by which hee conducted himselfe through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the Citie of *Crocodiles* in *Egypt*; by meane whereof hauing slaine *Minotaur*, hee found a readie way to returne. But whereas his father *Aegeus* had giuen order, that if hee came backe with victorie and in safetie, hee should vie a white saile in signe thereof, and not that mournfull blacke saile, vnder

Palestus l. i. de incredib.

Deut. 3. 14. *Num.* 32. 41.

Iudg. 10.

In Troy.

which they left the port of *Athens*. This instruction beeing either forgotten or neglected, *Aegew* desfering the shippe of *Thesew* with a blacke saile, cast himselfe ouer the rockes into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Aegewum*.

One of the first famous actes of *Thesew*, was the killing of *Scyron*, who kept a passage betwene *Megara* and the *Peloponnesian Isthmos*, and threw all whom hee mastered into the Sea, from the high rockes. Afterward hee did like to *Cercyon*, by wrestling, who vled by that Arte to kill others. Hee also ridde the Country of *Procrustes*, who vled to bend downe the strong limbes of two trees, and fastened by cordes such as hee tooke, part of them to one and part to the other bough, and by their springing backe tare them asunder. So did hee roote out *Periphetes* and other mischievous theeves and murderers. Hee ouerthrew the armie of the *Amazons*, who after many victories and vastations, entred the Territorie of *Athens*. *Thesew* hauing taken their Queene *Hippolyta* prisoner, begat on her *Hippolytus*; with whom afterward his mother in law *Phadra*, falling in loue, and hee refusing to abuse his fathers bed, *Phadra* perswaded *Thesew* that his sonne offered to force her: after which it is fained, that *Thesew* besought *Neptune* to reuenge this wrong of his sonnes, by some violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of aduantage, sent out his Sea-Caluces, as *Hippolytus* passed by the sea shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the Coach ouer, hee was (by being intangled therein) torne in pieces. Which miserable and vnderfered destinee, when *Phadra* had heard of, shee strangled herselfe. After which it is fained, that *Diana* entreated *Aesculapius* to set *Hippolytus* his pieces together, and to restore him to life: which done, because hee was chaste, shee led him with her into *Italie*, to accompanie her in her hunting, and field sports.

It is probable that *Hippolytus*, when his father fought his life, thinking to escape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and receiued many wounds in forcing his passage and escape; which wounds *Aesculapius*, to wit, some skilfull Physician, or Chirurgeon healed againe, after which hee past into *Italy*, where he liued with *Diana*, that is, the life of a hunter, in which hee most delighted. But of these ancient prophane Stories, *Platarch* saith well, that as *Cosmographers* in their descriptions of the world, where they finde many vast places whereof they know nothing, fill the same with strange beastes, birdes, and fishes, and with *Mathematicall* lines, so doe the *Græcian* Historians and Poets imbroder and intermixe the tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous discourses. True it is, that *Thesew* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom hee made his patterne, and was the first that gathered the *Athenians*, from being disperst in thinnie and ragged villages: in recompence whereof, and for deuiling them lawes to liue vnder, and in order, hee was by the beggerly, mutable, and vngratefull multitude, in the end banished. Some say per *Ostracismum*, by the Lawe of Lottes, or names written on shelles, which was a deuice of his owne.

Hee stole *Helens* (as they say) when she was 50. yeeres olde, from *Aphidia*, which Citie *Caster* and *Pollux* ouerturned; when they followed after *Thesew* to recouer their sister. *Erasistratus* and *Pausanias* write that *Thesew* begat her with child at *Argos*, where shee erected a Temple to *Lucina*: but her age makes that tale vnlikely to bee true, and so doth *Ouid*, *Nō tam ex factō fructum tulit ille petunt, &c.* The rape *Eusebius* findes in the first of *Iair*, who gouerned *Israel* 22. yeeres, to whom succeeded *Iephtha* or *Iephth* fixe yeeres, to whom *Ibzan* who ruled *Iscen* yeeres, and then *Habibon* eight yeere: in wholtime was the fall of *Troy*. So as, if *Thesew* had a childe by her in the first of *Iair*, (at which time we must count her no lesse than fifteene yeere olde; for the women did not commonly beginne so young as they doe now) shee was then at least two and fiftie yeere olde at the destruction of *Troy*: and when shee was stolen by *Paris* eight and thirtie: but here in the *Chronologers* doe not agree. Yet *Eusebius* and *Bunting* with *Halicarnassus* doe

Strab. lib. 9.
Paus. in Cor.
In Epist. Helon.

Iud. x. 3.

doe in effect consent, that the Citie was entred, and burnt in the first yeere of *Demophon* King of *Athens*, the succellour of *Minestheus*, the succellour of *Thesew*, seuentene dayes before the *Summer Tropique*, and that about the eleuenth of September following, the *Troians* crost the *Hellspont* into *Thrace*, & wintred there, and in the next spring that they navigated into *Sicilia*, where wintred the second yeere, the next summer they arriued at *Lawentum*, and builded *Launium*. But *S. Augustine* bath otherwise, that when *Poliphides* gouerned *Scyron*, *Minestheus* *Athens*, *Tautanes* *Affrya*, *Habdon* *Israel*, then *Eneas* arriued in *Italie*, transporting with him in twentie shippes the remainder of the *Troians*: but the difference is not great: and hereof more at large in the storie of *Troy* at hand.

In *Sicyonia* *Phæstus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight yeeres, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His succellours, *Adraistus*, who reigned foure yeeres, and *Poliphides* who reigned thirteene, are accounted to the time of *Iair*, so is also *Minestheus* King of *Athens*, and *Atræus*, who held a great part of *Peloponnesus*. In *Affrya*, during the gouernment of these two peaceable Iudges, *Mitrius* and after him *Tautanes* reigned. In *Egypt* *Amenophis*, the sonne of *Ramfes*, and afterwards *Annenemes*.

§. VII.

Of the warre of *Thebes* which was in this age.



N this age was the warre of *Thebes*, the most ancient that euer Greeke Poet or Historian wrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly against the *Peripateticks*) that the world had a beginning, vrgeth them with this obiection.

Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerum, & mundi, semperque aeterna suere,
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Troie,
Nō alius alij quoque res cecinerit poeta?

If all this world had no original,
But things haue euer beene as now they are:
Before the siege of *Thebes* or *Troyes* last fall,
Why did no Poet sing some elder warre?

It is true that in these times *Greece* was very saluage, the inhabitants being often chased from place to place, by the captaines of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon hee dwelt his owne longer than hee could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourse they vled little, neither did they plant many trees, or sow more corne than was necessarie for their sustentance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of money was not heard in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who measures the valew of gold and brasse by the worth in cattell; saying that the golden armour of *Glaucus*, was worth 100. beeces, and the copper armour of *Diomedes* worth nine.

Robberies by land and sea were common and without shame, and to steale horses or kine was the vusual exercise of their great men. Their townes were not so many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Myæne* the principall Citie in *Peloponnesus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that these were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancie, and though in some small townes of that halfe Ile of *Peloponnesus*, the inhabitants might haue enioyed quietnesse within their narrow bounds; as likewise did the

Atbenians because their Country was so barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the land in general was very rude, it will easily appeare to such as consider, what *Thucydides* the greatest of their Historians hath written to this effect, in the praeface to his Historie. Wherefore, as in the latter times, idle *Chroniclers* vñ when they want good matter, to fill whole bookes with reports of great frosts, or dry summers, and other such things which no man cares to read, so did they who spake of Greece in her beginnings, remember onely the great floods which were in the times of *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*: or else rehearse fables of men changed into birds, of strange monsters, of adulterie committed by their Gods, and the mightie men which they begat, without writing ought that sauueth red of humanitie before the time of the warre of *Thebes*: the brieue whereof is this.

HOM. Odyss. 11.

Oedipus the sonne of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, hauing bene cast forth when hee was an infant, because an Oracle foretolde what euill should come to passe by him, did afterwards in a narrow passage contending for the way, slay his owne father, not knowing either then or long after, who hee was. Afterward hee became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queene *Iocasta*, called by *Homer Epiclese*: on whom, not knowing her to bee his mother, hee begat two sonnes, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in proceesse of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his parents, hee vnderstood the grieuous murder and incest hee had committed, he tore out his owne eyes for griefe, and lete the Citie. His wife and mother did hang her selfe. Some say, that *Oedipus* hauing his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly cursing his sonnes, because they suffered their father to bee cast out of the Towne, and ayded him not. Howsoeuer it were, his two Sonnes made this agreement, that the one of them should reigne one yeere, and the other another yeere; and so by course rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill obserued. For when *Polynices* had after a yeeres Government reigned, the Kingdome to his brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the first yeere, hee refused to giue ouer the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fled vnto *Argos*, where *Adrastus* the sonne of *Talaus* then reigned, vnto whose palace comming by night, hee was driuen to seek lodging in an out-houise, on the backside.

There hee met with *Tydeus* the sonne of *Oeneus*, who was fled from *Calidon*: with whom struing about their lodging, hee fell to blowes. *Adrastus* hearing the noyse, came forth and tooke vp the quarrell. At which time perceiving in the shield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lyon, hee remembered an olde Oracle, by which hee was aduised to giue his two daughters in marriage, to a Lyon and a Bore: and accordingly hee did bestow his daughter *Argia* vpon *Tydeus*, and *Dipyle* vpon *Polynices*, promising to reitore them both to their Countries. To this purpose leuying an armie, and assembling as many valiant Captaines as hee could draw to follow him, hee was desirous among others to carrie *Amphiarus* the sonne of *Oideus* a great Soothsayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiarus*, who is said to haue foreseene all things, knowing well that none of the Captaines should escape, save onely *Adrastus*, did both vterly refuse to bee one in that expedition, and perswaded others to stay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the wife of *Amphiarus*, offering vnto her a very faire bracelet, vpon condition that shee should cause her husband to assit him. The Soothsayer knowing what should worke his destinie, forbidd his wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the bracelet was in her eye so precious a iewel, that she could not refuse it. Therefore whereas a great controuersie, betwene *Amphiarus* and *Adrastus*, was by way of compromise put vnto the decision of *Eriphyle*, either of them being bound by solemne oath to stand to her appointment: shee ordered the matter so, as a woman should, that loued a bracelet better than her husband. Hee now finding that it was more easie to foresee than auoide destinie, sought such count

fort as reuenge might afford, giuing in charge to his sonnes, that when they came to fullage, they should kill their mother and make strong warre vpon the *Thebans*.

Now had *Adrastus* assembled all his forces, of which, the seuen chiefe leaders were, himselfe, *Amphiarus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in steade of whom some name *Metisfeus*) all *Argiues*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Ætolian*, and *Parthenopeus* the *Arcadian* sonne of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the armie came to the *Nemean* wood, they met a woman whom they desired to helpe them to some water, she hauing a child in her armes, laid it downe, and led the *Argiues* to a spring: but ere three returned, a Serpent had slaine the childe. This woman was *Hippolyte* the daughter of *Thoas* the *Lemnian*, whom shee would haue saved when the women of the Ile slew all the males by conspiracie, intending to lead an *Amazonian* life. For such her pietie, the *Lemnian* wiues did sell her to *Pyrrates*, and the *Pyrrates* to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Country about *Nemea*, whose yong sonnes *Opheltes* or *Archemorus*, the did nurse, and lost as is shewed before. When vpon the childs death shee hid herselfe for feare of her maister, *Amphiarus* told her sonnes where they should finde her: and the *Argiues* did both kill the Serpent which had slaine the childe, and in memorie of the chaunce, did institute solemne funerall games called *Nemean*, wherein *Adrastus* wanne the prize with his swift horse *Arion*, *Tydeus* with whorlcbats, *Amphiarus* at running and quoying, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Parthenopeus* at shooting, and one *Laococus* in darting. This was the first institution of the *Nemean* games, which continued after famous in Greece for very many ages. There are, who thinke that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltus*, a *Lacedemonian*. Some say by *Hercules*, when hee had slaine the *Nemean* Lyon: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here set downe.

From *Nemea* the *Argiues* marching onwards, arrived at *Cithæron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them sent Embassadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Coucnants betwene him and *Polynices*. This message was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was thoroughly resolued to holde what hee had, as long as hee could: so which *Tydeus* perceiving and intending partly to get honour, partly to trie what mettle was in the *Thebans*, hee made many challenges, and obtained victorie in all of them, not without much enuie and malice of the people, who laide fittie men in ambush to intercept him at his returne to the armie, of which fittie hee slew all but one, whom hee sent backe to the Citie as a reporter and witness of his valour. When the *Argiues* vnderstood how resolute *Eteocles* was, they presented themselves before the Citie, and incamped round about it. *Thebes* is said to haue had at that time seuen gates, which belike flood not farre asunder, seeing that the *Argiues* (who afterward when they were very farre stronger, could scarce muster vp more thousands then *Thebes* had gates) did compass the towne. *Adrastus* quartered before the gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Oegyan*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiarus* at *Proctis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchisis*, *Parthenopeus* at *Electra*, and *Polynices* at *Hypsistia*. In the meane season, *Eteocles* hauing armed his men, and appointed Commanders vnto them, tooke aduice of *Trochus* the Soothsayer, who promised victorie to the *Thebans*, if *Athenacus* the sonne of *Creon* a principall man of the Citie, would vowe himselfe to bee slaine in honour of *Mars* the God of warre. So full of malice and pride is the Diuell, and so enuious at his Creators glorie, that hee not onely challengeth honours due to God alone, as oblation: and sacrifice with all Diuine worship, but commandeth vs to offer our selues, and our children vnto him, when hee hath sufficiently clouded mens vnderstanding, and bewitched their wits with ignorance and blinde deuotion. And such abominable sacrifice of men, maidens, and children hath hee exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Galles*, *Germanes*, *Cyprians*, *Aegyptians*, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or feare they were most filled with superstition. But as they grew more wise, so did hee waxe lesse impudent in cunning, though not

lesse malicious in desiring the continuance of such barbarous inhumanitie. For King *Diphilus* in *Cyprus* without aduice of any Oracle, made the Idoll of that Country reit contented with an Ox in head of a man. *Tiberius* forbade humane sacrifices in *Africa*, and crucified the Priests in the groves where they had practised them. *Heraclus* taught the *Italians* to drowne men of hay in stead of the liuing: yet among the saluages in the West *Indies* these cruell offerings haue been practised of late ages: which as it is a sufficient argument that *Satans* malice is onely couered and hidden by this subtiltie among ciuill people: so may it serue as a probable Coniecture of the barbarismes then reigning in *Greece*. For *Menacius*, as soone as he vnderstood that his death might purchase victorie to his people, belowed himselfe (as he thought) vpon *Mars*,¹⁰ killing himselfe before the gates of the Citie. Then was a battaile fought, wherein the *Argiues* prevailed so farre at the first, that *Capaneus* aduancing ladders to the wall, got vp vpon the rampart: whence, when he fell or was cast downe, or (as writers haue it) was stricken downe by *Iupiter* with a thunder-bolt, the *Argiues* fled. Many on each part were slaine in this battell, which caused both sides to desire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might trie out the quarrell in single fight: whereto the two brethren according, flew each other.

Another battell was fought after their death, wherein the sonnes of *Asphus* behaued themselves very valiantly: *Ismaeus* one of the sonnes slew *Hippomedon* which was one of the seven Princes: *Parthenopaus* being another of the seven (who was faide to haue bene so faire that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was slaine by *Amphidicus*, or as some say, by *Perichymenus* the sonne of *Neptune*: and the valiant *Tydeus* by *Menealus*: yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menealus* was brought vnto him by *Amphiarauus*, which hee cruely tore open and swallowed vp the braines. Vpon which fact, it is said, that *Pallas*, who had brought from *Iupiter* such remedie for his wound, as should haue made him immortal, refused to bestow it vpon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might haue continued immortal, did perish through the beauly rage that hee shewed at his death.

The host of the *Argiues* being wholly discomfited, *Adrastus* and *Amphiarauus*³⁰ fledde: of whom *Amphiarauus* is said to haue been swallowed quicke into the earth, nere to the riuer *Ismenus*, together with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens sight, being peraduenture ouerwhelmed with dead carriages or drowned in the riuer: and his bodie neuer found nor greatly sought for. *Adrastus* escaped on his good horse *Arian*, and came to *Albens*; where sitting at an Altar called the Altar of Mercie, hee made supplication for their aide to recover their bodies. For *Creon* hauing obtained the Government of *Thebes*, after the death of *Eteocles*, would not suffer the bodies of the *Argiues* to be buried: but caused *Antigone*, the only daughter then liuing of *Oedipus*, to be buried quicke, because shee had fought out and buried the bodie of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creons* Edict. The *Athenians* also condescending to the request of *Adrastus*, did send forth an armie vnder the Conduct of *Thebes*, which tooke *Thebes*, and restored the bodies of the *Argiues* to Sepulture: at which time *Eucadne* the wife of *Capaneus*, threw herselfe into the funerall fire, and was burnt willingly with her husband. But it little contented the sonnes of those Captaines which were slaine at *Thebes*, that any lesse reuenge should be taken of their fathers death, than the ruine of the Citie: wherefore tenne yeeres after hauing leuiued forces, *Egealeus* the sonne of *Adrastus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopaus*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Thersander* of *Polynices*, and *Euripylus* of *Metislaus*, marched thither vnder the conduct of *Alcmaon* the sonne of *Amphiarauus*: with whom also went his brother *Amphiloctus*. *Apollo* promised victorie if *Alcmaon* were their Captaine, whom afterward by another Oracle he commaunded to kill his owne mother.

When they came to the citie, they were incountred by *Laodamas* the son of *Eteocles* then King of the *Thebans*, (for *Creon* was only Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though hee did

did valiantly in the battaile, and slue *Egealeus*, yet was he put to the worst, and driuen to fle, or (according to *Apollodorus*) slain by *Alcmaon*. After this disaster the citizens began to desire composition; but in the meane time they conuayed themselues with their wiues and children away from thence by night, and so began to wander vp and downe, till at length they built the Towne called *Eschias*. The *Argiues*, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Towne, entering into it, sacked it, threw downe the walls, and layd it waste; howbeit it is reported by some that the Towne was saued by *Thersander*, the sonne of *Polynices*, who causing the Citizens to returne, did there raigne ouer them. That hee saued the Citie from vtter destruction, it is very likely, for hee reigned there, and led the *Thebans* to the Warre of *Troy*, which very shortly after ensued.

¶ VIII.

Of *Iephthas* and how the three hundred yeeres which hee speake of, *Iud. 11. v. 28.* are to be reconciled with the places, *Act. 13. 20. 1. Reg. 6. 1.* together with some other things touching Chronologie about these times.

After the death of *Sair* (nere about whose times these things happened in *Greece*, and during whose government, and that of *Tholus*, *Israel* liued in peace and in order) they reuolted againe from the law, and service of God, and became more wicked and Idolatrous than euer. For whereas in the former times they worshipped *Baal* and *Asteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adioyning, and embraced the Idolls of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Mobabites* and *Ammonites*: with those of the *Philistines*. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites* and *Midianites*: so now he scourged them by the *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philistines*.

Now among the *Israelites*, those of *Gilead* being most oppressed, because they bordered vpon the *Ammonites*, they were infort to seeke *Iephthas*, whom they had formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base borne; but hee (notwithstanding those former iniuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of deuillish hatred and reuenge, was content to leade the *Gileadites* to the Warre, vpon condition that they should establish him their Gouvernour after victorie. And when he had disputed with *Ammon* for the Land, disproued *Ammons* right, and fortified the title of *Israel* by many arguments, the same preuailing nothing, hee beganne the warre; and being strengthened by God, ouerthrew them: and did not onely beate them out of the plaines, but forst them ouer the mountaines of *Arabia*, euen to *Minimith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities exprest heretofore in the description of the holy Land. After which victory it is said, that he performed the vaine vow, which hee made, to sacrifice the first liuing creature hee incountred, comming out of his house to meete him; which happened to be his owne daughter, and only child, who with all patience submitted herselfe, and onely desired two Moneths time to bewaile her Virginitie on the mountaines of *Gilead*; because in her the issues of her Father ended: but the other opinion that shee was not offered, is more probable, which *Berthaus* and others proue sufficiently.

After these things the children of *Israel*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either enuious of *Iephthas* victorie, or other wise making way to their future calamitie, and to the most grieuous slavery that euer *Israel* suffered, quarrelled with *Iephthas*, that they were not called to the Warre, as before time they had consented with *Gideon*. *Iephthas* hereupon enforst to defend himselfe against their fury, in the incounter slew of them two and fortie thousand, which so weakened the bodie of the Land, as the *Philistines* had

Iud. 10.

The persecuti-
on of the *Am-
monites* lasted
18. yeeres, and
ended in the
yeere of the
World 1860.
in which yeere
Iephthas began.
Iud. 11.

Iud. 11. 33.

Ber. in Iud.

Iud. 12.

had an easie conquest of them all not long after: *Iephtha*, after he had iudged *Israel* six yeeres, died: to whom succeeded *Iezan*, who ruled seven yeeres: after him *Eloa* was their Iudge ten yeeres: in all which time *Israel* had peace. *Eusebius* finds not *Eloa*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this Iudge was omitted.

Now before I goe on with the rest, it shall bee necessary vpon the occasion of *Iephtha's* account of the times *Iud. 11. 28.* (where he sayes that *Israel* had then posselt the East side of *Jordan* 300. yeeres) to speake somewhat of the times of the Iudges, and of the differing opinions among the Diuines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point seeming repugnant, or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute between *Iephtha* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of *S. Paul*, *Act. 13.* the third that which is in the first of *Kings*. *Iephtha* here challengeth the possession of *Gilead* for 300. yeeres: *Saint Paul* giueth to the *Iudges*, as it seemes, from the end of *Iofua*, to the last of *Heli*, 450. yeeres. In the first of *Kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Salomons* Temple, there were consumed 480. yeeres. To the first *Beroaldus* findeth *Iephtha's* 300. yeeres to bee but 266. yeeres, to wit, 18. of *Iofua*, 40. of *Othniel*, 80. of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40. of *Debora*, 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 23. of *Thola*, and 22. of *Iair*: But *Iephtha* (saith *Beroaldus*) putteth or propoeth a certaine number, for an vncertaine: *Sicvt dicit animum agi prope trecentisimum, ex quo nullus item ea de re mouerit Israeli; 50 hie speakeeth (saith hee) as meaning, that ita ita was about or wel-nigh the three hundred yeeres, since Israel possessed those Countries, no man making question of their right. Codoman* on the contrary findes more yeeres than *Iephtha* named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were spent in *Israel's* captiuitie, at severall times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Iephtha* forbore to reapeate the whole summe or any great part, lest the *Ammonites* should haue iustly objected, that 71. of those yeeres, the *Israelites* were in captiuitie and vassals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name 300. yeeres it was enough for prescription, hee omitted the rest.

To iustifie this account of 365. yeeres, besides the 71. yeeres of captiuitie or affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus's* 266. he addeth also 28. yeeres more, and so maketh vp the summe of 365. These 28. yeeres hee findeth out thus: 20. yeeres hee giues to the *Seniors* between *Iofua* and *Othniel*: and where *Beroaldus* alloweth but 18. yeeres to *Iofua's* his gouernment, *Codoman* accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to *Iosephus*; whereas *S. Augustine* and *Eusebius* giue him 27. *Melancthon* 32. The trueth is, that this addition of 28. yeeres is farre more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the yeeres of affliction (to wit, 34. yeeres of the 71.) it wee addeth them to the 266. yeeres of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of these, we haue the iust number of 300. yeeres. Neither is it strange that *Iephtha* should leaue out more than half of these yeeres of affliction: seeing as it is already said, the *Ammonites* might except against these 71. yeeres, and say, that during these yeeres, or at least a good part of them, the *Israelites* had no quiet possession of the Countries in question. *Martin Luther* is the Author of a third opinion, making those 300. yeeres remembered by *Iephtha*, to be 306. which odde yeeres, saith hee, *Iephtha* omiteth. But because the yeeres of euery Iudge as they reigned, cannot make vp this number of 306. but doe onely compound 266. therefore doth *Luther* adde to this number, the whole time which *Moses* spent in the *Deserts of Arabia Petrea*; which fortie yeeres of *Moses* added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266. make indeede 306.

But I see nothing in the Text to warrant *Luther's* iudgement herein: for in the dispute between *Iephtha* and *Ammon* for the Land of *Gilead*, it is written in the person of *Ammon* in these words: *Because Israel took my Land, when they came vp from Egypt from Arnon vnto Iaboc, &c. now therefore restore those Lands quietly or in peace. So by this place it is plaine that the time is not to bee accounted from Moses departure out*

out of *Egypt*: but from the time that the Land was posselt. For it is said, *Quid ex ipse terram meam; Because Israel took my Land*: and therefore the beginning of this account is to bee referred to the time of the taking: which *Iephtha* and we also confirmeth in these words: *When Israel dwelt in Hesbion, and in her Townes, and in Aror and in her Townes, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon 300. yeeres: why did ye not then recover them in that space?* So as this place speaketh directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of *Gilead* 300. yeeres: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that *Israel* had to possesse it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me; for we doe not vfe to reckon the time of our conquests in *France*, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions.

Iunius neuertheless likes the opinion of *Luther*, and sayes, that this time of 300. yeeres hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Iephtha's* narration: when he makes a briefe repetition of *Moses* whole iourney: to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of *Iudges*, in our translation in these words: *But when Israel came vp from Egypt, &c.* and therefore *Moses* his forty yeeres (as he thinkes) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. yeeres: and not only the time in which *Israel* posselt *Gilead*, according to the Text and *Iephtha's* owne words: of which I leaue the iudgement to others; to whom also I leaue to iudge, whether we may not beginne the 480. yeeres, from the deliuerance out of *Egypt* to the Temple, euen from the first departure out of *Egypt*, and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of *S. Paul's* and *Iephtha's* account with this reckoning: than any of those that as yet haue been signified. For first, touching *Iephtha's* 300. yeeres of possession of the East side of *Jordan*, it is to be remembered, that for a good while before the *Israelites* possessed it, *Sehon* and *Og* had dispossessed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: so that when the *Israelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possession which they had, passed to *Israel*; and so *Iephtha* might say that they had possessed those Countries 300. yeeres, reckoning 266. yeeres of their owne possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings *Sehon* and *Og*, whose right the *Israelites* had by the law of conquest.

The second place disputed is this of *S. Paul*, *Act. 13.* that from the end of *Iofua* to the beginning of *Samuel*, there past 450. yeeres. And this place *Luther* vnderstandeth also besides the letter (as I finde his opinion cited by *Functius Krentzenbinius*, and *Beza*) for I haue not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moses*, to the last yeere of *Heli*, but 357. yeeres: and this he doth the better to approve the times from the egression out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the first *King* 6. is said to be 480. yeeres.

Now so far as much as *S. Paul* (as it seemes) findes 450. yeeres from the death of *Iofua*, to the last of *Heli*, and leaues but 30. yeeres for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who gouerned 40. for *Dauid* who ruled 40. and for *Salomon* who was the Crowne three whole yeeres ere the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was error in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of *S. Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward hee gaue vnto them Iudges about 450. yeeres, vnto the time of Samuel*: the words than afterward, being cleerely referred to the death or after the death of *Iofua*, as shall be hereafter proued. But where *S. Luke* rehearsing the words of *S. Paul*, wrote 350. yeeres (saith *Luther*) the Scribe in the transcription being deceived by the affinity of those two Greeke wordes, whereof the one signifieth 300. and the other 400. wrote *Tetracosidis*, for *Tricosisis*; 400. yeeres, for 300. yeeres; and 450. for 350. This hee seeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary iudgement to this hath *Codoman*: where *Luther* and *Beza* beginne at *Moses* death, he takes his account from the death of *Iofua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430. yeeres: to wit, of the *Iudges* (not reckoning *Samsons* yeeres) 319. and of yeeres of seruitude and affliction vnder strangers 111. The reason why he doth not reckon

Reide the 54. of *Iofua*, and the 1. *Iud. 7.* *Functius* *Chron. fol. 4.* Beza in his Annotations vpon the 13. of the *Act. 13.*

Act. 13. 20.

Samsons

Iud. 13.
Iud. 15. 11.

Samsons 20. yeeres, is because hee thinks that they were part of the 40. yeeres, in which the *Philistims* are said to have oppressed *Israel*. For it is plaine that duringall *Samsons* time they were Lords ouer *Israel*. So then of the *Judges*, besides these 111. yeeres of seruitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I haue said) 319. yeeres, which two summes put together make 430. yeeres, and whereas *S. Paul* nameth 450. yeeres, he finds 20. yeeres to make vp *S. Pauls* number, to haue been spent after the death of *Iofua* by the *Seniors*, before the captiuitie of *Cushan*, or the election of *Othoniel*: which 20. yeeres added to 430. make 450. according to *S. Paul*. To approuethis time of the Elders, hee citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of *Iofua*, and the second of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel serued the Lord all the dayes of Iosvā, and all the dayes of the Elders that ouer-lived Iosvā*: so as to these times of the Elders, *Codoman* giueth 20. yeeres, which makes before 450. according to *S. Paul*. Neither would it breede any great difficulty in this opinion, if here also the 20. yeeres of the *Seniors*, betwene *Iofua* and *Othoniel*, should be denied. For they which denie these yeeres, and make *Othoniels* 40. to beginne presently vpon the death of *Iofua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning they haue 20. yeeres lesse than *Codoman*, so toward the end of it (when they reckon the yeeres of affliction apart from the yeeres of the *Judges*, in the number of *Samsons* yeeres, and of the 40. yeeres of the *Philistims* oppressing the *Israelites*, they haue 20. yeeres more than *Codoman*. For they reckon these 40. yeeres of oppression all of them a-part from *Samsons* 20. but *Codoman*, as is said, makes *Samsons* 20. to be the one halfe of the 40. of the *Philistims* oppressions; so that if the 20. yeeres of the *Seniors*, be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text seemes to inforce) that the *Philistims* in an *Inter-regnum*, before *Samson* iudged *Israel*, vexed the *Israelites* 40. yeeres, besides the 20. while *Samson* was their *Iudge*, and so the reckoning will come to 450. yeeres betwene the end of *Iofua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of any *Inter-regnum* of the *Seniors*, betwene *Iofua* and *Othoniel*: For if the times of their affliction be summed, they make 111. yeeres, to which if wee adde the yeeres of the *Judges*, which are 239. we haue the iust summe of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may seeme to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we should admit of their correction thereof, and reade with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceiue that this time of 350. yeeres, is to beginne immediately, or soone after the death of *Moses*: certainly the place of *S. Paul* doth evidently teach the contrarie, though it bee received for true that there was *vitium scriptoris* in the rest. For these be *S. Pauls* words: *And about the time of 40. yeeres, God suffered their manners in the wilderness: And he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of Canaan, and diuided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward hee gaue vnto them Iudges about 450. yeeres, vnto the time of SAMUEL the Prophet.* So as first in the eighteenth verse he speaketh of *Moses* and of his yeeres spent in the wilderness, then in the nineteenth verse hee cometh to the 40. of *Iofua*, which were that he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of Canaan, and diuided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth verse it followeth: *Then afterward hee gaue them Iudges about 450. yeeres, &c.* and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moses*, is wide of *S. Pauls* meaning, so farre as my weake understanding can pierce it. The only in-conuenience of any waight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place, in the *Acts* is that it seems irreconcilable with the account, 1. *Reg.* 6. 11. For if indeede there were spent 450. yeeres betwene the end of *Iofua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there must needs be much more than 480. yeeres betwene the beginning of the *Israelites* iourneying from *Aegypt*, and the foundation of the Temple by *Salomon*. To this difficultie *Codoman* answereth, that these 480. yeeres, 1. *Reg.* 6. 1. must beginne to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their iourneying from *Aegypt*, which hee makes to be 25. yeeres after the beginning of *Othoniels* government, from whence if wee call the yeeres of the *Judges*, with the yeeres of seruitude (which summes according to his account, of which we haue already spoken, make

make 397. yeeres) and to these yeeres adde the 40. of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40. of *Dauid*, and the 3. of *Salomon*, wee shall haue the iust summe of 480. yeeres. Neither is it hard (saith he) that the *annus egressus*, 1. *Reg.* 6. 1. should be vnderstood *egressus non incipientis sed finis*, the yeere of their coming out of *Aegypt* (for so it is in the originall) or the yeere after they came out of *Aegypt*, may well be vnderstood for the yeere after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandering from thence. For so wee finde that things which were done 40. yeeres after they had set foote out of *Aegypt*, are said to haue been done in their going out of *Aegypt*, as *Psal.* 114. *When Israel came out of Aegypt, Iordan was diuen backe,* and *Deut.* 4. 45. *These are the testimonies which Moses spake when they came out of Aegypt.* And thus farre it seemes we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the word *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exiissent*, or *ab exitu finis*: for it *Iunius Deut.* 4. 45. doe well reade *quum exiissent*, for *in exitu*, as it seemes that here in he doth well, why may not we also, to auoide contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *postquam exiissent*?

The next point to be cleared, is how their iourneying should be said not to haue had end vntill the 25. yeere after the victory of *Othoniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth, that then it had no end till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not vntill this time: at which time the *Danites* at length seated themselves, as it is declared *Iud.* 18. For doubtlesse to this time the expedition may most conueniently be referred. And thus without any great inconuenience to him appearing doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Iephia*, and *S. Paul*, with that in the first of *Kings*, 2. 6. Now whereas it is said that the expedition of the *Danites* was when there was no King in *Israel*: to this *Codoman* answereth, that it is not necessary that we should suppose that *Othoniel* liued all those 40. yeeres of rest, of which *Iud.* 3. 11. so that by the 25. yeere after his victory, either he might haue been dead, or at least, as *Gideon* did, he might haue refused all foweriegnitie, and so either way it might truly be said that at this time (to wit, the 25. yeere after *Othoniels* victorie) there was no King in *Israel*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as consonant to other *Chronologers* grounding their opinions on the plaine Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it selfe round enough and coherent, might perhaps bee received as good: especially considering, that the speeches of *S. Paul* haue not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they found, and are set downe. But seeing that he wanteth all helpe of authority, we may iustly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conquest of *Lais*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth yeere of *Othoniel*? Or what other probability hath he than his owne coniecture, to shew that *Othoniel* did so renounce the office of a *Iudge* after 40. five and twenty yeeres, that it might then be truly sayd there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his owne eyes?

Now concerning the rehearfall of the Law by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Iordan*, they might indeede be properly sayd to haue been, when *Israel* came out of *Aegypt*; like as we say that King *Edward* the first was crowned when he came out of the holy Land, for so all iournies with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they read. But I thinke hee can finde no such phrase of speech in Scripture as limiteth a iourney by an accident, or faith by conuerting the proposition, when *Iordan* was turning back, *Israel* came out of *Aegypt*. Indeede most vnproper it were to giue date vnto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finished long before, namely to say, that King *Edward* at his arriuall out of *Palestina*, did winne *Scotland*, or died at *Carlisle*. How may wee then beleue that enterprize performed so many yeeres after the diuision of the Land (which followed the conquest at the iournys end) should be said to haue been at the time of the departure out of *Aegypt*? Or who will not thinke it most strange, that the most notable

account

account of time, serving as the only guide for certaine ages in sacred *Chronologie*, should not take name and beginning from that illustrious delivrance out of *Egypt*, rehearsed often by God himselfe among the principall of his benefits to *Israel*, wherein the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as like wise are the yeere and moneth wherein it expired) and the forme of the yeere vpon that occasion changed; but should haue reference to the surprizing of a Towne by 600. men, that robbed a Chappell by the way, and stole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to worke in Gods name? For this accident whereupon *Cadoman* buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time farre different from that which he supposeth, and is indeede rather by him placed in such a yeere, because it best stood with his interpretation so to haue it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it selfe.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirme that the Apostle *Saint Paul* did not herein labour to set downe the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but only to shew that God, who had chosen *Israel* to be his people, delivred them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Judges*, and *Prophets*, vnto the time of *Saul*, did raise vp our *Lord Iesus Christ* out of the seede of *David* the King, in whose succession the Crowne was established, and promise made of a Kingdome that should haue no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to haue beene the true *Messias*) the Apostle was so farre from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the Historie being so well knowne and beleued of the *Iewes* to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40. yeeres consumed in the wilderness, whereof no man doubted, saying that God suffered their manners in the wilderness about 40. yeeres. In like manner he proceeded, saying, that from the diuision of the Land vnto the dayes of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whose time they required to haue a King, there passed about 450. yeeres. Neither did he stand to tell them, that an hundred and eluen yeeres of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. yeeres of the *Judges*: for this had beene an impertinent digression from the argument which hee had in hand. Wherefore it is a worke not so needfull as laborious, to search out of this place that which the Apostle did not here intend to teach, when the summe of 480. yeeres is so exprelly and purposely set downe.

AR. 13.

Now that the words of *S. Paul* (if there be no fault in the Copie through error of some Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of *Chronologie*, but must be taken, as hauing reference to the memorie and apprehension of the vulgar, it is euident by his ascribing in the same place 40. yeeres to the reigne of *Saul*: whereas it is manifest that those yeeres were diuided betweene *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea, that farre the greater part of them were spent vnder the government of the Prophet, how soeuer they are here included in the reigne of the King. As for those that with so much cunning forsake the generall opinion, when it fauoureth not such exposition as they bring out of a good minde, to helpe where the neede is not ouer great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of *S. Paul* were sufficiently iustified by *Bernardus*, as hauing reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in those dayes, that the 111. yeeres of seruitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339. yeeres ascribed to the *Judges*; which account the Apostle would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speake as the vulgar, qualifying it with a *quasi*, where he saith, *quasi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis, As it were foure hundred and fifty yeeres*. But *Cadoman* being not thus contented, would needes haue it to be so indeede, and therefore disioynes the members to make the account euen. In so doing he dasheth himselfe against a notable Text, whereupon all Antours haue builded (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precisely doth cast vp the yeeres from the departure out of *Egypt*, vnto the building of *Solomons* Temple, not omitting the very Moneth it selfe.

1. King. 6.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) hauing already giuen faith

faith to his owne interpretation of *S. Paul*, he thinketh it more needfull to find some new exposition for that which is of it selfe most plaine, than to examine his owne coniecture vpon a place that is full of controuersie. Thus by expounding, after a strange methode, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he loseth himselfe in those waies wherein before him neuer man walked. Surely if one should vrge him to giue reason of these new opinions, he must needs answer, That *Othniel* could not gouerne about 35. yeeres, because then was the taking of *Laihi*, at which time there was no King in *Israel*; That the *Danites* must needs haue taken *Laihi* at that time, because else wee could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might be termed the coming of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, without excluding the yeeres of seruitude; And that the yeeres of seruitude must needs be included, for that other wise he himselfe should haue spent his time vainly, in seeking to pleasure *S. Paul* with an exposition. Whether this ground be strong enough to vphold a Paradoxe, I leaue it to the decision of any iudicious Reader.

And now to proceede in our storie. To the time of *Iephth* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the prouisions which her husband *Mene-laüs*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycene*, made for her recouerie. Others referre this rape of *Helen* to the fourth yeere of *Iban*: from which time, if the Warre of *Troy* (as they suppose) did not begin till the third of which time, if the *Greekes* had sixe yeeres to prepare themselves: the rule holding not true in this Warre, *longa preparatio belli celerem esset victoriam*; That a long preparation begets a speedie victorie: for the *Greekes* consumed ten yeeres in the attempt: and *Troy* as it seemes was entred, sackt and burnt in the third yeere of *Habdon*.

Three yeeres after *Troy* taken, which was in the sixe yeere of *Habdon*, *Aeneas* arrived in *Italy*. *Habdon* in the eighth yeere of his rule died, after he had bene the Father of 40. sonnes and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is supposed, that the 40. yeeres of *Israels* oppression by the *Philistims* (of which *Ind. 13. v. 1.*)ooke beginning from the ninth yeere of *Sair*, and ended with the last of *Habdon*: I see no great reason for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cause of quarrell against *Iephth*, for not calling them to Warre ouer *Jordan*, if the *Philistims* had held them in seruitude in their owne Territories: and if *Ephraim* could haue brought 42000. armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppressd: and had it bene true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather haue fought against the *Philistims* with so powerfull an Armie for their owne deliuerance, than against their owne brethren the *Israelites*? But *Ammon* being ouerthrowne, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore these 40. yeeres must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of *Samson* and afterward: or else they must be referred to the inter-regnum betweene the death of *Habdon*, and the deliuerance of *Israel* by *Samson*, such as it was.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Warre of Troy.

p. I.

10

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets how they have observed Historically truth.



THE Warre at Troy with other Stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this Citie, by most Chronologers is found in the time of *Habdon*, Iudge of *Israhel*, whom in the last place I have mentioned) I rather choose here to intreat of in one intire narration, beginning with the linell descent of their Princes, than to breake the storie into pieces by rehearsing a-part in diuers yeeres the diuersitie of occurrences.

The Historie of the ancient Kings of Troy is vncertaine, in regard both of their originall, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Teucer* and

Dardanus were the two founders of that Kingdome. This is the opinion of *Virgil*: which if he (as *Reinecius* thinkes) tooke from *Berosus*, it is the more probable: if *Annius* borrowed it from him, then it rests vpon the authoritie of *Virgil*, who saith thus:

AEnid. 3.

Creta Iovis magni medio iacet insula Ponto:
Mons Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostra.
Centum Urbes habitant magnæ, uberrima regna:
Maximus und. Pater (si rite audita recorder)
TEUCRVS Rhæteas primum est aduocatus ad aras:
Optavitq; locum regno. Nondum Ilum & arcem
Perгамеа steterant: habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc Mater Cultrix Cybele, Corybantiæq; ora,
Idæamq; nemus.

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In the maine Sea the Ile of Creete doth lie:
Where Iove was borne, thence is our progenie.
There is mount Ida: there in fruitfull Land
An hundred great and goodly Cities stand.
Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)
TEUCER the eldest of our grand-fires came
To the Rhetean shores: and reigned there
Ere yet faire Ilion was built, and ere
The Towres of Troy: their dwelling place they sought
In lowell vales. Hence CYBELLES rites were brought:
Hence Corybantian Cymbales did remoue:
And hence the name of our Idæan groue.

Thus

Thus it seemeth by *Virgil*, who followed surely good authoritie, that *Teucer* first gaue name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned ere Troy was built by *Dardanus*: of which *Dardanus* in the same booke he speaks thus:

Est locus Hesperiam Graji cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque videre gleba.
OEnotry colere viri, nunc fama minores
Italiam distisse, ducta de nomine gentem.
Hæ nobis proprie sedes: hinc DARDANVS sortus:
Isiq; Pater, genus à quo Principe nostrum.

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Hesperia the *Grazians* call the place:
An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race.
OEnotrians held it, now the later progenie
Gives it their Captaines name, and calls it *Italie*;
This seate belongs to vs, hence DARDANVS,
Hence came the Author of our stocke, *Iasus*.

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Allo Amida. Atq; equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)
Auruncus ita ferre senex, hic ortus ut agris
DARDANVS Idæas Phrygiæ penetrant ad urbes,
Threiciamq; Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illam Coryti Tyræna ab sede profectum,
Auræa nunc solio stellantis regia celi
Accipit, &c.

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Some old *Auruncians*, I remember well,
(Though time have made the fame obscure) would tell
Of DARDANVS, how borne in *Italie*:
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flee.
And leauing *Tascone* (where he earst had place)
With *Corytus* did faile to *Samothrace*;
But now intronized he sits on high,
In golden Palace of the flutrie skie.

But contrarie to this, and to so many Authors, approving and confirming it, *Reinecius* thinkes that these names, *Troes*, *Teucris*, and *Thracet*, are deriued from *Tiras* 40 or *Thiras* the sonne of *Iaphet*: and that the *Dardanians*, *Mysians*, and *Ascanians*, mixt with the *Troians*, were Germane Nations, descended from *Ashkenaz*, the sonne of *Gomer*: of whom the Countrey, Lake, and Riuer of *Ascanius* in *Asia* tooke name. That *Ashkenaz* gaue name to those places and people, it is not unlikely: neither is it unlikely, that the *Ascani*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times passe into 50 *Europe*: that the name of *Teucer* came of *Tiras*, the coniecture is somewhat hard. Concerning *Teucer*, whereas *Halicarnassus* makes him an *Athenian*, I finde none that follow him in the same opinion. *Virgil* (as is before shewed) reporteth him to bee of *Crete*, whose authoritie is the more to be regarded, because he had good meanes to finde the truth, which it is probable that he carefully sought, and in this did follow: so seeing it no way concerned *Augustus* (whom other-whiles hee did flatter) whether *Teucer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reinecius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus*, and others, that thinke him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the Sonne of *Seamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Countrey, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece *Batia* was the second wife of *Dardanus*, founder of *Troy*. *Reinecius* further thinks

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thinks that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and gave his Daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*: and that these were Parents to *Chryse*, first wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwise, and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the sonne of *Electra* by *Jupiter*, which *Electra* was the Daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* King of *Hecetria*, to whom she bare *Iafus*. *Annus* out of his *Berosus* finds the name of *Cambolus*, to whom he gives the addition of *Coritus*, as a Title of dignitie, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Iafus*; and further telling vs very particularly of the faction betweene these Brethren, which grew to such heate, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into *Samothracia*. The obscuritie of the historie gives leaue to *Annus* of saying what he list. I that loue not to vse such libertie, will forbear to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Sonne of *Jupiter*, it must haue beene of some elder *Jupiter* than the Father of those that liued about the Warre of *Troy*. So it is likewise probable that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra* was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which also is the opinion of *Boccace*. For (as hath often beene said) there were many *Jupiters*, and many of almost euery name of the Gods; but it was the custome to ascribe to some one the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my selfe with making any narrow search into these fabulous antiquities, but set downe

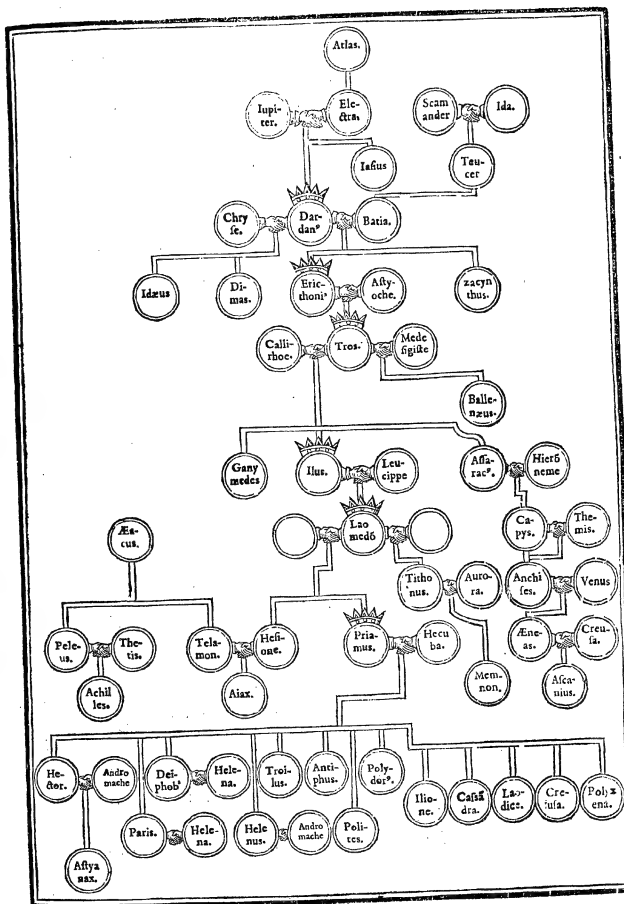
the Pedegree according to the generall fame; allowing to

Teucer such Parents as *Diodorus* gives, because others giue him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.

Atlas

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Concerning the beginning and continuance of the *Troian* Kingdome, with the length of euery Kings raigne, I haue chosen good Authors to be my guides, that in a Historie, wherein depends the most ancient computation of times among the *Greekes*, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the consent of Writers, and generall passage of things elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of *Troy*, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that Citie whilest it stood, it is reckoned by *Diodorus* to be 780. yeeres more ancient than the beginning of the 94th Olympiad. Whereas therefore 372. did passe betwene the beginning of the Olympiads, and the first yeere of the 94th it is manifest that the remainder of 780. yeeres, that is, 408. yeeres went betwene the destruction of *Troy*, and the first institution of those games by *Iphitus*, if the authoritie of *Diodorus* bee good proofe, who elsewhere tells vs, that the returne of the *Heracidae*, which was 80. yeeres after the fall of *Troy*, was 328. yeeres before the first Olympiad.

Herceunto agrees the authoritie of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the first of the seventh Olympiad, that is, foure and twentie yeeres after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432. later then the fall of *Troy*. *Solinus* in expresse wordes, makes the institution of the Olympiads by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 480. yeeres later then the destruction of *Troy*. The summe is easily collected by necessarie inference out of diuers other places in the same booke. *Herceunto* doth *Eusebius* reckoning exclusively agree: and *Eratosthenes*, (as hee is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes vp out of many particulars, the same totall summe, wanting but one yeere, as reckoning likewise exclusively.

The other collections of diuers Writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the same place, doe neither cohere any way, nor depend vpon any collaterall Historie, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of *Troy* being in the yeere before the Olympiads foure hundred and eight: wee must seeke the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of *Eusebius*, who leades vs from *Dardanus* on-wards through the raignes of foure Kings, by the space of two hundred and fise and twentie yeeres, and after of *Priamus*, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed vnder *Laomedon*, wee are faine to doe, as others haue done before vs, and take it vpon trust from *Annius* his Authours; beleeuing *Manetho* so much therather, for that in his account of the former Kings raignes, and of *Priamus*, hee is found to agree with *Eusebius*, which may giue vs leaue to thinke that *Annius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we need not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no Historie or account of time depends vpon the raigne of the former Kings, but onely vpon the ruine of the Citie vnder *Priamus*, it may suffice that wee are careful to place that memorabell accident in the due yeere.

True it is, that some objections appearing waightie, may bee alleged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answers I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those yeeres, wherein the *Greekes* knew no good forme of a yeere; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorabell, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this destruction of *Troy* was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprize that was vnder-taken by generall consent of all *Greece*, was the last warre of *Troy*, which hath bene famous euen to this day, for the numbers of Princes, and valiant Commanders there assembled: the great battailes fought with variable successe: the long indurance of the sieges the destruction of that great Citie; and the many *Colones* planted in sundry Countreies, as well by the remainder of the *Troians*, as by the victorious *Greekes* after their vnfortunate returne. All which things with innumerable circumstances of especiall note, haue bene deliuered vnto posteritie, by the excellent wits

of many writers, especially by the Poets of that great *Homer*, whose verses haue giuen immortallitie to the action, which might else perhaps haue bene buried in obliuion, among other worthy deedes, done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* saith;

*Vixere sortes ante AGAMEMNONA
Multi, sed omnes illecebrabiles
Vrgentur, ignotiq; longa
Nocte: carent quia vate sacro.*

Many by valour haue deferd renowned
Ere AGAMEMNON: yet lye all opprest
Vnder long night, vnwept for, and vknowne:
For with no sacred Poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilest these writers haue with strange fables, or (to speake the best of them) with *Allegories* farre strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble undertakers: they haue both drawne into suspicion that great vertue which they sought to adorne, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the Historie, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that wee seeke for the knowledge of such actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did menage them, of Poets, in whose workes are both profit & delight: yet small profit to those which are delighted ouermuch, but such as can either interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall finde matter in Poets, not vnworthy to be regarded of Historians. For those things excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of Authours, written of this great warre. All writers consent with *Homer*; that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the sonne of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking armes: but how he was hereunto emboldened it is doubtfull.

§. II.

Of the Rape of *HELEN*: and strength of both sides for the warre.



Erodotus fetcheth the cause of this rape from very farre; saying, That whereas the *Phenicians* had rauished *Io*, and carried her into *Aegypt*, the *Greekes* to be reuenged on the *Barbarians*, did first rauish *Europa*, whom they brought out of *Phenicia* into *Creta*, and afterward *Medea*, whom they fetcht from *Calchos*, denying to restore her to her father, till such time as they might be satisfied for the rape of *Io*. By these deedes of the *Greekes*, *Paris* (as the same *Herodotus* affirmes) was emboldened to doe the like; not fearing such reuenge as ensued. But all this narration seemes frivolous. For what had the King of *Calchos* to doe with the iniurie of the *Phenicians*? Or how could the *Greekes*, as in reuenge of *Io*, pleade any quarrell against him, that neuer had heard the name of *Phenicians*? They dider a writer of vnquestionable sinceritie, maketh it plaine, that the name of *Barbarians* was not vsed at all in *Homers* time, which that they should haue sought reuenge vpon all Nations as barbarous, for the iniurie receiued by one: or that all people else should haue esteemed of the *Greekes*, as of a people opposed to all the world; and that euen then when as the *Greekes* had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probability say, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redeliuery of *Hesione*, King *Priamus* his daughter, taken formerly by *Heracles*, and giuen to *Telamon*. This may haue bene true.

For

for *Telamon* (as it seemes) was a cruell man, seeing his owne sonne *Teucer* durst not come in his sight, after the warre of *Troy*, but fled into *Cyprus*, onely because his brother *Ajax* (which *Teucer* could not remedie) had slaine himselfe. Yet, were it so, that *Helen* was ill intreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely, that *Priamus* her brother would seeke to take her from her husband, with whom she had liued about thirtie yeeres, and to whom she had borne children which were to succcede in his Dominion. Whereupon I thinke that *Paris* had no regard, either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Helen*: but was merely incited by *Venus*, that is, by his lust, to doe that which in those dayes was very common. For not onely *Greekes* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greekes*, as *Heredotus* discoureth, but all people were accustomed to steale women and cattell, if they could by strong hand or power get them; and hauing stollen them, either to sell them away in some farre Countrey, or keepe them to their owne vse. So did *Thesus*, and *Pirithous* attempt *Proserpina*; and so did *Thesus* (long before *Paris*) rauish *Helen*. And these practices, as it appeares in *Thucydides*, were so common, that none durst inhabit neere vnto the Sea, for feare of piracy, which was accounted a trade of life no lesse lawfull then merchandize; wherefore *Tyndareus* the father of *Helen*, considering the beautie of his daughter, and the rape which *Thesus* had made, caused all her wooers, who were most of the principall men in *Greece*, to binde themselves by solemne oath, that if these were taken from her husband, they should with all their might helpe to recouer her. This done, hee gaue free choyce of a husband to his daughter, who chose *Menelaus*, brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cause which drew the *Greekes* vnto *Troy* in reuenge of *Helen*'s rape, was partly the oath which so many Princes had made vnto her father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping; for *Agamemnon*, besides his great Dominions in *Peloponnesus*, was Lord of many Ilands: hee was also rich in money, and therefore the *Arcadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom hee imbarked for *Troy* in his owne ships, which were more then any other of the *Greeke* Princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all *Greece*, either as bound by oath, or ledde by the reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*; or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprise; take armes against the *Troians*. The *Greeke* Fleet was (by *Homer*'s account) 1200. sayle, or thereabouts: but the vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build shippes with deckes; onely they vsed (as *Thucydides* saith) small shippes, meete for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fiftie men, the greatest 120. euery man (except the Captaines) being both a Marriner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appeares that the *Grecian* armie consisted of 100000. men, or thereabout. This was the greatest armie that euer was raised out of *Greece*: and the greatness of this armie doth well declare the strength and power of *Troy*, which tenne whole yeeres did stand out against such forces: yet were the *Troians* which inhabited the Citie, not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* laid in the second of *Homer*'s *Iliades*; but their followers and aydes were very many and strong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Mysia*, and the greatest part of *Asia* the lesse, tooke part with the *Troians*. The *Amazones* also brought them succour. And *Rhesus* out of *Thrace*, and *Menan* out of *Assyria* (though some thinke out of *Ethiopia*) came to their defence.

¶ III. 50

¶ III.

Of the *Gracians* iourney, and Embassage to *Troy*, and of *Helen*'s being detained in *Egypt*; and of the Sacrificing of *Iphigenia*.



Herefore the *Greekes* vnwilling to come to tryall of armes, if things might bee compounded by treatie, sent *Menelaus* and *Pylles* Embassadors to *Troy*; who demanded *Helen* and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his house. What answer the *Troians* made hereunto it is vncertaine. *Heredotus* from the report of the *Aegyptian* Priests makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his returne to *Troy*. The summe of his discourse is this.

Paris in his returne with *Helen*, being driuen by foule weather vnto the coast of *Egypt*, was accused for the Rape of *Egypt*, finding the accusation true by examination. *Proteus* then King of *Egypt*, till her husband should require on, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: dismissing *Paris* without further punishment, because hee was a stranger. When therefore the *Greekes* demanding *Helen* had answered, that she was in *Egypt*, they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of *Troy*. But when after the Citie taken, they perceived indeed the had not bene there, they returned home, sending *Menelaus* to aske his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer* and the whole Nation of Poets (except *Eurypides*) vary from this History. *Hom*er, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more graceful to their Poems, for the retaining of a faire Ladie, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to redeliuer her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odysses*, *Hom*er speaks of *Menelaus* his being in *Egypt*, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not easily beleueed, that he made for pleasure: and if he were driuen thither by contrary windes, much more may we thinke that *Paris* was likely to haue bene driuen thither by foule weather. For *Paris* immediately vpon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking such windes as hee could get, and rather enduring any storme, than to commit himselfe to any Haven in the *Greeke* Seas; whereas *Menelaus* might haue put into any port in *Greece*, and there haue remained with good entertainment, vntill such time as the winde had come about, and serued for his Nauigation.

One great argument *Heredotus* brings to confirme the saying of the *Aegyptian* Priests, which is, that if *Helen* had bene at *Troy*, it had bene vtter madnesse for *Priamus* to see so many miseries befall him, during the warre, and so many of his sonnes slaine for the pleasure of one, who neither was heire to the Kingdome (for *Helior* was elder) nor equall in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seeme that *Lucian* spake not more pleasantly than truly, when he said that *Helen*, at the warre of *Troy*, was almost as old as *Queene Hecuba*, considering that she had bene rauished by *Thesus* the companion of *Hercules*, who tooke *Troy* when *Priamus* was but young; and considering further, that she was sister to *Casior* and *Pollux* (he and *Pollux* being said by some to haue bene twinnes) who failed with the *Argonautes*, hauing *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* in their companie before the time that *Helen* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a principall Commander in the *Troian* warre. But whether it were so, that the *Troians* could not, or would not restore *Helen*, so it was that the Embassadors returned ill contented, and not very well intreated; for there wanted not some that aduised to haue them slaine. The *Greekes* hereupon incensed, made all haste towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom some say to haue bene a runnagate *Troian*, though no such thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captaines and all the Hoste with many troublesome answers and diuinations. For hee would haue *Agamemnon*'s daughter sacrificed to appease

Diana,

Diana, whose anger he said withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were sacrificed, or whether (as some write) the *Goddesse* was contented with a Hinde, it is not needfull here to be disputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the deuil, which awaits for all opportunities, is neuer more importunate, than where mens ignorance is most. *Calchas* also told the *Greekes*, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible, till some fatal impediments were remooued: and that till tenne yeeres were past, the towne should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding the *Greekes* proceeded in their enterprise, vnder the command of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his brother *Menelaus*; *Achilles* the most valiant of all the *Greekes*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phemius*; *Aias* and *Teucer*, the sonnes of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*,¹⁰ and his companion *Meriones*; *Nestor*, and his sonnes *Antilochus*, and *Thrasymedes*; *Vlysses*; *Menechmus* the sonne of *Petrus*, Captaine of the *Athenians*; *Diomedes* the sonne of *Tydeus*, a man of singular courage; the wife and learned *Palamedes*, *Acalaphus*, and *Ialmenus*, the sonnes of *Mars*, who had sailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philotes* also the sonne of *Peran*, who had the arrowes of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* said, that the Citie could not be taken; *Aias* the sonne of *Oileus*, *Peuleus*, *Thous*, *Eumelus*, *Tysandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus* the sonne of *Hercules*; *Podalgius*, and *Machon*, the sonnes of *Æsculapius*; *Epeus*, who is saide to haue made the wooden horse, by which the towne was taken, and *Protesilaus*, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the Oracle that threatened death to him that landed first.²⁰

§. IIII.

Of the Ailes of the Grecians at the siege.

THese, and many other of lesse note, arriuing at *Troy*, found such sharpe entertainment, as might easily perswade them to think that the warre would bee more than one yeeres worke. For in the first encounter, they lost *Protesilaus*, whom *Hector* slew, and many other, without any great harme done to the *Troians*: saue onely that by their numbers³⁰ of men, they wonne ground enough to incampe themselves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principall impediment which the *Greekes* found, was want of victuals, which grew vpon them by reason of their multitude, and the smallnesse of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an armie. Heereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Chersonesse*: others to robbe vpon the Sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the warre protracted nine whole yeeres, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the towne receiue little losse by them, hauing equall numbers to maintain the field against such *Greekes* as continued the siege, and a more safe retreat if the enemy got the better.⁴⁰

Wherefore *Ouid* saith, that from the first yeere, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all: and *Heraclides* commends as very credible, the report of *Herodotus*; That the *Greekes* did not lye before *Troy* the first nine yeeres: but onely did beate vp and downe the seas, exercising their men, and enriching themselves, and so by wasting the enemies Country, did blocke vp the towne, vntill they returned not, vntill the fatal time drew nere when it should be subuerted.

This is confirmed by the enquire which *Priamus* made, when the *Greeke* Princes came into the field, the tenth yeere, for he knew none of them; and therefore sitting vpon an high tower (as *Homer* tells) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all haue bene supposed that hee should bee ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the towne so many yeeres together. Betwene these relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodotus*, the difference is not much, the one saying that a few of the *Greekes* remained in the Campe before *Troy*, whilst the rest made purveyance by land and sea: the other, that the whole

Hom. Iliad.

whole armie did spend the time in waiting the sea-coastes. Neither doe the Poets greatly disagree from these authours: for they make report of many townes and lands wasted, and the people carried into Captiuitie; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the armie could not well, nor would haue spared, if any seruice of importance had bene to be performed before the Citie. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by general consent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe, and a great pestilence arole among the *Greekes*: which *Homer* saith that *Apollo* sent in reuenge of his Priests daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let goe, for any ransom: but *Heraclides* interpreting the place, saith that by *Apollo* was meant the Sunne: who raised pestilent foggies, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a moorish piece of ground. And it might well bee that the campe was ouer-pelted with those, who had bene abroad, and now were lodged all close together: hauing also grounded their ships within the fortifications.

About the sametime arose much contention betwene *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the bootie, wherof *Agamemnon*, as *General*, hauing first chosen for his part a captiue woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himselfe another, then *Aias*, *Vlysses*, and so the rest of the Chieftaines in order: When the Soothsayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnon*'s woman should be restored to her father, *Apollo*'s¹⁰ Priests, that so the Pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage and say, that hee alone would not lose his part of the spoile, but would either take that which had bene giuen to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Aias*, or to *Vlysses*. Heereupon *Achilles* desired him, but was faine to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to reuenge her losse, otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his Companies. But the *Greekes* encouraged by their Captaines, presented themselves before the Citie without him and his troups.

The *Troians* were now relieved with great succours, all the neighbour Countries hauing sent them ayd: partly drawne to that warre by their Commanders,³⁰ who assisted *Priamus* for money, wherewith hee abounded when the warre began (as appeares by his words in *Homer*) or for loue of himselfe and his sonnes, or hope of marriage with some of his many and faire daughters; partly also (as we may well guess) incited by the wrongs receiued of the *Greekes*, when they wasted the Countreys adioyning vnto *Troy*. So that when *Hector* issued out of the towne, hee was little inferior to his enemies in numbers of men, or qualitie of their Leaders. The principall Captaines in the *Troian* armie, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus* and the other sonnes of *Priamus*: *Aeneas*, *Antenor*, and his sonnes, *Polydorus*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Asius*, and the sonnes of *Panthus*, besides *Iphus*, who was slaine the first night of this attual, *Menon*, Queene *Penthesilea*, and others who came towards⁴⁰ the end of the warre. Betwene these and the *Greekes* were many battels fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tombe of King *Iulus* vpon the plaine; and another at the very trenches of the Campe, wherein *Hector* brake through the fortifications of the *Greekes*, and began to fire their ships; at which time *Aias*, the sonne of *Telamon* with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the onely men of note that remaining vnwounded, made head against *Hector*, when the state of the *Greekes* was almost desperate.

Another battell (for so antiquitie calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who hauing obtained leaue, drew forth *Achilles* troups, relieuing the wearie *Greekes* with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Vlysses*, and the rest of⁵⁰ the Princes, though sore wounded, yet were driuen to put on armour, and with help of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Troians* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was lost, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought backe into the Campe: the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torne from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of those warres, hauing slaine a man, to strip him and

and hale away his bodie, not restoring it without ranfome, if he were one of marke. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foote, lightly armed, and commonly followed the fucceffe of their Captaines; who rode not vpon horses, but in Chariots, drawne by two or three horses, which were guided by some trustie followers of theirs, which draue vp and downe the field, as they were directed by the Captaines, who by the swiftnesse of their horses presenting themselves where neede required, threw first their Iavelins, and then alighting fought on foote, with swords and battel-axes, retiring into the ranks of the footmen, or else returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began againe with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were lost, or broken. Their armes defensive were helmets, breast-plates, bootes of brasse or other metall, and shields commonly of leather, plated ouer. The offensive were swords and battel-axes at hand, and stones, arrows or darts when they fought at any distance. The vse of their Chariots (besides the swiftnesse) was to keepe them from wearineffe, whereto the leaders were much subiect, because of their armour, which the strongest and stoutest were heauiest: also that from them they might throw their Iavelins downewards, with the more violence. Of which weapon I finde not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driuen to returne to their Tents for a new one, when the old was gone. Likewise of armours they had little change or none; euery man (speaking of the chiefe) carried his owne compleat, of which if 10 any piece were lost or broken, he was driuen to repaire it with the like if he had any fitting, taken from some Captaine whom hee had slaine, and shipped: or else to borrow of them that had by such meanes gotten some to spare. Whereas therefore Achilles had lost his armour which Hector (as is said before) had taken from the body of Patroclus, he was faine to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very desirous, that he might reuenge the death of Patroclus his deare friend.

At this time Agamemnon reconciled himselfe vnto Achilles, not onely restoring his concubine Briseis, but giuing him very great gifts, and excusing former matters as well as he might. In the next battell Achilles did so behaue himselfe, that he did 30 not onely put the Troians to the worst, but also slew the valiant Hector, whom (if Homer may herein be beleeued) hee chased three times about the wallles of Troy. But great question may bee made of Homers truth in this narration. For it is not likely that Hector would stay alone without the Citie (as Homer doth report of him) when all the Troians were fled into it: nor that he could leape ouer the riuers of Xanthus and Simois, as he must haue done in that sight: nor that the Troians perceiving Hector in such an extremitie, would haue forborne to open some of their gates and let him in. But this is reported onely to grace Achilles, who hauing (by what meanes soeuer) slaine the noble Hector, did not onely carry away his dead bodie, as the custome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrusing leatherne thongs into 40 them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragged him shamefully about the field, selling the dead bodie to his father Priamus for a very great ranfome. But his crueltye and couetousnesse were not long vnreueged; for he was shortly after slaine with an arrow by Paris, as Homer sayes, in the Scæan gate, or as others in the Temple of Apollo, whither he came to haue married Polyxena the daughter of Priamus, with whom he was too farre in loue, hauing slaine so many of her brethren, and his body was ranfomed (as Lycophron saith) at the selfe-same rate that Hector was by him sold for. Not long after this, Penelopeia Queene of the Amazons arrived at Troy; who after some proofe giuen of her valour, was slaine by Pyrrhus the sonne of Achilles.

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of the taking of Troy, the wooden Horse, the Booke of Dares and DICTIS, the Colonies of the reliques of Troy.

Finally after the death of many worthy persons, on each side, the Citie was taken by night, as all writers agree: but whether by the treason of Æneus and Antenor; or by a wooden Horse, as the Poets, and common fame (which followed the Poets) haue deliuered, it is vncertaine. Some write that vpon one of the gates of Troy called Scaea, was the image of a horse, and that the Greekes entring by that gate, gaue occasion to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificiall horse. It may well bee that with some wooden engine, which they called an Horse, they either did batter the walls, as the Romans in after-times vsed to doe with the Ramme: or scaled the walls vpon the sudden, and so tooke the Citie. As for the hiding of men in the hollow bodie of a wooden horse, it had bene a desperate aduenture, and seruing to no purpose. For either the Troians might haue perceived the deceit, and slaine all those Princes of Greece, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintaine this report they are said to haue thought vpon) or they might haue left it a fewe dayes without the Citie (for it was vnlikely, that they should the very first day both conclude vpon the bringing it into the towne, and break downe their wallles vpon the suddaine to doe it) by which meanes they who were shut into it, must haue perished for hunger, if they had not by issuing forth vnseasonably discovered the inuention. Whereas further it is said, that this horse was built so high and great, that it could not bee brought into the towne through any of the gates, and that therefore the Troians were faine to pull downe a part of their wall to make way for it, through which breach the Greekes did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifest that the inclosing of so many principall men was altogether needlesse, considering that 30 without their helpe there was way sufficient for the armie, so that the surprising of any gate by them was now to no purpose.

John Baptista Gramay in his Historie of Asia, discoursing of this warre, saith that the Greekes did both batter the wall with a wooden engine, and were also let into the Citie by Antenor, at the Scæan gate: the townsmen sleeping and drinking without feare or care, because the fleet of the Grecians had hoisted saile, and was gone the day before to the Ile of Tenedos, thereby to bring the Troians into securitie. That the Citie was betrayed, the bookes of Dares and Dictys must proue, which whether we now haue the same that were by them written, it may bee suspected; for surely they who haue made mention of these writers in ancient times, would not, as they 40 did, haue followed the reports of Homer and others quite contradietorie in most points to these two authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they hauing serued in that warre made against the Common report: had it not been that either those bookes were euen in those times thought frivolous; or else contained no such repugnancie to the other authours as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of men slaine in this warre, which Dares and Dictys say to haue bene about 600000, on the Trojan side, and more than 800000, of the Greekes, it is a report meerey fabulous; forasmuch as the whole fleet of the Greekes was reckoned by Homer, who extolled their armie and deedes as much as bee could, to bee somewhat lesse than 1200 saile, and the armie therein transported 50 ouer the Greekes seas, not much about 100000 men according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of men to extoll the deeds of their Ancesters: for which cause both Homer magnified the Captaines of the Greekes, that serued in the warre, and Virgil with others were as diligent in commending & extolling the Troians and their Citie, from which the Romans descended. Yea the Athenians

R r long

long after in the warre which *Xerxes* the *Persian* King made against all *Greece*, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Minesius* the son of *Petius* had shewed, in marshalling the *Gracian* army before *Troy*; whereupon, as if it had bene a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yeeld vnto *Gelen* King of almost all *Sicily*, the *Admirallie* of their Seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200. good fighting ships, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanitie possessed many other Cities of *Greece*, and many Nations in these parts of the world, which haue striven to bring their descent from some of the *Princes*, that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or vnlikelihoods in such their Pedigree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeed, or in most probability came of the *Troians*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that Countrey by *Aeneas*: the *Venetians* first seated in *Padua*, and the Countrey adioyning by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the sonne of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellenicus* addeth that the posteritie of *Hector* did resemble such of the *Troians* as were left, and reigned ouer them about *Troy*.

§. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greekes returning from Troy.

Concerning the *Greekes*, they tasted as much miserie as they had brought vpon the *Troians*. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reason of their long abode at the siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient seats: many were expelled their Countreies by faction: some were slaine anon after their arrival: others were debarred from the Soueraigntie among their people, by such as had stayed at home. The cause of all which may seeme to haue bene the dispersion of the armie, which weakened much by the calamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell iniuries, being diuided into so many pieces vnder severall Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising vpon the diuision of the bootie, and the like occasions) at the time when they should haue set saile, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to stay and performe some sacrifices to *Minerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, half the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them sailing to the Ile of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned backe to *Agamemnon*; others were disperfed, each holding his owne course. But the whole Fleet was fore vexed with tempests: for *Pallus* (as *Homer* saith) would not bee perswaded in haste.

They who returned safe were *Nestor*, and *Pyrhus*, whom *Orestes* afterward slew: also *Idomeneus*, and *Philoctetes*, who neuertheless, as *Virgil* tells, were drinen soone after to seek new seats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italie*. *Agamemnon* like wife returned home, but was forthwith slaine by his wife and by the adulterer *Aegisthus*, who for a while after vsurped his Kingdome. *Athenaeus* wandring long vpon the Seas, came into *Egypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather seeme) to fetch her. *Ulysses*, after ten yeeres, hauing lost all his company, got home in poore estate, with much adoe recouering the mastership of his owne house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were drinen into exile, and faine to seek new habitations.

Alex the sonne *Oileus* was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to King *Danus*, who was Lord of the *Lappes* in *Apulia*; some of the *Locrians* were drinen into *Africke*, others into *Italie*, all the East part whereof was called *Magna Gracia*, by reason of so many townes which the *Greekes* were drinen to erect vpon

vpon that coast. Finally, it appears in *Homer*, that the *Gracian* Ladies, whose husbands had bene at the warre of *Troy*, were wont to call it; The place where the *Greekes* suffered miserie, and the vnluckie Citie not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy* and those that warred there: the ouerthrow of which Citie, as hath bene said, happened in the time of *Habden* Iudge of *Israel*, whom *Samson* alter a variance or *Interregnum* for certaine yeeres succeeded.

CHAP. XV.

Of SAMSON, ELI, and SAMUEL.

§. I.

Of SAMSON.



HE birth and actes of *Samson* are written at large in the 13. 14. 15. and 16. of *Judges*; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that *Storie*. First, that the *Angell* of *God* forbade the wife of *Manoah* the mother of *Samson*, to drinke wine or strong drinke, or to cate any vncleane meate, after she was conceived with childe, because those strong liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrinke the childe in the mothers wombe. Though this were euen the counsell of *God* himselfe, and deliuered by his *Angell*, yet it seemeth that many women of this age haue not read, or at least will not beleue this precept: the most part forbearing nor drincks, nor meats, how strong or vncleane soeuer, biling themselves with all sorts of wines, and with artificiall drincks farre more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodies are borne into the world, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the *Angell* of *God* refused the sacrifice which *Manoah* would haue offered him, commanding him to present it vnto the Lord: and therefore those that profess diuinitie by the helpe of *Angels*, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are *Deuils* who accept thereof, and not good *Angels*, who receiue no worship that is proper to *God*.

Thirdly, this *Samson* was twice betrayed by his wiues, to wit, by their importunitie and deceitfull teares: by the first he lost but a part of his goods: by the second his life. *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas euerit; Whom no force could overcome, Voluptuousnesse ouerturned.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliuer *Israel* from the oppression of the *Philistims*; though in some sort hee reuenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slaine 30. of them in his first attempt, burnt their Come in harvest time, and giuen them a great ouerthrow instantly vpon it: yet so much did *Israel* feare the *Philistims*, as they assembled 3000. men out of *Juda*, to beseege *Samson* in the rocke or mountaine of *Etam*, vying these wordes: Knowest not thou that the *Philistims* are Rulers ouer vs? &c. After which they bound him, and deliuered him vnto the *Philistims*, for feare of their reuenge; though he was no sooner loosed, but hee gaue them another ouerthrow, and slew 1000. with the iawbone of an *Ass*.

Lastly, being made blinde, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, hee was content to end his owne life, to be auenged of his enemies, when he pulled downe the pillars

pillars of the house at the feast whereto they sent for Samson, to deride him, till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly said of Seneca; *Patentia saepe laesa vertitur in furorem*. Patience often wounded, is converted into furie: neither is it at any time so much wounded by paine and losse, as by derision and contumelie.

II.

Of Eli and of the Arke taken, and of Dagons fall, and the sending backe of the Arke.



He Storie of Eli the Priest, who succeeded Samson, is written in the beginning of Samuel; who foretolde him of the destruction of his house, for the wickednesse of his sonnes, which hee suppressed not, neither did hee punish them according to their deserts: whose sinnes were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, and prophaning and polluting the holy places: though *Leui Ben Gerson*, to extenuate this filthie offence of forcing the women by the sonnes of Eli, hath a contrarie opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to cast the *Israelites* vnder the swords of the *Philistims*; of whom there perished in the first encounter 4000. and in the second battell 30000. footmen; among whom the sonnes of Eli being slaine, their father (hearing the lamentable successe) by falling from his chaire, brake his necke. Hee was the first that obtained the High-Priesthood of the stocke of *Ithamar* the sonne of *Aaron*, before whose time it continued successively in the race of *Elezar* the eldest brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the first, *Elezar* the second, *Phinees* the sonne of *Elezar* the third, *Abiathar* the sonne of *Phinees* the fourth, his sonne *Bocai* the fifth, *Ozi* the sonne of *Bocai* the sixth, and then *Eli*, as *Iosephus* and *Zyranus* out of diuers Hebrew authors haue conceiued. In the race of *Ithamar* the Priesthood continued after *Eli* to the time of *Salomon* who cast out *Abiathar*, and established *Sadock* and *Achimaas* and their successors. The Arke of God which *Israel* brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the *Philistims*. For as *Dauid* witnesseth, God greatly abhorred *Israel*, so that hee forsooke the habitation of *Shilo*: euen the *Tabernacle* where he dwelt among men, and deliuered his power into captiuitie, &c.

Now as it pleased God at this time, that the Arke whereby himselfe was represented, should fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did hee permit the *Chaldeans* to destroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the *Romans* to overthrow the second Temple; and the *Turkes* to overthrow the Christian Churches in *Asia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Israelites* put more confidence in the sacrament, or representation which was the Arke, then in God himselfe, they would haue obserued his Lawes, and serued him onely: which whensoever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captiuitie they had no Arke at all, nor in the times of the *Machabees*: and yet for their pietie it pleased God to make that familie as victorious, as any that garded themselves by the signe in stead of the substance. And that the Arke was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an ensigne; *Dauid* witnesseth when he fled from *Abshalon*. For when the Priests would haue carried the Arke with him, hee forbade it, and caused it to be returned into the Citie, vying these words: *If I shall finde fauour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me againe: if not, let him doe to me as seemeth good in his eyes*.

The *Troians* beleued that while their *Palladium* or the image of *Athena* was kept in *Troy*, the Citie should neuer be ouerturned: so did the *Christians* in the last fatall battell against *Saladin* carrie into the field, as they were made beleue, the very Crosse wherupon *Christ* died, and yet they lost the battell, their bodies and the wood. But *Christ* some vpon *Saint Matthew* (if that bee his worke) giueth a good iudgement, speaking of those that were a part of *Saint Iohns* Gospel about their neckes, for an amulet or preseruatiue: *Si tibi ea non profuerint*, *auribus*,

auribus quomodo proderunt in Callo? If those words doe not profit men in their eares, (to wit, the hearing of the Gospel preached) how should it profit them by hanging it about their neckes? For it was neither the wood of the Arke, nor the wood of the Crosse, but the reuerence of the Father that gaue the one for a memorie of his Countenant: and the Faith in his Sonne, which shed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and vs, either in this life or after it.

The *Philistims* returning with the greatest victorie and glorie which euer they obtained, carried the Arke of God with them to *Azotus*, and let it vp in the house of *Dagon* their Idoll: but that night the Idoll fell out of his place, from aboute to the ground, and lay vnder the Arke. The morning following they tooke it vp, and set it vp, and set it againe in his place. And it fell the second time, and the head brake from the bodie, and the hands from the armes, shewing that it had nor power, nor vnderstanding in the presence of God; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason, and knowledge, and the hands (by which wee execute strength) were sundred from the armes. For God and the Deuill inhabit not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this Idoll could not indure the representation of the true God, it is not to bee maruailed, that at such time as it pleased him to couer his onely begotten with flesh, and sent him into the world, that all the *Oracles*, wherein the Deuill derided and betrayed mortall men, lost power, speech, and operation at the instant. For when that true light which had neuer beginning of brightnesse, brake through the clouds of a virgins bodie, shining vpon the earth which had beene long obscured by Idolatrie, all those foule and stinking vapours vanished. *Plutarch* recheareth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as hee slith him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) hee searcheth his braines for many reasons of so great an alteration: yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not onely this olde Deuill did then die as hee supposed, but all the rest, as *Apollo*, *Iupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rabble became speechlesse.

Now while the *Philistims* triumphed after this victorie, God strooke them with the grievous disease of the *Hemorrhoides* of which they perished in great numbers. For it is written that the Lord destroyed them. It was therefore by general consent ordered, that the Arke should be removed from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Geth* another of the five great Cities of the *Philistims*; to prouoe, as it seemeth, whether this disease was fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediately: but when it was brought to *Gath* and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortall. For the hand of the Lord was against this Citie with a very great destruction, and hee smote the men of the Citie both small and great, &c. And being not yet satisfied, they of *Gath* sent the Arke to *Ekron* or *Acaron*, a third Citie of the *Philistims*: but they also felt the same smart, and cryed out that themselves and their people should be slaine thereby; For there was a destruction and death throughout all the Citie. In the end, by the aduice of their Priests, the Prince of the *Philistims* did not onely resolute to returne the Arke, but to offer gifts vnto the God of *Israel*, remembering the plague which had fallen on the *Aegyptians*, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his seruice by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the God of *Israel* to bee almightie, and that their owne Idols were subiect thereunto, they agreed to offer a sinne offering, vying these words, *So ye shall giue glorie to the God of Israel, that hee may take his hand from you, and from your gods and from your land*. And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemy doth approve our cause? according to *Aristotle*; *Pulchrum est testimonium, quo hostis probantur ab hostibus*. So did *Pharao* confesse the liuing God, when he was so plagued in *Agypt*: and *Nabuchodonosor*, and *Darius*, when they had seene his miracles by *Daniel*.

This counsell therefore of the Priests being embraced, and the golden *Hemorrhoides*, and the golden Mice prepared, they caused two mitch kine to bee choosen, such as had not bene yoked, and a new Cart or carriage to bee framed: but they

durst not driue or direct it to any place certaine, thereby to make tryall whether it were indeed the hand of God that had stricken them. For if the *Arke of God* were carried towards *Bethshemesh* and into the territorie of *Israel*: then they should resolve that from God onely came their late destruction. For the *Philistims* knew that the milch Kine which drew the *Arke*, could not be forced from their Calues, but that they would have followed them wherefoeuer ; much lesse when they were left to themselves would they trauell a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world if Calues be removed from their dammes, the kine will follow them through woods, and desarts by the foote, till they finde them. But the kine traualled directly towards *Bethshemesh*: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Isaiah* 10 of the same Citie; they stood still there; which when the Princes of the *Philistims* perceived, they returned to *Ekron*: After which, God spared not his owne people the *Bethshemites*, in that they presumed to looke into the *Arke*. And because they knew God and his commandements and had bene taught accordingly: hee brooke them more grieuouly than he did the Heathen, for there perished of them fifty thousand and seauente. From hence the *Arke* was carried to *Kiriath-iearim* and placed in the house of *Abinadab*; where it is written that it remained twentie yeere in the charge of *Elezazar* his sonne, vntill *Dauid* brought it to *Hierusalem*.

Now whereas it is said, that in the meane while the *Arke* was in *Nob*, *Mispah*, and *Galgala*, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time seuered from the *Arke*: 20 or at least, it was for the present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to *Kiriath-earim*.

8. III.
 Of SAMUEL, and of his Government.

T Hefe Tragedies ouerpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while hee was yet a child, became now Iudge and Gouernour of *Israel*. Hee was defended of the familie of ^b *Chore* or *Korath*. For *Leui* had three sonnes; *Gerson*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Amram*, and *Isaar*; of *Amram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*; of *Isaar*, *Chore*; and of the familie of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Eli* was called an *Ephraimite*, not that the *Leuites* had any proper inheritance, but because hee was of *Mount Ephraim*, like as *Iesse*, *Dauid*'s father was called an *Ephraimite*, because borne at *Ephrata*, or *Bethlehem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitlesse, obtained him of God by prayers and teares: it being an exceeding shame to the *Jewish* women, to be called barren in respect of the blessing of God both to *Abraham* that his seede should multiply, as the *Starres* of Heauen, and the sands of the Sea, as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increase and multiply*, &c. and in *Deuteronomie* the *seuenth*; There shall bee neither male nor female barren among you.

Samuel was no longer borne, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his service, to which she delivered him even from the dugg. For as the first borne of all that were called *Nazarites*, might be redeemed till they were five yeeres old for five shekles, and between five yeeres and twentie for twentie shekles: so was it not required by the Law that any of the race of the *Levites* should be called to serve about the Tabernacle, till they were five and twentie yeeres old.

Saint *Peter* reckons in the *Altes* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the writers of holy Scriptures, to whom finally this name of a Prophet was given, and yet did *Moses* account himself less such one, as in the 18. of *Deuteronomie*. The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet like unto mee, &c. But he is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called Seers; as, Beforetime in *Israel*, when a man went to seek an answer of God, thus he spake; Come and let us go to the Seer:

for hee that is now called a *Prophet*, was in old time called a *Ser*. And although it pleased God to appeare by his Angels to *Moses*, as before to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifest vision; nor that God had altogether with-drawne his grace from *Israel*: but as the *Chaldean Paraphrast* hath it, those revelations before *Samuel*'s time, were more clouded and obfure. The places where in *Samuel* judg'd were *Majpha* or *Mispha*, leated on a hill in *Beniamin* neere *Sufa*: also *Gilgal*, and *Bethel*, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

The *Philistims* taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation for Warre at *Mispa* in the beginning of *Samuels* government, gathered their Armie and marched towards the Citie : at whose approach the *Israelites* drucken with feare, and with the memorie of their former slaughters and servitude, befought *Samuel* to pray to God for them ; who was * then performing his sacrifice when the *Philistims* were in view. But God being moued with *Samuels* prayers (as he was by those of *Moses*, when *Israel* fought against the *Amalekites* at their first entrance into *Arabia*) It pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beate downe the Armie of the *Philistims*, according to the prophcie of *Hanna*, *Samuels* Mother. The Lords aduantage shall be destroyed, and out of heauen shall be thunder vpon them. &c. *Samuel* affirms, that a part of the *Philistims* were swallowed with an earth-quake : and that *Samuel* himselfe led the *Israelites* in the prosecution of their victory. After which *Samuel* erected a Monument in memorie of this happie successe, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Iosephus* called, *Lapidem fortis* : *Samuel*, *Ebeneszer*, or the stone of assistance : and then following the opportunitie and aduantage of the victory, the *Israelites* recovered diuers Cities of their owne formerly lost, and held long in possession of the *Philistims*, who for a long time after did not offer any inuasion or turgence. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts : the *Israelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backes, and to the North of them, that they might not be assaulted from diuers parts at once ; hauing the *Philistims* towards the West and Sea-coast, the *Canaanite* toward the North and East, and the *Idumie* on the South. The estate being thus settled, *Samuel* for the ease of the people gaue audience and iudgement in diuers places by turnes, as hath beene elsewhere said.

C H A P. XVI.
Of S A V L.

Of the deliberation to change the government into a Kingdom.

BY when age now beganne to ouer-take *Sammel*, and that hee was not able to vnder-geoe the burthen of so carefull a gouernement, hee put off from himselfe the weight of the affaires on his Sonnes, *Iod* and *Alijah*, who indged the people at *Beerfeba*, a Citie, the very vtmost towards the South of *Iudaea*. And as the place was inconuenient and larege away, so were themelues no lesse removed from the iustice and vertue of their Father: For the thirst of couetousnesse, the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding tache in nothing but gaine; to recouer which they fer

the Law at a price, and sold Iustice and iudgement to the best Chapmen. Which

See in this
book, c. 12, § 1.

* Plutarch reports of Numa the second King of Rome, that when as he was sacrificing; it was told him that the enemies approached, he nothing dismayed, answered, *Ego autem sacrifico.*
I Sam. 13. 10.

2. Sam. c. 6. and
1. Chron. c. 12.
a See in this
booke ch. 12.
§. 1. in the
margent.

h. *1.Chro.6.22*

c Which region was called Ephraim, as appeared, *Isa. 12. 5.* whence for distinction we read *Ruth. 1. 2.* Ephraim is *Bethlehem* *Ierודה* the towne Ephraim which is *Iudaea*, *Gen. 35. 19.* from the region of Ephraim, which is in Mount Ephraim, whence *Psal. 132. v. 6.* Ephraim is put for *Silo*, which was in the tribe of Ephraim.

Vers. 15.
1. Sam. 9.

when the Elders of *Israel* obserued, and saw that *Samuel* as a naturall man (though a Prophet) could not so well discern the errors of his owne, they prayed him to consent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom they might be iudged as other Nations were; who might also leade them to the Warre and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable successe which followed the rule of *Eli* his sonnes, when those of *Samuel* by their first blifomes promised to yeld fruit no lesse bitter, they saw no way to put the gouernement from out his race, whome they so much reuerenced, but by the choice of a King.

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, *Samuel* sought counsaile from God: which surely he did not for the establishing of his owne Sonnes; who being as they were, God would not haue approued his election. Now as it appears by the Text, this speech or motion displeasing him, hee vied his best arguments to dehort them: which when hee perceived to bee ouer-feeble, hee deliuered vnto them from Gods reuelation, the inconueniences and miseries which should befall them. And yet, all which hee fore-shewed was not intolerable, but such as hath beene borne, and is so still by free consent of the Subjects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know that the King will vse their sonnes in his owne seruice to make them his Horse-men, Chariotiers, and Foot-men; which is not only not grieuous, but by the Vassals of all Kings according to their birth and condition desired: it being very agreeable to subjects of the best qualitie to command for the King in his Warres, and to till the ground no lesse proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought vp: so are likewise the offices of women-seruants to dresse meate, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatened, *Hee will take up your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your best Olive trees, and give them to his seruants*; with other oppressions; this hath giuen, and giues daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their owne discretion, to affirme that *Samuel* describeth here vnto them the power of a King, gouerned by his owne affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others vpon further examination construe this Text farre otherwise, as teaching vs what Subjects ought with patience to beare at their Soueraignes hand. The former opinion is grounded first vpon that place of *Deuteronomie*,³⁰

Deut. 17.

where God fore-sheweth this change of government from Iudges to Kings, and after he had forbidden many things vnto the Kings, as many wiues, couetousnesse, and the like: he commandeth that the Kings which were to reigne ouer *Israel*, should write the Law of *Deuteronomie*, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the dayes of his life: that hee may learne to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe all the words of this Law, and those ordinances for to doe them: that hee may prolong his daies in his Kingdome, he and his Sonnes.* But to take away any other mans field, say they, is contrarie to the lawes of God: in the same booke written. For it is said, *That which is iust and right shall thou follow, that thou mayest liue.* Now if it bee not permitted to

Deut. 6.

carrie away grapes more than thou canst eate out of another mans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much lesse lawfull to take the vineyard it selfe from the owner, and giue it to another. Neither are the wordes of the Text (say they) such as doe warrant the Kings of *Israel*, or make it proper vnto them, to take at will any thing from their vassalls. For it is not said that it shall be lawfull for the King, or the King may doe this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your Sonnes: and againe, This shall bee the manner of the King that shall reigne ouer you. God thereby fore-shewing what power seuered from pietie, (because it is accountable to God only) will doe in the future. And hereof we finde the first example in *Achab*,⁵⁰

Deut. 16.

who tooke from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the truit which God had put in him, of gouerning well his people. For God commanded, *That his people should be iudged with righteous iudgement.* Wherefore, though the King had offered vnto *Naboth* compollition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money

money which he refused: yet because hee was falsly accused, and vniuently condemned (though by colour of law) how grievously *Achab* was punished by God, the Scriptures tell vs. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of *Israel*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a liuing Law, even as *David* testifieth of himselfe: *Posuisti me in caput gentium: For this of S. Augustine is very true: Simulata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata equitas non est equitas: sed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquitas. Et simulatio 3. Fained innocence, and fained equitie, are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquitie and dissimulation.* Such in effect is their disposition, who thinke this place to containe the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well knowne to all; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true Law of free Monarchies*, which Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much lesse here to insert. Only thus much I will say, that if practice doe shew the greatnesse of authoritie, even the best Kings of *Isa* and *Israel* were not so tied by any lawes, but that they did whatsoever they pleased in the greatest things; and commanded some of their owne Princes, and of their owne brethren to be slaine without any triall of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though *David* confessed his offence for the death of *Uriah*, yet *Salomon* killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed vnto him as any offence.

That the state of *Israel* should receiue this change of gouernment, it was not only fore-told by *Moses* in *Deuteronomie*, but prophesied of by *Isaiah* in this Scripture: *The Gen. 49. Septer shall not depart from Iuda, &c.* It was also promised by God to *Abraham* for a blessing: For it was not only assured that his issues should in number equal the Starres in heauen, but that Kings should proceede of him: Which state seeing it is framed from the paterne of his sole rule, who is Lord of the Vniuersall; and the excellencie thereof in respect of all other gouernments, hath been by many iudicious men handled and proued, I shall not neede to ouer-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, that I can lay on.

In the time of the Iudges every man hath obserued what ciuill Warre *Israel* had: what outrageous slaughters they committed vpon each other: in what miserable seruitude they liued for many yeeres: and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their owne Territories, or recover some parts thereof formerly lost. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the best vallies of the Countrey. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* ouer *Jordan* the *Philistines* the Sea-coasts; and the *Iebusites* *Hierusalem* it selfe, till *Davids* time: all which that King did not only conquer and establish, but hee mastered and subiected all the neighbour Nations, and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But whether it were for that the *Israelites* were moued by those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations to liue vnder a Monarch, or whether by this means they fought to bee cleared from the sonnes of *Samuel*, they became deafe to all the persuasions and threats which *Samuel* vsed, insisting vpon this point that they would haue a King, both to iudge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, he sent euery man to his owne Citie and abiding.

1 Sam. 8.

§. II.

Of the election of *Saul*.

50



fter that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Beth-lehem*, hee forbore the election of a King, till such time as he was therein directed by God: who fore-told him the day before, that hee would present vnto him a man of the Land of *Beniamin*, whom hee commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So

Samuel

Samuel went unto Ramath Saphim, to make a feast for the entertainment of Saul (whom yet hee knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises) and Saul also having wandered diuers dayes to seeke his Fathers Asses, at length by the aduice of his seruant traualled towards Ramath, to finde out a *Seer or Prophet*, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to finde his beasts. In which journey it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and persons) to elect Saul, who sought an ass, and not a Kingdome: like as formerly it had pleased him to call Moses, while he fed the sheepe of *Isabro*; and after to make choice of David the yongest of eight finnes, and the by the *Scriptures* called a little one, who was then keeping of beasts, and changed his sheep-hooke into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious King of *Iuda* and *Israel*. So *Iohn* and *Jacob* were taken from calling their nets, to become fishers of men, and honoured with the title of *Apostles*, a dignitie that died not in the graue, as all worldly Honours doe: but permanent and euerslasting in Gods endlesse Kingdome.

When Samuel was entered into Ramath, he prepar'd a banquet for the King, whom he expected and staied his arrival at the gate. Not long after came Saul, whom God shewed to Samuel, and made him know that it was the same whom hee had foretold him of, that he should rule the people of God. Saul finding Samuel in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Iudge of *Israel*, much lesse knowing the Honour which attended him, asked Samuel in what part of the Citie the *Seer* dwelt. Samuel answered that himselfe was the man he sought, and prayed Saul to goe before him to the high place, where Samuel setting him according to his degree, aboue all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the Kingdome, and of Gods graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following anointed him King of *Israel*.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward; that two men should encounter him by *Rabels* Sepulchre, who should tell him that his Asses were found, and that his Fathers carcs were changed from the feare of losing his beasts, to doubt the losse of his Sonne: that he should then meete three other men in the plaine of *Tabor*; then a company of Prophets: and that he should be partaker of Gods Spirit, and prophetic with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and fauoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men indued with spiritual gifts, were not of the first and most reuerenced number, who by diuine reuelation fore-told things to come, reprehended without feare the errors of their Kings, and wrought miracles; of which number were *Moses*, *Iosua*, *Samuel*, and after them *God*, *Nathan*, *Abiath*, *Eliab*, *Elisau*, *Isay*, *Ieremie*, and the rest; for these Prophets, faith *S. Chrysostome*, *Omnia tempora percurrant, praeterita, praesentia, & futura*: but they were of those of whom *S. Paul* speaketh of, *1. Cor. 1. 14.* who enriched with spiritual gifts, expounded the *Scriptures* and the Law.

At Mizpeh Samuel assembled the people, that hee might present Saul to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did Saul acquaint his owne Vncle therewith, when he asked him what had paist betwene him and Samuel: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reueale it, till he were confirmed by generall consent. When the Tribes were assembled at Mizpeh, the generall opinion is, that hee was chosen by lot. *Chimbi* thinks by the answer of *Primo* and *Thumim*: that is, by the answer of the Priest, wearing that mysticall vpon his breast when he asked counsaile of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much vsed among the *Iewes*, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promise was diuided by lot: God commanded lots to be call on the two Goates, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliuerance, for whose garments the *Iewes* also cast lots, *Cicero*, *Plautus*, *Panfanian*, and others haue remembred diuers sorts of lots

choy, unlof, ay
* The *Primo*
and *Thumim* in
the ornaments of
the High
Priest. It was
infered within
the peccator,
which the *Iewes*
were to use, thus
they were pla-
ced in the pe-
cator 1. ouer-
against the hart
of the High
Priest. It is
plain that they
were not the
precious stones
nor any thing
made by the
Artificers. See
Exod. 28.
Exod. 29.
Exod. 31.

vsed by the *Romanes*, *Gracians*, and other Nations: as in the diuision of grounds or honours, and in things to be vnder-taken: the two first kindes were called diuinity; the third, diuinary; and into one of these three all may be reduced: all which kindes howeuer they may seeme chancefull, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Præterita*: The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord. And inlike sort fell the Kingdome of *Israel* on Saul, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gaue Samuel former knowledge of his election: from which election Saul withdrew himselfe in modestie, as both *Iosephus* confesse, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to Samuel, when he acknowledged himselfe the least of the least Tribe. But Samuel enlightened by God, found where Saul was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And Samuel made them know that he was the chosen King of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him King, and prayed for him; yet some there were that enuied his glory (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him presents, as the manner was: of whom Saul, to auoid sedition, tooke no notice.

§. III.

Of the establishing of SAUL by his first victories.

NO sooner was Saul placed in the Kingdome, but that hee received knowledge that *Nabes* King of the *Ammonites* prepared to besiege *Iabes Gilead*: which Nation since the great ouerthrow giuen them by *Iephtha*, neuer durst attempt any thing vpon the *Israelites*, till the beginning of Saul his rule. And although the *Ammonites* did always attend vpon the aduantage of time, to recover those Territories which first the *Amorites*, and then *Israel* dispossessed them of; which they made the ground of their inuasion in *Iephtha's* time; yet they neuer perswaded themselves of more aduantage than at this present. For first they knew that there were many of the *Israelites* that did not willingly submit themselves to this new King: secondly, they were remembered that the *Philistines* had not long before slaine 34000. of their men of Warre: and besides had vsed great care and policie that they should haue no Smithies to make them swords or speares: neither was it long before that the *Bethshemites* and places adioyning, there perished by the hand of God more then 50000. and therefore in these respects, euen occasion it selfe invited them to enlarge their Dominions vpon their borderers: *Iabes Gilead* being one of the nearest. Besides it may further be coniectured, that the *Ammonites* were emboldened against *Iabes Gilead*, in respect of their weaknesse: since the *Israelites* destroyed a great part of them, for not loyning with them against the *Beniamites*: at which time they did not only slaughter the men and male-children, but tooke from them their yong women, and gaue them to the *Beniamites*: and therefore they were not likely to haue beene increased to any great numbers: and if they had recovered themselves of this great calamitie, yet the *ammonite* might flatter himselfe with the opinion, that *Israel* hauing for long time beene disarmed by the *Philistines*, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deeply wounded and destroyed. But contrariwise, when the tidings came to Saul of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would giue them no other condition to ransom themselves, but by pulling out their right eies, by which they should be utterly disabled for the Warre, as elsewhere hath been spoken: Saul, both to valie himselfe in his first yeeres raigne, and because perchance hee was delcnded of one of those 400. Maides taken from the *Gileadites*, and giuen to the *Beniamites*, gaue order to assemble the forces of *Israel*, hewing a yoke of Oxen into pieces, and sending them by messengers ouer all the coasts, protesting thus: That whosoever came not forth after SAUL and after SAMUEL, so should his Oxen bee frused: threatening the people by

1. Sam. 10.

by their goods, and not by their liues at the first. Seuen dayes had *Saul* to assemble an Armie, by reason that the *Gileadites* had obtained the respite of these seuen dayes to giue *Nabab* the *Ammonite* an answer: who, could they haue obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to haue secured themselves from *Israel*, and to become Vassals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the meane while *Saul* assembled the forces which repaired vnto him at *Beze*, neere *Jordan*, that he might readily passe the *Riuer*; which done, he might in one day with a speedy march arrive at *Iabel*, vnder the Hills of *Gilead*.

1 Sam. 11. 8.

The Armie by *Saul* led, consisting of three hundred and thirty thousand, hereturned an answer to those of *Iabel*, that they should assure themselves of succour 10 by the next day at noone. For, as it seemeth, *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning watch he surprized the Armie of *Nabab* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that he might set on them on all sides, he diuided his force in three parts, putting them to the sword vntill the heate of the day, and the weariness of *Sauls* troupe inorfit them to giue over the pursuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more careless and secure, in that those of *Iabel* promised the next morning to render themselves and their Citie to their mercie. After this happie successe the people were so farre in loue with their new King, that they would haue flaine all those *Israelites* that murmured against his election, had not himselfe forbidden and relisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly 20 men, as they are violent louers of the prosperous, and base Vassals of the time that flourisheth: and as despightfull and cruell without cause against those, whom any misadventure, or other worldly accident hath throwne downe.

1 Sam. 11.

After the Armie remoued, *Samuel* summoned the people to meete at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and as some Commenters affirm, anointed King: and here *Samuel* vsed an exhortation to all the assembly, containing precepts, and a rehearfall of his owne Iustice, during the beginning of his gouernment to that day. After *Saul* had now reigned one yeere before hee was established in *Gilgal*, or *Galgala*, he strengthened himselfe with a good guard of 3000. chosen men, of which he assigned 1000. to attend on *Jonathan* his sonne at *Gibeah*, the Citie of his 30 natuities: the rest hee kept about his owne person in *Micmas*; and in the Hill of *Bethel*.

1 Sam. 13.

§. IIII.

OF *SAULS* disobedience in his proceedings in the Warres with the *Philistims* and *Amalekites*, which caused his final reiection.



NONATHAN with his small Armie or Regiment that attended him, 40 taking a time of advantage, surprized a Garrison of *Philistims*: the same, as some thinke, which *Saul* past by, when hee came from *Rams*, where hee was first anointed by *Samuel*, which they thinke to haue bene *Cariath-icriarim*: because a place where the *Philistims* had a Garrison, 1 Sam. 10. is called the Hill of God, which they vnderstand of *Cariath-icriarim*: but *Iunius* vnderstands this Garrison to haue been at *Gibeah* in *Beniamin* neere *Gibba*, where *Jonathan* abode with his thousand followers. Howsoever by this it appeareth that the *Philistims* held some strong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territory of *Israel*: and now being greatly enraged by this surprize, they assembled 30000. armed Chariots, and 6000. Horse, where-with they invaded *Iudea*, and incamped at *Machmas*, or *Michmas*, a Citie of *Beniamin*, in the direct way from *Somaria* to *Hierusalem*, and in the midst of the Land betwene the Sea and *Jordan*. With this sudden inuasion the *Israelites* were stricken in so great a feare, as some of them hid themselves in the caues of the mountaines, other fled ouer *Jordan* 50 into

1 Sam. 13. 5.

into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himselfe with some 2000. men of ordinarie, and many other people, liaid at *Galgala* in *Beniamin*, not farre from the passage of *Iosua* when he led *Israel* ouer *Jordan*. Heere *Saul* by *Samuels* appointment was to attend the coming of *Samuel* seuen daies: but when the last day was in part spent, and that *Saul* perceived his forces to diminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place 1 Sam. 13. 9.) to exercise the office which appertained not vnto him, and to offer a burnt offering and a peace offering vnto God, contrarie to the Ecclesiasticall lawes of the *Hebrewes*, and Gods Commandements: others expound the word, *obstuli*, in this place, by *obstuli per Sacerdotem*, and so make the sinne of *Saul* not to haue bene any intrusion into the Priests office, but first a disobedience to Gods Commandement, 10 in not staying according to the appointment 1 Sam. 10. 8. secondly a diffidence or mistrust in Gods helpe, and too great relying vpon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he could not beare patiently; and lastly a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the helpe which the prayers of so godly a man might procure him. But whatsoeuer was his sinne, notwithstanding his excuses, he was by *Samuel* reprehended most sharply, in termes visiting his estate, had not extraordinary warrant bene giuen to *Samuel* so to doe, from God himselfe, at which time also *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdome should be conferred to another (a man after Gods owne heart) both from *Saul* and his posteritie. 1 Sam. 13. 14.

20 After this *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when he had taken view of his armie, found it to consist of 600. men: for the most were fled from him and scattered, yea and among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or speare, but *Saul* and his sonne *Jonathan* only. For the *Philistims* had not left them any *Smyth* in all *Israel*, that made weapons; besides, they that came to *Saul* came hastily, and left such weapons and armour as they had, behind them in the garisons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* should be able 30 the yeere before, or in some part of this very yeere, to succour *Iabel Gilead* with 300. and thirtie thousand men, if there had not now bene any yron weapon to defend themselves withall, save onely in the hand of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his sonne. But howsoever, all the rest of the people were formerly disarmed by the *Philistims*, and all those craftsmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left vnto the *Israelites* onely files to sharpen and amend such stiffe as serued for the Plough, and for nought else: yet that they had some kinde of armes it is manifest, for els they durst not haue attempted vpon the *Philistims* as they did. And it is not said in the Text that there was not any sword in all *Israel*, but onely that there was not any found amongst those 600. souldiers which staid with *Saul* after *Samuels* departure: and it seemeth that when *Samuel* had publicly reprehended *Saul*, that his owne guards forsooke him, hauing but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinarie souldiers, and of all the rest that repaired vnto him, of which many were fled from him before 40 *Samuel* arrived.

1 Sam. 13. 22.

With this small troupe he held himselfe to his owne Citie of *Gibeah*, as a place of more strength and better assured vnto him, then *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obscure how it should come to passe that the *Philistims* should thus disarme the most part of the *Israelites*, howsoever in the time of *Samuel* much had bin done against them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by sword or speare, but by thunder from heauen: and when these craftsmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Israel*, no maruaile if they could not in a short peace vnder *Samuel* be replanted againe. For this erranny of the *Philistims* is to be vnderstood, rather of the precedent times, than vnder *Samuel*: and yet vnder him it is to be thought that by their crafts they 50 proceeded in the policie, not suffering their artificers to teach the *Israelites*, and so euen to the times of *Saul* kept them from hauing any store of armour. The same policie did *Nabuchodonosor* vse after his Conquest in *Iulaea*: *Dionysius* in *Sicilie*; and many other Princes else where in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the *Israelites* might repaire in *Gilead*, for ouer *Jordan* the *Philistims* had not invaded.

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inuated. The rest of their defences were such as antiquitie vsed, and their present necessitie ministred vnto them; to wit, clubs, bowes, and slings. For the *Beniamites* exceeded in casting stones in slings; and that these were the naturall weapons, and the first of all nations, it is manifest; and so in the first of *Chronicles* the twelfth Chapter, it is written of those that came to succour *Dauid* against *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, That they were weaponed with bowes, and could vsie the right and the left hand with stones; and with a sling it was, that *Dauid* himselfe slew the Gyant *Goliath*.

While the State of *Israel* stood in these hard termes, the *Philistims* hauing parted their armie into three troupes, that they might spoile and destroy many parts at once; *Ionathan* strengthened by God, and followed with his Esquire onely, scaled a mountaine, whereon a companie of *Philistims* were lodged: the rest of their armie (as may bee gathered by the successe) being incamped in the plaine adioyning. And though hee were discovered before he came to the hill top, and in a kinde of derision called vp by his enemies: yet hee so behaued himselfe, as with the assistance of God hee slew twentie of the first *Philistims* that hee incountred. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarme, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, feare, and ialousie, they slaughtered one another in stead of enemies: whereupon those *Hebrewes* which became of their partie, because they feared to be spoiled by them, tooke the aduantage of their destruction, and flew of them in great numbers. And lastly, *Saul* himselfe taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those *Israelites* that throuted themselves in mount *Ephraim*, set vpon them and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happie and glorious victorie ouer them. Heere was that prophetic in *Deuteronomie* fulfilled by *Ionathan*, That one of those which feared God, should kill a thousand, and two of them ten thousand.

This done, the small armie of *Israel* made retreat from the pursuit. And though *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take foode till the cuning, yet his sonne *Ionathan* being infeebled with extreme labour and emptinesse, tasted a drop of hony in his passage: for which *Saul* his father would haue put him to death, had not the people deliuered him from his crueltie.

The late miraculous victorie of *Saul* and *Ionathan*, seemed to haue reduced vnto the *Philistims* remembrance their former ouerthrow likewise miraculous in the daies of *Samuel*; so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the meane while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, vndertooke by turnes all his bordering enemies; namely, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, against all which hee preuailed. Hee then assembled all the forces hee could make, to wit, 210000. men, and receiuing the commaundement of God by *Samuel*, hee invaded *Amalec*, wasting and destroying all that part of *Arabia Petraea*, and the desert, belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Hauilah* towards *Tigeris* vnto *Shur*, which bordereth *Egypt*; in which warre hee tooke *Agag* their King prisoner. But whereas hee was instructed by *Samuel* to follow this Nation without compassion, because they first of all other attempted *Israel*, when they left *Egypt* in *Moses* time: he notwithstanding did not onely spare the life of *Agag*, but reserved the best of the beards and spoile of the Countrey, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the liuing God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a second time make him know, that God would cast him from his roiall estate to little in his owne eyes. And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voice of God by *Samuel*, had there bin no former precept to that effect: yet seeing *Saul* could not be ignorant how severely it pleased God to inioyne the *Israelites* to reuenge themselves vpon that Nation, he was in all vncexcusable. For so God had commanded that the *Israelites* should put out the remembrance of *Amalec* from vnder heaven. For the crueltie which the predecessors of this *Agag* vsed against the *Israelites*, especially on those which were ouerwearied, faint, sicke, and aged people, was now to be reuenged on him, & his Nation about 400. yeres after ward; and

and now hee was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himselfe hauing also sinned in the same kind, as these words of *Samuel* witnesse: As thy sword hath made other women childlesse, so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women; at which time *Samuel* himselfe (after he had bin by many bootlesse intreaties perswaded to stay awhile with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and soone after he departed to *Ramath*, and came no more to see *Saul*, vntill the day of his death.

¶ V.

Of the occurments betwene the refection of *Saul* and his death.

Now while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to choose a King for *Israel*, among the sonnes of *Israhel*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a sort to performe, till it pleased God to direct him, how hee might auoid both the supposition, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the prouidence of God, that by his cautious care and wisdom hee sought to auoid the inconuenience or dangers of this life, then doe those men mislake the nature of his diuine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hath giuen them, doe no otherwise auoid the perills and dangers thereof, than as men stupified in the opinion of fate, or destinie, neglecting either to beg counsaile at Gods hand by prayer, or to exercise that wisdom or fore-sight, where-with God hath enriched the mind of man, for his preseruacion. Neither did the all-powerfull God (who made and could destroy the world in an instant) disdaine here to instruct *Samuel*, to auoid the furie of *Saul*, by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the sonnes of *Israhel* *Samuel* by God directed, made choise of *Dauid*, the yongest, hauing refused *Eliab*, the first borne: who though he were a comely person and great strength; yet vnto such outward appearance the Lord had no respect. For as it is written, God seeth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart. Hee also refusing the other sixe brethren, made choise of one whom his Father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock; for of him the Lord said to *SAMUEL*, Arise and anoint him, for this is he: which done, *Samuel* departed & went to *Ramath*. Neither was it long after this that *Saul* began to seeke the life of *Dauid*: in which bloody mind he continued till he died, ouercome in battaile by the *Philistims*.

The *Philistims* hauing well considered (as it seemed) the increase of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilest they had sitten still and forborne to giue impediment vnto his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new trial of their fortune, as iustly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to *Israel* might be repaid with aduantage; it euer opportunitee should serue their often intured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the qualitie of their Souldiers, and all Warlike provisions, the *Philistims* had reason to think themselves equal, if not superiours to *Israel*. The successe of their former wars had for the most part bin agreeable to their owne wishes; as for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisdom, impute them to second causes, as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarme, whereby their Armie possessed with a needlesse feare had fallen to rout. Hauing therefore mustered their forces and taken the field, encamping so neere to the Armie which King *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the triall of a battaile, each part kept their ground of aduantage for a while, not ioyning in grosse, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to passe the valley that lay between their Camps. Iust causes of feare they had on both sides; especially the *Philistims*, whose late attempts had bene confounded by the angrie hand of God. Vpon this occasion perhaps it was, that they fought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any

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stroke from heaven were to be feared. *Goliath* of *Gath* a strong Giant, fearing neither God nor man, undertooke to defie the whole hoste of *Israel*, prouoking them with despightfull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand, offering condition, that the partie vanquished in Champion, should hold it selfe as overcome in groffe, and become vassall to the other. This gaue occasion to young *David*, whom *Samuel* by Gods appointment had anointed, to make a famous entrance into publicke notice of the people. For no man durst expose himselfe to encounter the great strength of *Goliath*, untill *David* (sent by his father on errand to the campe) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without other armes offensive or defensive than a sling, wherewith hee ouerthrew the haughtie *Giant*, and after with his owne sword strooke off his head. Hereupon the *Philistims*, who should haue yielded themselves as subiects to the Conquerour, according to the covenant on their owne side propounded, fled without stay; and were pursued and slaughtered euen to their owne gates. By this victorie the *Philistims* were not so broken, that either any of their townes were lost, or their people discouraged from infesting the Territories of *Israel*. But *David*, by whom *God* had wrought this victorie, fell into the grieuous indignation of his master *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well deferring. For after such time as the spirit of *God* departed from *Saul*, and came vpon *David*, he then became a cruell Tyrant, faithlesse, and irreligious. Because the high Priest *Abimelech* fed *David* in his necessitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with the sword of his own conquest taken from *Goliath*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite Doeg* murdered this *Abimelech* and 85. Priests of *Nob*, but also he destroyed the Cite, and smote with the edge of the sword both man and woman, both child and suckling, both Oxe and Ass, and sheepe. And he that had compassion on *Agag* the *Amalekite*, who was an enemy to *God* and his people, and also spared and preferred the best of his Cartell, contrary to the Commandement and ordinance of *God*, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercie in store, for the innocent, for the Lords seruants the Priests of *Israel*. Yea he would haue slaine his owne sonne *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *Dauids* innocencie, as also once before for tasting the hony, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers vnreasonable commination. The companions of cruelty are breach of faith towards men, and impetie towards *God*. The former he shewed in denying *David* his daughter, whom he had promised him: and againe in taking her away from him, to whom he had given her; also in that when *David* had twice spared his life in the Territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice sworne to do him no hurt, and confessed his errors, yet he sought still to destroy him, by all the meanes he could. His impetie towards *God* he shewed, in that he sought counsell of the witch of *Endor*, which was the last preparatiue for his destruction. For whereas when he sought counsell from *God* he had bene alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Devil this successe followed, that both himselfe, and his three sons, with his neere and faithfulllest seruants, were all slaughtered by the *Philistims*: his bodie ouer the bodies of his sonnes (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hang ouer the walls of *Bethsan*: and there had remained till they had found buriall in the bowels of rauensous birds, had not the gratefull *Gileadites* of *Iabes* holne their carcases thence and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had gouerned *Israel*, together with *Samuel* 40. yeres, and by himselfe after *Samuel* 20. yeres, according to *Cedrenus*, *Theopbilus*, and *Iosephus*. But yet it seemeth to mee, that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long. For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is written that *Samuel* died: and in the rest of the same chapter the passages are written of *David*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly ensued.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gaue a faire entrance to all those victories which *David* afterward obtained, for he had beaten the *Ammonites*, with their neighbouring Nations, crushed the *Syrians*, and their adherents, broken the strength of the *Amalekites*; and greatly wasted the power and pride of the *Philistims*.

of

ALL. 13. 31.
Cohen. 25. 9.
Theoph. 1. 2. 3.
Ioseph. 1. 18.

b. VI.

Of such as lined with *SAMUEL* and *SAUL*; of *HELLEN* and *HERCVLES*, and of their issues: upon occasion of the *DORIES*, with the *HERACLIDES*, entering *PELOPONNESVS* about this time.



N the second yere of *Samuel*, according to *Eusebius*, was *David* borne: after *Codoman* later, and in the ninth yere: after *Bunting* in the tenth. For *David*, saith he, was thirtie yeres old when he began to reigne: whence it followeth, that he was borne in the tenth of the tenth yeres, which are given to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleuenth of *Samuel*, *Aeneas Silvius* the sonne of *Posthumus* began his raigne ouer the *Latines* in *Alba*, who gouerned that State 31. yeres. There are who place before him *Latinius Silvius*, as brother to *Posthumus*, calling him the fifth from *Eneas*, and fourth King of *Alba*, whereof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleuenth of *Samuel*, *Dercilius* fate in the Throne of *Affria*, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire 40. yeres. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponnesus*, and at once with the *Heraclide*, who then led and commanded the Nation, possit a great part thereof 328. yeres before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratosthenes*. For all *Greece* was anciently possit by three Tribes or Kindreds, viz. the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Aeolians*: at length it was called *Hellen*, and the people *Hellenes*, of *Hellen*, the sonne of *Deucalion*, Lord of the Countrie of *Phiotis* in *Thessalie*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the plantation of many Colonies, and sundrie great victories obtained, the issues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Countrie vnder their obedience, calling themselves generally by one name, and yet euery feuerall Nation after some one of the posteritie of *Hellen*, who had raigne ouer it. And because this is the furthest antiquitie of *Greece*, it will not be amisse to recount the Pedegree of her first planters.

Iapetus (as the Poets fable) was the sonne of *Heauen* and *Earth*, so accounted, either because the names of his Parents, had in the *Greece* tongue such signification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Astronomie* and *Philosophie*.

Iapetus begat *Prometheus* and *Epimetheus*: of whom all men haue read that haue read Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*: and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrha*. *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* raigned in *Thessalie*, which then was called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretensis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the Queen. In *Deucalion* time was that great flood, of which we haue spoken elsewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whose sonnes were *Xuthus*, *Dorus*, and *Aeolus*: of *Dorus* and *Aeolus*, the *Dores* and *Aeolians* had name. The *Aeolians* inhabited *Boetia*. The *Dores* hauing first inhabited sundrie parties of *Thessalie*, did afterward scate themselves about *Parnassus*, and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedaemon*: *Xuthus* the eldest sonne of *Hellen*, being banished by his brethren, for hauing diuerted from them to his owne use some part of their Fathers goods, came to *Athens*: where marrying the Daughter of King *Erichonius*, hee begat on her two sonnes, *Achus* and *Ion*. Of these two, *Achus*, for a slaughter by him committed, fled into *Peloponnesus*: and seating himselfe in *Laconia*, gaue name to that region: from whence (as some write) he afterwards departed; and leuying an Armie, recouered the Kingdome of his Grand-father in *Thessalie*.

Ion being General for the *Athenians*, when *Enneolus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtaine a great victorie, and thereby such loue and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. Hee diuided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing euery one to some occupation, or good course of life. When the people multiplied, he planted Colonies in *Sycionia*, then called *Aegialos*, or *Aegialia*: In which Countrie *Solinus* then raigning, thought it safer to giue his Daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heire, than to contend with him.

S C 3

him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a *Towne* called by his wives name in *Ægilia*, whence he, and his posterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gave to that Land the denomination. But in after-times the *Dores* afflicting the *Nephews* of *Heracles*, invaded *Peloponnesus*, and over-coming the *Achaens*, possessed *Lagania*, and all those parts which the *Achai* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achai* driven to seek a new feat, came vnto the *Iones*, desiring to inhabit *Ægilia* with them, and alledging in vaine, that *Ion* and *Achaus* had beene brethren. When this request could not be obtained, they fought by force to expell the *ionians*, which they performed; but they lost their King *Tijamenes*, the sonne of *Orestes*, in that Warre.

This were the *Ionies* driuen out of *Peloponnesus*, and compelled to remoue into *Attica*, from whence after a while they failed into *Asia*, and peopled the Welshire coast thereof, on which they built twelue Cities, inhabited by them, euen to this day, at the least without any vniuersal or memorabie transmigration. This expedition of the *Ionies* into *Asia* hath been mentioned of all which haue written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. yeeres after the warre of *Troy*, and 60. yeeres after the descent of the *Heracleids* into *Peloponnesus*. These *Heracleids* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* issued ; which race held that Kingdome about 700. yeeres. Of their Father *Heracles* many strange things are deliuered vnto vs by the Poets, of which some are like to haue beene true, others perhaps must be allegorically vnderstood. But the most approved Writers thinke that there were many called *Heracles*, all whose exploits were by the *Greekes* ascribed to the sonne of *Alcmena*, who is said to haue performed the twelue great labours.

First, he flew the *Nemean Lion* ; secondly, he flew the Serpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place : The third was the o-
u-er-taking a very Swift Hare : The fourth was the taking of a wild Bore alive, which
hanted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadie* : The fifth was the cleaning of *Anguis* his
Oxe-hall in one day, which hee performed by turning the Riuer *Alpheus* into it :
The sixth was the chaine away of the Birds from the Lake *Symphalis* : The seventh
was the fetching a Bull from *Crete* : The eighth was the taking of the Mares which so
Dionides King of *Thrace* led with humane flesh : The ninth was to fetch a Girdle of
the *Queene of the Amazons* : The three last were, to fetch *Cerion* : Beets from *Gades* ;
the golden Apples of the *Hesperides* ; and *Cerberus* from hell. The *Mythological* inter-
pretation of this I purposely omit, as both ouer-long to be here set downe, and
no lesse perplexed than the labours themselves. For some by *Hercules* vnderstand
Fortitude, Prudence, and Constance, interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others
make *Hercules* the *Sunne*, and his traualles to be the twelue signes of the *Zodiac*.
There are others who apply his workes historically to their owne conceits ; as well
affured, that the expedition cannot have more vnlikelihoode, than the fables : That he
rooke *Elis*, *Pylus*, *Oechalia*, and other Townes, being assailed by such as either ad-
mired his vertues, or were beholding vnto him. Also that he flew many Theeues,
and Tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of Poetical vanitie : His
traualles through most parts of the world are, or may seeme, borrowed from *Hes-
cules Libyses*. But sure it is that many Cities in *Greece* were greatly bound to him :
for that he (bending all his induements to the common good) deliuered the Land
from much oppression. But after his death no Citie of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) re-
quired the vertue and deserts of *Hercules*, with conflant protection of his children,
persequuted by the King *Eurytheus*. This *Eurytheus* was sonne of *Sthenelus* ; and
grand-child of *Perseus* : he reigned in *Mycene*, the mightiest Citie then in *Greece*.
He it was that imposed those hard taskes vpon *Hercules*, who was bound to obay
him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murder, which in his madnesse hee had
committed vpon his owne Children ; but as others say, because hee was his
Subiect and Seruant : wherefore there are who commend *Eurytheus* for im-
ploying the strength of *Hercules* to so good a purpose. But it is generally agreed

by the best writers, that *Heracles* was also of the stock of *Perseus*, and holden in great esteem by *Eurythene* because of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous seruices, wherein hee was employed, so that hee grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*; and had by many wives and Concubines above threecore children. These children *Eurythene* would faine haue got into his power, when *Heracles* was dead: but they fled into *Corys* King of *Trachinia*, and from him (for he durst not withland *Eurythene*) to *Aethens*. The *Aethenians* not onely gaue them entertainment, but lent them ayd, wherewith they encountered *Eurythene*. *Iulani* the brothers sonne of *Heracles*, who had assisted him in many of his trauels, was captaine of the *Heracidae*. It is said of him, that being dead, he obtained leave of *Pluto* to liue againe till he might reuenge the iniuries done by *Eurythene*: whom when hee had slaine in battell, hee died againe. It seemes to mee, that whereas hee had led *Colones* into *Sicilie*, and aboad there a long time forgotten; he came againe into *Greece* to afix his coullins, and afterwards returned backe. When the *Peloponnesians* vnderstood that *Eurythene* was slaine, they tooke *Atreus* the sonne of *Pelops* to their King: for hee was rich, mightie, and fauoured of the people. Against him the *Heracidae* marched vnder *Hyllus* the sonne of *Heracles*. But to auoid effusion of blood, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Echemus* King of the *Tegate* a people of *Arcadia*, who assisted *Atreus*, with condition, that if *Hyllus* were victor, hee should peaceably enioy what hee challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heracidae* should not enter *Peloponnesus* in 100. yeeres. In that combat *Hyllus* was slaine, and the *Heracidae* compelled to forbeare their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned vnder *Aristodemus* (as the best authoritie shewes, though some haue said, that they came vnder the conduct of his children) and brought with them the *Dares*, whom they planted in that country, as is before shewed, hauing expelled the *Achai*, out whom the issue of *Pelops* had raised after the death of *Eurythene* foure generations.

δ. VII.

OF HOMER and HESIOD, and many changes in the world,
that happened about this age.



Bout this time that excellent learned Poet *Homér* lived, as many of the best *Chronologers* affirme. Hee was by race of the *Moones*, descended (as *Fancius* imagineth) of *Berofis* his *Ammon*, who gave name to that people. But this *Fancius* imagineth *Homér* the Poet to have beene long after these times, rashly framing his *Ara* according to

40 *a* *Archilochus* in the *træd*, or rather fragment of *temporibus*; and makes feuen more of
 this name to haue flourished in diuers Cities in *Grecce*. Whence, perhaps, spring the
 diuerſitie of opinions, both of the time and of the native Citie of *Hom*.
 to this *Archilochus*, *Fundanus* finds *Hom* about the time of *Missaſſe King of Iuda*, and
Namus of Rome. He was called *Mediceſus* from the place of his birth, and at length
*Hom*er, becauſe blind men follow a guide, which ſignification among others, is in the
 yerb *hægus*: for this *Hom*er in his latter time was blind. *Clemens Alexandrinus* re-
 cites many different opinions touching the queſtion of the time when *Hom* lived.
 So alſo *Adrian Gellius*, and *Tatianus Affyrinus* in his Oratid *ad gentes*. *Paterculus* re-
 counts that *Hom*er flouriſhed 950. yeeres before the *Coſſallip* of *Marcus Pinnius*,
 which *Mercator* calleth yep in the worlds yere 3046. and after *Trey* Tenth, about
 2600. yeeres: and about 250. yeeres before the building of *Rome*, making him to
 50 haue flouriſhed about the time of *Ichoſaphat King of Iuda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus*
 and *Tatianus* above named, mention authors that make him much anſcienter. The
 difference of which authors in this point is not unworthie the readers conſidera-
 tion, that by this one influence hee may gueſſe of the difficultie, and fo pardon the
 errors

Fund. Chrofol.
1.1.col.D.
This author
set out with
Berofis and o-
thers, first at
Bafil, and after
with Fryer An-
nius his Com-
ment at Aus-
werp is incerte
fidei.
Naucle. f. 147.
placeth Homer
in the 32. ge-
neration in
the time of
Samuel.
*Stromatum. l. 5.
at Nat. Attic. l. 3.
c. 55. Hem. l. 17.
c. 21.

spect of the valour of that Nation, that the *Philistims* would take *Dauid's* head, than see their foreskinnes. T his hope failing, when as now *Dauid's* victories begat new feares and iacobines in *Saul*, hee practised with *Ionathan*, and afterwards with his owne hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this hee sought to murder him in his owne house, but *Michol* his wife deliuered him. So *Dauid* sought *Samuel* at *Ramath*, and being pursued by *Saul*, fled thence vnto *Nob* in *Beniamin*, to *Abimelech*, then to *Achis* the *Philistim*, Prince of *Geth*: where to obscure himselfe, he was forc't to counterfeit both simplicitie and distraction. But being ill assured among the *Philistims*, he couered himselfe in the Cane of *Adullam*: and after conueying such of his kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him into *Moab*, he hid himselfe in the deserts of *Ziph*, *Maan*, and the hills of *Engaddi*, where hee cut off the lap of *Saul's* garments, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the desert of *Ziph*, after his passage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achis* of *Geth* the second time, and was kindly entertained in regard of the hatred, with which his master *Saul* was knowne to persecute him.

Of *Achis* *Dauid* obtained * *Siklag* in *Simen*, pretending to invade *Iudas*: but hee bent his forces another way and strooke the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Israel*, letting none lye to claime vpon him. *Achis* supposing that *Dauid* had drawne blood of his owne Nation, thought himselfe assured of him: and therefore preparing to invade *Israel*, summoneth *Dauid* to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the *Philistim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore hee withdrew himselfe to *Siklag*. At his returne he found the towne burnt, his two wiues with the wiues and children of his people taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his fellowes motiued, but God gaue him comfort, and assurance to recouer all againe: which hee did.

This armie of the *Philistims* commaunded by *Achis*, encountred *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which hee and his three Sønnes were slaine. The newes with *Saul's* Crowne and bracelets were brought to *Dauid* at *Siklag*, in his returne from being victorious ouer *Amalech*, by a man of the same Nation, who auowed (though falsly) that himselfe at *Saul's* request had slaine him. *Dauid*, because hee had accused himselfe, made no scruple to cause him to be slaine at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gaue strong euidence withall. Otherwise it followeth not that euery man ought to be beleeued of himselfe to his owne prejudice. For it is held in the lawes; *Confessio reorum non habenda est pro expletato crimine, nisi approbata alia instruit religionem cognoscentia*. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an euidence of the crime, unlessse some other prooffe informe the conscience of the Iudge. For a man may confesse those things of himselfe, that the Iudge by examination may know to be impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title *de custodia reorum* l. si confessus, et in cap. de penis l. qui sententiam, therefore doth the Glosse reconceit these two places in this sort: *Si quis in iudicio sponte de seipso confitetur, et postea maneat in confessione, id est satis. If any man in iudgement doe confesse of himselfe, of his owne accord, and after doth perseuere in his confession, it is enough*. That *Dauid* greatly bewailed *Saul* it is not improbable, for death cutteth asunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befell him, being a King, with whom in effect the strength of *Israel* also fell, could not but thrice vpon sorrow, and moue compassion in the heart of *Dauid*.

The victorie which the *Philistims* had gotten was so great, that some townes of the *Israelites*, euen beyond the river of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left vnto the enemy, who tooke possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may seeme strange, that a Nation so warlike and ambitious as were the *Philistims*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and seeke to make the Conquest entire. Most like it seemes, that the Ciuill warre immediatly breaking out betwene *Dauid* and the house of *Saul*, wherein *Iuda* was diuided from the rest of *Israel*, gaue them hope of an easie victorie ouer both; and thereby cau-

fed them to attempt nothing at the present, lest by so doing they should inforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessarie reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which means, both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were vnited.

§. II.

Of the beginning of *DAVID'S* reigne, and the warre made by *ABNER* for *ISBOSETH*.



After the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commaunded for *Saul* in the war, sought to aduance *Isboeth* (or *Ishbosus* according to *Iosephus*) though hee had no right to the Kingdome of *Israel*: for *Meophiboseth* the first sonne of *Ionathan* liued. Against this *Abner*, and *Isboeth*, *Dauid* made a defenseless warre, till *Abner* past *Jordan*, and entred the border of *Iuda*, at which time he sent *Iosh* with such forces as hee had, to resist *Abner*: *Isboeth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *Dauid* in *Hebron*. The armies encountred each other nere *Gibeon*, where it seemeth, that *Abner* made the offer to trie the quarrell by the hands of a few; like to that Combat betwene the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Argues*, remembred by *Herodotus*, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were onely left vnlaine. The like triall by a farre lesse number was performed by the *Hortij* and *Curiatij* for the *Romanes* and *Latines*. The same challenge *Goliath* the *Philistim* made, whom *Dauid* slew: a custome very ancient. *Edward* the third offered the like triall in his owne person to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelue chosen of each part, in this warre of *Dauid* with the house of *Saul*, to wit, so many of *Beniamin*, and as many of *Iuda*: whose force and valour was so equal, as there ensued not any one to challenge the victorie. But the quarrell staid not here: for the armie of *Iuda* prest *Abner* in grosse, and brake him. Three hundredth and sixtie men of *Abners* companions were slaine, and but twentie of *Iuda*; whereof *Ashabel* the brother of *Iosh* was one: who when he would needs pursue *Abner*, and by *Abners* perswasions could not be moued to quit him, he was forced to turne vpon him, wounding him to death, with the Brooke of his speare. For though *Ashabel* were an excellent footman, and as it is written in the Text, as light as a wild *Roe*, and as *Iosephus* reporteth, contented not onely with men, but with horses; and hoped to haue gotten great fame, if he could haue mastered *Abner* (who as *Ashabel* perswaded himselfe, had by being overthrown and flying away lost his courage) yet here it fell out true; That the race

was not to the swift. That this ciuill warre lasted two yeeres, wee finde it written in the second of *Samuel* the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is againe made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbines* conceiue that *Isboeth* had then reigned two yeeres, when this was written, the warre as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the partie of *Isboeth* after this, and till such time as there grew iacobine betwene him and *Isboeth* for *Saul's* concubine: neither did the death of *Isboeth* instantly follow; but how long after the murder of *Abner* it happened, the fame doth not certainly appeare.

§. III.

Of the death of ABNER, slaine by IOAB, and of ISBOSETH
by RECHAB and BAANAH.

2 Sam. 3. 27.

2 Sam. 3. 39.

10 of 39.



ABNER, reconciled to David, was anon by IOAB murdered; for IOAB could not endure a companion in Davids favour, and in the commandment of his forces, by which hee was growne so powerfull, as David forbore to call him to account; for thus much hee confesseth of himselfe: *I am this day weake, and these men the sonnes of ZERUIAH bee too hard for mee.* In this sort David complained after ABNERS death, and to make it cleare that hee hated this fact of IOAB, hee followed him with this publike imprecation; *Let the blood fall on the head of IOAB, and on all his fathers house: and let them be subiect to plagues, to the leprosie, to lameness, to the sword, and to poyson, &c.* For could any thing haue withstood the ordinance of God, this murder committed by IOAB might greatly haue indangered Davids estate; ABNER being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischance therefore David openly bewailed, so that all Israel perceived him to bee innocent of that fact. The place which ABNER held, being General of the men of warre, was of such importance, that the Kings themselves were faine to give them great respect, as hath bene already shewed more at large. This office IOAB held in the armie of Iuda, & thought himselfe worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdom. For hee was nere to David in kinred, and had bene partaker of all his aduersities; wherefore hee did not thinke it meete, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature so jealous of his dignitie and place, that hee afterward slew ANASIS his owne kinsman, and the Kings, vpon the same quarrell, taking it in high disdain to see him ioyned with himselfe as capitaine of the hoste of Iuda; much lesse could hee brooke a superiour, and such a one as had slaine his brother, and bene beaten himselfe in battell. But howsoever IOAB did hate or despise ABNER, David esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in Israel, excusing the oversight by which he might seeme to haue perished, by affirming that hee died not like a foole, nor a man vanquished, *But as a man falleth before wicked men, so (said hee) diddest thou fall.* And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him whom a stronger hand destroyeth vnawares, or whom subtiltie in free trust bringeth to confusion. For vnder the Sunne are subiect to worldly miseries and misadventures. Howsoever ISBOSETH meant to haue dealt with ABNER, yet when he heard of his death, hee despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all Israel were posselt with great feare: inso-much as two of ISBOSETHS owne Captaines, RECHAB and BAANAH, murdered ISBOSETH, and presenting his head to David, received the same reward that the AMALÉKITES lately did, for pretending to haue slaine SAUL. ISBOSETH being dead, all the Elders of Israel repaired to David at Hebron, where he was the third and last time anointed by general consent.

2 Sam. 3. Pers. 34.

2 Sam. 4.

§. IIII.

Of the flourishing time of DAVIDS Kingdom, the taking of Ierusalem,
with two overthrowes given to the Philistims, and the
conduccion of the Arke to the Citie
of DAVID.

2 Sam. 5.



When David was now established in the Kingdom, his first enterprise was vpon the Iebusites, who in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their walles with the blinde and lame of their Citie; which David soon after entered: all their other forces notwithstanding. For hauing mastered the fort of

Zion

Zion (which was afterward the Citie of David) hee became Lord of Ierusalem, without any great danger, expelling thence the Iebusites, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of Moyses and Isua, and after them almost 400. yeeres. There are who expound this place otherwise: Except thou take away the blinde and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither. For some thinke that it was meant by the Idols of the Iebusites; others, that it had reference to the Couenent made long before with Isua, and Iacob: the one blinde by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the Angell, and that therefore till thole (that is, till that Couenent) be broken, David ought not to molest them. But for my selfe I take it with Iosephus, that they armed their wals with certaine impotent people at first, in scorn of Davids attempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. yeeres against all the children of Israel, Isua, the Iudges, and Saul, did not doubt but to defend it also against David.

When he had now posselt himselfe of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and received congratulatory Embassadors & presents from Itham King of Tyre: he entertained diuers other concubines & married moe wiues, by whom he had ten sons in Ierusalem, and by his former wiues he had six in Hebron where he reigned 75. yeeres.

The Philistims hearing that David was now anointed King, as well of Iudas as of Israel, they thought to try him in the beginning, before hee was fully warme in his feat. And being encountered by David at two severall times in the Valley of Rephaim, or of the Giants, they were at both times overthrowne. After which hee called the place

2 Sam. 5.

Baupersim.

Then David assembled 30000. choice Israelites to conduct the Arke of God from the house of Abinadab in Gibe, to the Citie of David, which businesse was interrupted by the death of RECHAB the sonne of Amiadab, whom the Lord slewe for presuming to touch the Arke, though it were with intent to lay it from taking harme, when it was shaken. But after three yeeres it was with great solemnitie brought into the Citie with sacrifices, musick, dances, and all signes of ioyfulness, in which David himselfe gladly bare a part. Hereupon Michal derided him for dancing before the Arke, and afterward told him in scorn, *That hee was vnconquered as a foole in the eyes of the maidens: his servants; namely that hee forgot his regall dignitie both in apparrell and behaviour; and mixed himselfe among the base multitude, dancing as fooles doe in the wayes and streets: not that shee disliked Davids behaviour (as I take it) though she made it the colour of her derision. But rather the abundant griefe, which this spectacle stirred vp, beholding, the glorie of her husband to whom shee was deliuered lastly by force, and remembering the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whole ruines shee conceived that the sonne of Isua had built this his greathouse, together with the many new wiues and concubines imbraced since his possession of Ierusalem, made her breake out in thole despitefull teares, for which she remained barren to her death.*

This done, David consulted with the Prophet Nathan for the building of the Temple or house of God: but was forbidden it, because he was a man of warre, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide; hauing threatned, not in vaine, that hee would require the blood of man, at the hand of man and beast. The warres which David had made were iust, and the blood thereof was of the enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appears how greatly thole Princes deceive themselves, who thinke by bloudshed and terror of their warres, to make themselves in greatnes like to the Almighty, which is a damnable pride; nor caring to imitate his mercie and goodnesse, or to seeke the blessednesse promised by our Sauour vnto the peacemakers.

1 Chron. 22. 3.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of Davids founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon hee received both a confirmation of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happie promise of the euermlasting throne, that should be established in his seede.

T t

§. V.

§. V.

The overthrow of the Philistims and Moabites.

2. Sam. 8. v. 1.



One after this David overthrew the Philistims, which made them altogether powerlesse, and vnable to make any inuasion vpon Israel in halfe. For it is written, *Acceptit fructum Amgaris à manu Philistheorum*; which place our English Genes conuerts in these words, And DAVID took the bride of bondage out of the hand of the Philistims. The Latine of Iunius giueth another and a better sense; for by that bridle of Amgar was meant the strong Citie of Gath, or Geth, and so the Genes hath it in the marginall note. This Citie of Gath was the fame which was afterward Dio-Cæsaria, set on the frontier of Palestina at the entrance into Iudea and Ephraim. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retreat in all their inuasions, which being taken by David and demolished, there was left no such frontier towne of equall strength to the Philistims on that part. The hill whereon Geth or Gath stood, the Hebrewes call Amma, whereof and of the word Gar is made Amgar, of which Plinie in his first booke, and thirteenth Chap. This exposition is made plaine and confirmed in the first of Chro. the 18.

Iunius in 8. col. the second of Sam.

There was no nation bordering the Iewes that so greatly afflicted them as the Philistims did, who before the time of Saul (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leaue one Smith in all their Cities & villages of that kinde, but infort them to come downe into their territorie, for all iron worke whatsoever they needed; so as the Iudaes till this time of David were seldom free from paying tribute to the Philistims.

1. Sam. 13.

After this he gaue them foure other overthrowes: but the war of the Moabites and Arabians came betwene. In the first of which he was indangered by Ibbi-benob, the head of whose speare weighed 300. Shickles of brasse, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time Abishai succoured David and slew the Philistim, whereupon the Councillors and Captaines of David (left the light of Israel might by his losse be quenched) vowed that he should not thenceforth hazard himself in any battaile. The second and third encounter and overthrow of the Philistims was at Geth a place neere Gesar, and the last at Gath or Geth. And being now better assured of the Philistims by the taking of Geth, hee invaded Moab, from whom notwithstanding in his aduersitie hee sought succour and left his parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same King or no it is not knowne.

2. Sam. 8. v. 17.

The Rabines saie that Moab slew those kinsfolkes of David, which liued vnder his protection in Sauls time, but questionlesse David well knew how that Nation had bin alwayes enemies to Israel, and tooke all the occasions to vex them that were offered. And he also remembered that in the 23. of Deuter. God commanded Israel not to seeke the peace or prosperitie of the Moabites, which David well obserued, for he destroyed two parts of all the people, leauing a third to till the ground. This victorie obtained, he led his armie by the border of Ammon towards Syria Zobah, the region of Adadazer the sonne of Rehob King thereof. The place is set downe in the description of the holy Land: to which I referre the Reader.

§. VI.

The warre which DAVID made vpon the Syrians.



It is written in the Text: DAVID smote also HADADZER &c. as hee went to recover his border at the river Euphrates. Now whether the words (as hee went to recover his border) be referred to David or Hadadzer it is not agreed vpon. Iunius thinks that the article (he) hath relation to David, who finding Tobu oppressed by Hadadzer, overthrew

threw the one and succoured the other. But the ancient and most received opinion, that this recoverie hath reference to the Syrian, is more probable. For if David had intended any such enterprize towards Euphrates, hee was in farre better case to haue proceeded after his victorie than before: seeing that (Adadzer being taken) he had now left no enemy on his backe, either to pursue him, to take victuals and supplies from him, or to stop the passages of the mountains vpon him at his returne.

Againe, seeing David was either to passe through a part of Arabia the desert, or by the plains of Palmyrena, his armie consisting of footmen, for the most, it not all: Hee had now both horse and chariots good store to carry his provisions through those vncultivated places, by which he was to haue marched before he could haue reached Euphrates or any part thereof. But we find that David returned to Hierusalem, after hee had twice overthrowne the Syrian armie, not bending his course towards the river Euphrates, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whereby it may appeare, that it was the Syrian, and not King David, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is said.

The king of Syria Damasena, and of Damasus, whereof that region is so called, hearing that Adadazer was overthrowne by the Iudaes, fearing his owne estate, & the losse of his owne country which adioyned to Syria Zobah of Hadadzer, sent for an armie of Aramites or Syrians to his succour: but these, as it appeareth, came too late for Adadazer, and too soone for themselves: for there perished of those supplies 20000. This king of Damasus, Iosephus (out of Nichelauran ancient Historian) calleth Adad, who was also of the same name & family as all those other Adads were: which now began to grow vp in greatnelle, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the Assyrians, as is shewed heretofore. David hauing now reduced Damasus vnder his obedience, left a garrison therein, as he did in Edom: hauing also sacked the adioyning cities of Betah, and Berati, belonging to Adadazer, of which Cities Ptolemy calleth Betah, Tauba: and Berati he nameth Barabena, Tobu or Thoi whose country of Hamath ioyned to Adadazer (as in the description of the Holy land the reader may perceiue) sent his son Ioram to congratulate this successe of David: partly because he had warre with Adadazer, and partly because he feared David now victorious. He also presented David with vessels of gold, silver, and brasse, all which together with the golden shields of the Aramites, and the best of all the spoils of other Nations, David dedicated vnto God at his returne. Iunius translated the words (*elypeos aureas*) by *ymbones*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold but the bosses only. The Septuagint call them bracelets: *Aquila* golden chaines. But because Roboam made shields of brasse in place of these of Adadazer, at such time as Shishak the Egyptian sacked the Temple of Hierusalem, it may be gathered thereby, that those of Adadazer were golden shields.

This done, David sent Embassadors to Hannu King of the Ammonites to congratulate his establishment in his fathers Kingdome: for David in the time of his affliction vnder Saul, had bene relieved by Nahab, the father of Hannu. But this Ammonite being ill aduised, and ouer-calous of his estate, vsed Davids messengers so barbarously, and contemptuously (by curtailing their beards, and their garments) as he thereby drew a warre vpon himself, which neither his owne strength, nor all the aydes purchased could put off, or sustaine. For notwithstanding that hee had waged three and thirtie thousand Souldiers of the Amalekites, and of Moab confederates; to wit, of the vassalles of Adadazer twentie thousand, and of Maachab and Ithob thirtie thousand (for which hee disbursed a thousand talents of silver) yet all these great armies together with the strength of the Ammonites, were so by Iobab and his brother Abishai easily broken and put to ruine: and that without any great losse or slaughter at that time. And it is written that when the Aramites fled, the Ammonites also retreated into their Cities, the one holding themselves within the walles, the other in their desarts adioyning, till Iobab was returned to Hierusalem.

Maachab the North part of Traconitis remembered in Deut 3. 14. Ithob or Tobab a country neere Gad vnder the rocks of Idumea. 2. Sam. 10.

Helam on the
bank which the
Syrian called the
Euphrates, where
the foords of
the Euphrates.
2 Sam. 10.

* Sect. 18. §. 1.

Hadad-ezer hearing that *Ishb* had dismissed his armie, assembled his forces againe, and sent for all the companies that he could leuie out of *Mesopotamia*, who vnder the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South side thereof, *Dauid* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest men of *Israel*, and marched towards the Syrian armie in *Palmyrena*, not yet entred into *Arabia*; to wit, at *Helam*, a place no lesse distant from *Damascus*, towards the Northeast, than *Hierusalem* was towards the Southwest. Now *Dauid* (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence goe on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest-off journey that euer he made) because he was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the mid-way. He also possesse himselfe of *Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Salomon* afterward strongly fortified, and this Citie was but one dayes iourney from *Helam*, and the river *Euphrates*. So had he two safe retraites, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter between *Dauid* and the Syrians, they lost 40000 horsemen, and 7000 chariots, together with *Shobach* Generall of their armie. The Chronicles call these 40000. Soldiers footmen, and 10 ianits conuerts it, and so is it very probable. For the armie of *Israel* consisting of footmen, could hardly haue slaughtered 40000. horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on foote. So are the chariots taken in this battell, numbered at 7000. in the first of *Chron.* the 9. in which number, as I conceiue, all the Soldiers that serued in them with the conductors are included; so as there died of the Syrians in this warre against *Dauid*, before he forc'd them to tribute; 100000. footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and besides all those that *Ishb* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabba*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adams* in following ages gathered strength againe, and afflicted the Kings of *Juda* often: but the Kings of *Israel* they impowerfull euen to the last end of that State.

Dauid hauing now beaten the *Arabians* and *Mesopotamians* from the partie and confederacie of *Ammon*: He sent out *Ishb* the Lieutenant of his armies to forrage and destroy their territorie, and to besiege *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the *Israelites* mastered and possesse. The Kings crowne which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, *Dauid* set on his owne head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoile of the Citie. And though *Dauid* stayed at *Hierusalem*, following the warre of *Uriah*-his wife, till such time as the Citie was brought to extremitie, and ready to be entred: yet *Ishb* in honour of *Dauid* forbore the last assault, and entrance thereof, till his masters arriuall. To the people he vsed extreme rigour (if we may so call it being exercised against heathen idolaters) for some of them he tare with barrowes, some he sawed asunder, others he cast into burning kilns, in which he baked tile and bricks.

§. VII.

Of *DAVIDS* troubles in his reigne, and of his forces.

BVas victorie begetteth securitie, and our present worldly felicitie a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and many times of God himselfe the giuer of all goodnesse: so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly hee had to please God in the precise obseruation of his Lawes and Commandements. For hauing now no dangerous apparant enemy (against whom hee was wont to aske counsaile from the Lord) hee began to be aduised by his owne humane affections and vaine desires. For hee was not only satisfied to take *Uriahs* wife from him, and to vse her by stealth: but hee imbrodered his adultery with *Uriahs* slaughter, giuing order to his trustie seruant

Ishb

Ishb to marshall him in the front or point of those *Israelites*, which gaue an assault vpon the suburbs of *Rabba*, when there was not as yet any possibility of preuailing. And, that which could no lesse displease God than the rest, he was content that many others of his best seruants and Souldiers should perish together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the highest of happiness, and his dayes then to come were filled with ioyes and woes interchangeable, his trodden-downe sorrowes began againe to spring, and those perils which he had pulled vp by the rootes (as he hoped) gaue him an after-harvest of many cares and discontentments. And it had pleased God to take the witness of *Dauids* owne mouth against him, as *Dauid* himselfe did against the *Amalekite*, which pretended to haue slaine *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded vnto him his owne error, in the person of another, to wit, of him that tooke the poore mans sheepe that had none else, the bereauer being Lord of many: He then vowed it to the liuing Lord, that such a one should die the death. And heercof, although it pleased God to pardon *Dauid*, for his life, which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yet he deliuered him Gods iustice together with his merie in the tenour following; *Now therefore the sword shall neuer depart from thy house, &c.* Because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slaine *Uriah* with the sword of the children of *Ammon*. Soone after this *Dauid* lost the child of adulterie which he begot on *Bersheba*. Secondly, his owne sonne *Amnon* being in loue with his halfe sister *Tamar*, by the aduice of his Cousin german the sonne of *Shimeab* *Dauid*s brother, possesse her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a carelesse and despightfull manner. Two yeeres after, which foule and incestuous act, *Abshalom* cauled him to be murdered, at the feast of his sheep-shearing; not perchance in reuenge of *Tamars* rauishment alone: but hauing it in his heart to vsurpe the Kingdome; in which, because he could not in any sort be assured of *Amnon*, hee thought his affaire greatly aduanced by his destruction. So the one brother hauing rauished his owne sister, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice, first, made his owne brother drunken, and then slaughtered him; which done he fled away, and liued vnder the safeguard of *Talmay* King of *Geshur*, neere *Damascus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Abshalom* by the inuention of *Ishb*, (but chiefly because of the great affection of *Dauid* towards his sonne) was brought againe: first to the Kings fauour, and then to his presence: He began instantly to practise against *Dauid* his father, seeking by the pretence of common iustice, and by lowly and familiar manner to ail men, and by detraicting from his fathers equitie, to win vnto himselfe a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatened by the Lord as a punishment of *Dauids* sinne.

The company which *Abshalom* gathered at the first were but 200. men: which he carried with him from *Hierusalem* to *Hebron*: pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achishophel* repaired vnto him, and many troopes of people from all places, he proclaimed himselfe King, and was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawfull Prince) accepted for a ready, that *Dauid* doubting to be set vpon on the suddaine, durst not trust himselfe in his owne Citie of *Hierusalem*, nor in any other walled towne for feare of surpris: but incamped in the fields, & desarts with some 600. of his guards, and few elc. The priests he left in *Hierusalem* with the Arke of God, from whom he desired to be aduerted of those things that chanced, to whom he directed *Hulhai* his trustie friend, and seruant, praying him to make himselfe in all his outward actions and counsels of *Abshaloms* partie and confederacie, thereby the better to discouer vnto him the purposes of *Achishophel*, a reuolted Counsailler, whose practices hee greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his master *Abshalom* the sonne of *Jonathan*: And *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the fire

of whose hatred *Dauid's* prosperitie had smothered, but his aduerfitee illighted) holding himselfe vpon the aduantage of a mountaine side, call stones at *Dauid*, and moit despitfully cursed him to his face: but *Dauid* attending no private reuenges, forbadde *Abisai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the rolle of his reuenge, to his sonne *Salomon*. *Abisai* being now posselt of *Hierusalem*, was aduised by *Achitophel* to vse his fathes concubines in some fuch publique place, as all *Israel* might assure themselves, that hee was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being perswaded, they would then resolutely adhere to *Abisai* and his cause, without feare of being giuen vp vpon a reconciliation betwene them. This saluage and impious (though craftie counsaile) *Achitophel* indeed vr-
 10 ged for his owne respect, as tearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all other inflamed *Abisai* against his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *Dauid*: *I will raise vp euill against thee out of thine owne house, and will take thy wiues before thine eyes, and gise them vnto thy neighbour, and hee shall vse thy wiues in the sight of the Sunne: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will doe this thing before all Israel, and before the Sunne.* Hee also gaue aduice to *Abisai*, that himselfe with an armie of 12000. men might bee employed at the instant for the surprizing of *Dauid*, which had willingly beene embraced by *Abisai*, had not *Hushai* *Dauid's* faithfull seruant giuen counter-advice, and swayed it: perswading *Abisai*, that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of *Israel*,
 20 to pursue his father, then by such a troope, which *Dauid's* valour and those of his attendants might either indanger or resist. This delay in *Abisai*, and aduantage of time gained by *Dauid*, was indeed, after God, the losse of the one and deliuerie of the other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the successe which followed, disposed of his owne estate, and then forsooke both the partic and the care of *Abisai*, and of his owne life.

Dauid being aduertised of this enterprize against him, marched away all night, and past *Jordan*, possessing himselfe of *Mahanaim* in the tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Isobab* himselfe in the warre against *Dauid* after *Saul's* death seated himselfe. To which place there repayed vnto him *Shobi*, the sonne of *Nabab* the *Ammonite*,
 30 whom *Dauid* loved, the same which *Isephus* calleth *Shipbar*. And though it bee greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most generall and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hanun*, whom *Dauid* for his fathes sake established in the Kingdome, after *Hanun's* overthrow. In thankfullnesse whereof hee releued *Dauid* in this extremitie. There came also to *Dauid's* assistance *Machir* of *Lodebar*, Gardian in former times to *Mephiboseth*, and among others *Barzilai* the *Gileadite*, who willingly led *Dauid* and all his companie.

In the meane time both the King and *Abisai* prepared to fight, *Abisai* made *Amasa* Commander of the armie of *Israel*, the same place which *Isob* held with *Dauid*; an office next the King himselfe, like vnto that of the Maiors of the Paiaace
 40 anciently in *France*. *Dauid*, perswaded by his companie, stayed in *Mahanaim*, and disposed the forces hee had to *Isob*, *Abisai*, and *Ittai*, giuing them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of *Mahanaim*, that they should spare the life of *Abisai*. But *Isob*, besides that he was very cruell by nature, remembered that *Abisai* had lately disposed of his Government to *Amasa*, and therefore the victorie being obtained, and newes brought him that *Abisai* hung by the haire of his head on a tree, when he could not perswade the messenger to returne and kill him, hee himselfe with his owne seruants dispatch him. It appeared also by the sequell that *Isob* affected *Adonijah* whom hee afterward acknowledged, *Dauid* yet liuing;
 50 and fearing the disposition of *Abisai*, he embraced the present aduantage offered.

Hereof, together with newes of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to *Dauid*, he mourned and sorrowed, not onely as a man that had lost a sonne, but as one that had outliued all his worldly ioyes, and scene every delight of life interred. For hee so hid himselfe from his people, as those which hoped for honour and re-
 ward

ward after so great a victory, couered themselves also in the Cite, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deferred death than recompence. Whereupon *Isob* presenting himselfe before *Dauid*, perswaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himselfe to the Armie. For first he told him that hee had discontenanced his faithfull seruants, who had that day preferred his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a King, than not onely to not acknowledge so great a loue and constancie in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolutely expose themselves to great perils for his sake; but on the contrary grieue and lament at their good successe. For, no doubt, they might all haue bought their peace of *Abisai* at an easie rate. Secondly, hee vrged that it was generally beleued, that hee loved his enemies and hated his friends, and that hee witnessed by this his mourning, that hee had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithfull seruants, but would more haue ioyed if they had all perished, and *Abisai* liued, than in the victorie by their faithfullnesse and approved valour gotten.

Lastly, hee vsed this prevalent argument, that if the King came not out and shewed himselfe publicly to his men of warre, that they would all that very night abandon him, and returne: concluding with this fearefull threatening: *And that will bee worse vnto thee than all the euill that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto.* By these over-bold and arrogant speeches (though per chance vttered with a good intent) *Isob* raised
 20 *Dauid* from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the Cite among the people, whom he assured of his loue and affection, especially *Amasa*, who commanded the Armie of *Abisai*, to whom he promised the office of Lieutenantship; the same which *Abisai* had giuen him, and which *Isob* now enioyed. For *Dauid* doubted, that if *Amasa* were not satisfied, hee might draw from him a great part of the strength of *Israel*, now vnder his commandement.

This done, the King marched towards *Jordan* homeward, where in his passage he pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reuiled him to his face; but this remission was but
 30 external, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of *Mephiboseth's* excuse, whom *Ziba* had formerly falsely accused and betrayed.

He also intreated *Barzilai* the *Gileadite*, his late liberrall Oast, to follow him to *Ierusalem*, that he might reward his seruice done him; who excusing himselfe by his age,
 30 appointed his sonne *Chinham* to attend the King.

At *Gilgal* on this side *Jordan*, all the Tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to haue most interest in *Dauid*, the Armie brake, and *Dauid* returned to *Ierusalem*. But *Sheba* the sonne of *Bichri*, a *Beniamite*, of the faction of the house of *Saul*, finding some discontentment among the *Israelites*, withdrew them from *Dauid*, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest, and it seemeth that many of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but *Juda*, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first King. *Dauid* employed his reconciled Captaine
 40 *Amasa*, to giue him contentment, and to witness his trust, as also because hee conceived that *Amasa* had interest in those reuolts of *Israel* more than *Isob* had. He received commandement from *Dauid* to assemble the Armie within three dayes, which he foretold: but being onward on his way, *Abisai*, *Isob's* brother, was sent after him, with *Dauid's* guard and best Souldiers, whom also *Isob* accompanied: and ouertaking *Amasa* neere *Gibeon*, pretending to embrace him, gaue him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no lesse iousalous of *Amasa* than hee was of *Adner*, whom he murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done, he pursued *Sheba*, and finding him inclosed in *Abel*, assaulted the Cite with that furie,
 50 that the Citizens by the perswasions of a wife woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba's* his head, and flung it to *Isob* over the walls: which done, hee retrated his Armie to *Ierusalem*, and commanded, as before, all the hoste of *Israel*.

The next act of *Dauid's*, was the deliuerie of *Saul's* finnes or kinsmen to the *Gileadites*, whom those Citizens hung vp in reuenge of their Fathers crueltie. *Dauid* had know-

knowledge from the Oracle of God, that a famine which had continued on the land three yeeres, came by reason of Saul and his house; to wit, for the slaughter of the Gibeonites: and therefore he willingly yielded to give them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from God himselfe, as also if wee may iudge humanely, to rid himselfe of Sauls line, by whom hee and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and endangered; onely he spared *Mephibosheth* the sonne of *Jonathan*, both for the loue hee bare to his father, as for his oath and vow to God.

Now where it is written in the Text, *The King took the two sonnes of RISPAA, whom she bare vnto SAUL, and the five sonnes of MICHAEL the daughter of SAUL, whom Ioseph bare to ADRIEL, and deliuered them to the Gibeonites:*

Iunius calls this *Michol* the sister of her that was *Dauids* wife, the whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*; but *Michol* here named had *Adriel* to her husband: the same which is named *Merab* in the first of *Samuel* the eighteenth, who was first promised to *Dauid*, when hee slue *Goliath* in the valley of *Raphaim*: and because it is written that *Michol* loved *Dauid*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *Dauid* had any humane respect in the deliuerie of her children, it is onely knowne to God.

Now whereas the Genea nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel*: the better translation were out of the Hebrew word here vsed, hauing an eclipsis or defect, and signifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kindred, as in the 19. verse of the same 21. Chapter it is said of *Goliath* whose speare was weighty as a weavers beame, when as by the same Eclipsis it must be vnderstood by the brother of *Goliath* himselfe being formerly slaine.

As by the death of *Sauls* children God secured the house of *Dauid*, leauing no head vnto rebellion; so did hee strengthen both the King and Nation against foraine enemies, by the valour of many braue Commanders, the like of whom, for number and qualitie, that people of *Israel* is not knowne to haue had at any time before or after. Thirtie Captaines of thousands there were, all men of marke, and great reputation in warre.ouer these were fixe Coronels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might be well held as miraculous. These Coronels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to haue been giuen vpon mere consideration of their vertue. For *Abishai* the brother of *Ioshab*, who in the warre against the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was Lieutenant, and commanded halfe the armie, could not attaine to the honour of the first rank, but was faine to rest contented with being principall of the three Coronels of the second order, notwithstanding his necessity in bloud vnto the King, the flourishing estate of his owne house, and his well approved seruices. All these Coronels and Captaines, with the Companies belonging to them, may seeme to haue been such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readinesse for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawne out, if need required into the field, very farre exceeded thirtie thousand, yea, or thirtie times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in *Sauls* time, and been hardened with his aduersities. Others there were very many, and principall men in their severall Tribes, that repaired vnto him after the death of *Saul*; but these Captaines and Coronels, (who with *Ioshab*, that was Generall of all the Kings forces, make up the number of 37.) were the especiall men of warre, and reckoned as *Dauids* Worthies. The long reigne of *Dauid*, as it is knowne to haue consumed many of these excellent men of warre, so may it probably be guessed to haue wasted the most of those whose deaths wee finde no where mentioned. For the sonnes of *Zeruia*, who had been too hard for *Dauid*, were worne away, and onely *Ioshab* left in the beginning of *Salomons*, who wanted his brother *Abishai* to stand by his side in his last extremitie.

By the actions forepassed in the time of *Dauid*, it is gathered that hee had reigned now 33. yeeres, or thereabout; when the posteritie of *Saul* was rooted out, so that

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hee enjoyed about seuen yeeres of entire quiet and securitie, wherein it pleased God to remove all impediments that might haue troubled the succession of *Salomon* in his Fathers throne. In this time also *Dauid* hauing established all things in *Iuda* and *Israel*, and the borders thereof, hee againe displeased God by numbring the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which he employed *Ioshab*, with other Captaines of his armie, who after nine months and twenty dayes trauell, returned with the account and register of all the people, able and fit to beare Armes, and they whereof to the number of thirtie thousand, besides *Leui* and *Beniamin*, whereof in *Iuda* and the Cities thereof five hundred thousand, and in *Israel* eight hundred thousand.

For this, when by the Prophet *Gad* hee was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himselfe to which he pleased; to wit, seuen yeeres famine; three months warre, wherein hee should be vnprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a generall pestilence to last three dayes: *Dauid* made choice to bow himselfe vnder the hand of God onely, and left himselfe subiect to that cruell disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished seuentie thousand. And hereby he hath taught all that liue, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof hee giueth vs this diuine reason; For his mercies are great.

§. VIII.

Of the last acts of *DAVID*; *ADONIAHS* faction; the reuenge vpon *IOAB* and *SHIMEI*.

Asly, when hee grew weake and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of women, hee was yet aduised to lie in the armes of a yong and well complexioned maiden, to keepe him warme. In this his weake estate of bodie, when he was in a manner bedrid, *Adonijah* his eldest sonne (*Amnon* and *Abshalom* being now dead) hauing drawne vnto his partie that inuincible, renowned and feared *Ioshab*, with *Abiathar* the Priest, beganne manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldest now liuing of *Dauids* sonnes, and a man of a goodly personage, *Salomon* yet yong, and borne of a mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by *S. Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others suppose) hee presumed to carrie the matter without resistance. Hereof when *Dauid* had knowledge by *Bathshe* the mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in minde of his faithfull promise, that *Salomon* her sonne should reigne after him (*Nathan* the Prophet affirming the same thing vnto the King, and seconding her report of *Adonijahs* presumption) the King calling vnto him *Zadoc* the Priest, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Benaiah* the Captaine of his guard, gave charge and commission to anoint *Salomon*, and to set him on the Mule whereon himselfe vied to ride in his greatest state: which done, *Salomon* attended, and strongly guarded by the ordinarie and choice men of warre, the *Cherubites* and *Peletites*, shewed himselfe to the people. Those tidings being reported to *Adonijah*, he presently abandoned his affluents, and for the safety of his life he held by the hornes of the Altar, whom for the present *Salomon* pardoned. After this, *Dauid* had remaining two especiall cares, whereof he was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the land, which might be disturbed by some rebellion against *Salomon*; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which hee fought by all means to aduance, and make the businesse publike. To being these intentions to good effect, he summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of *Israel*, the Princes of the severall Tribes, all the Captaines and Officers, with all the mighty, and men of power; who repaired vnto *Ierusalem*.

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In this assembly the King stood vp, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open his owne title to the Crowne, shewing that the Kingdome was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of *Juda* (as *Isaac* in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himselfe was pleased to make choice of him among all his fathers sonnes. In like manner he said that God himselfe had appointed *Salomon* by name to be his successor: whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his sonne, to conforme themselves vnto all that God had commanded, and particularly to goe forward in this worke of the Lords house, which *Salomon* was chosen to build. Then produced he the patterne of the worke according to the forme which God himselfe had appointed; and so laying open his owne preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The Kings proposition was so well approved by the Princes and people, that whereas hee himselfe had giuen three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thousand of silver, they added vnto it seuen thousand of gold, and tenne thousand of silver, besides brasse, iron and iewels, heartily reioicing in the aduancement of so religious a worke. This businesse being well dispatched, a solemne feast with great sacrifice was made, at which time *Salomon* was againe anointed King, and receiued seate of all the Princes and people of the Land, and of all the Princes his brethren, the sonnes of King *David*. *Salomon* being thus established King, his Father *David* finding himselfe euen in the hands of death, first exhorted his sonne to exercise the same courage and strength of minde, which himselfe had done in all his attempts, and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprises, he vntured these mightie wordes; *Take heede to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walke in his wayes, and keepe his statutes and his commandments, and his iudgements, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moses, &c.* to the performance of which God fastened the succession, and prosperitie of his issues. For this done (sayth God himselfe) *Thou shalt not want one of thy posteritie to sit vpon the Throne of Israel.*

Secondly, hee aduised him concerning *Isab*, who out of doubt had serued *David* from the first assault of *Ierusalem* to the last of his warres, with incomparable valour and fidelitie, saying that hee fastened himselfe to *Adonijah* (his master yet liuing) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath neuer left cruelty vnrueged, so wast his will that *Isab* should drinke of the same cuppe, whereof hee had enticed other men to taste, and suffer the same violence which himselfe had vniually brooken others withall, *qui gladio percussit, gladio peribit*: for hee had bereaued *Ahner* and *Amasa* of their liues, hauing against the one the pretence onely of his brothers laughter, whom *Ahner* had slaine in the time of warre, and could not auoid him: against the other but a mere ialousie of his growing great in the fauour of *David*. And though *Isab* assured himselfe that *Ahner* and *Amasa* being dead, there was none left either to equal him or supplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raised vp *Benhaiab* the sonne of *Iehoiadab*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in pieces. For *David* giueth this cause to *Salomon* against *Isab*, that hee slue the Captaine of the hoste of *Israel*, and shed blood of barell in peace; and to this apparant and iust cause, it is not improbable but that *David* remembered the ill affection of *Isab* towards *Salomon*, which *Isab* made manifest by the vntimely setting vp of *Adonijah*, *David* yet liuing. Some other offence *Isab* had committed against *David*, of which in these wordes he put his sonne *Salomon* in mind; *Thou knowest also what I O A B the sonne of SEBAIM did me to, &c.* Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Abisai*, contrary to the Kings desire, or by the proud words vsed to him when hee mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Abisai*; or whether it were the publishing of *David*s letter vnto him for the killing of *Uriah*, thereby to disgrace *Salomon* as defended of such a mother, the Scriptures are silent. True it is, that those great men of warre doe oftentimes behaue themselves exceed-

ding insolently towards their Princes, both in respect of their seruice done, as also because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their masters cannot misse them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kinde of pride hath ouerthrowne many a wortheie man otherwise deservuing great honour and respect.

Hee also gaue order to *Salomon*, to ridde himselfe of *Shimei*, who not long before had cast stones at *David*, and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise *David* spared *Shimei* all the time himselfe liued, yet being dust and in the graue, hee slue him by the hand of *Salomon* his Sonne. Hence it cometh that King *Henrie* the seuenth of England had his patterne, when hee gaue order to *Henrie* the eighth to execute *Pool* as loone as himselfe was buried, hauing made promise to the King of *Spain* when hee deliuered *Pool* vnto him, that while hee liued hee would neuer put him to death, nor suffer violent hands to be laid vpon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Isab* yeeld vnto *Salomon* any such great profite or assurance as hee hoped for. For he found a yong *Adad* of *Idumaea*, and *Rezin* of *Damascus* to vex him: who, as the Scriptures witness, were emboldened to enterprize vpon *Salomon*, hearing that *David* slept with his fathers, and that *Isab* the Captaine of the host was dead. Now when *David* had reigned in all fortie yeeres, to wit, in *Hebron* seuen yeeres, and in *Ierusalem* three and thirtie, he died.

For his person, he was of small stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts and graces hee so farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailtie apart, he was said by God himselfe to be a man according to his owne heart. The *Psalms* which he wrote witness his pietie, and his excellent learning: of whom *Hierome* to *Pauinus*: *DAVID SIMONIDES MONSTER, PINDARVS & ALCEVS, FLACCVS, quoque CATVLLVS, & SERENVS, Christum tyra personat, & in deuchardo Psalterio ab inferis suscitatur resurgens*; *DAVID* (saith hee) *our SIMONIDES, PINDARVS, ALCEVS, HORACE, CATVLLVS and SERENVS, he playeth Christ on his harpe, and on a ten stringed Psalter hee raiseth him vprising from the dead.* And being both a King and a Prophet, hee foretelleth Christ more lightfomely and liuely than all the rest.

The booke of the *Psalms*, saith *Gheas*, was diuided, ordered and distinguished by *Ezekias*: but whether all the *Psalms* were written by *David*, it is diuersly disputed. For *Athanasius*, *Cyprian*, *Lyranus*, and others conceiue diuers Authors, answering the titles of the seuerall *Psalms*, as *Moses*, *Salomon*, and the rest hereafter named, and that onely 73. *Psalms* were composed by *David* himselfe, namely, those which are intituled *ipsius David*. For the 50. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are bestowed on *Asaph* the sonne of *Barachias*, eleuen other on the sonnes of *Korah*, and eleuen are ascribed to *Moses*, to wit, the 89. and the ten following, and so they are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies, though the vulgar and *Septuagint* (three excepted) stile them otherwise. The supposed nine Authors of these *Psalms* which *David* wrote

not. Sixt: *Senenuth* nameth as followeth; *Salomon*, *Moses*, (whom *Aben Ezra*, contrary to *Hierome*, maketh one of *David*s fingers) *Asaph*, *Ethan*, *Ezrahi*, *Emen*, *Ezraira*, *Jadithum*, and the three sonnes of *Chore*. But *S. Chrysostome* makes *David* the sole Author of all the *Psalms*, and so doth *S. Augustine*, reasoning in this manner: *Al* though (saith he) some there are that ascribe these *Psalms* onely to *David*, which are ouer-written *ipsius David*, and the rest intituled *ipsi David*, to others, this opinion (saith he) *Voce Evangelica saluatoris ipsius reseratur, ubi ait quid ipse DAVID in spiritu Christiū dixerit esse suum Dominum, quoniam Psalmus 109. sic incipit, Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede a dextris meis, &c.* The voyce of the Gospel refutes this opinion, where it saith, that *David* himselfe in the spirit called Christ his Lord, because the 109. *Psalm* begins thus: *The Lord said vnto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Lastly, his testimonies are vsed both by Christ and the Apostles, and he was as a patterne to all the Kings and Princes that succeeded him.

His Storie and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan* and *God*, as it is in the first of *Chron. 29. ver. 19.* For the seuerall parts of the bookes

1. King.

1. King. 11.

Athen in Synop.
hier. epist. 134.
Lyr. in exp. 8. p.Vid. Sixt. Senen.
ubi. sententia. 1. fol.
108. r. 11.
Aug. de ci. Dei,
l. 13. c. 14.

bookes of Samuel which intreat chiefly of David, were as it seemes written by these three holy men.

Constantine Mansseff hath an opinion, that the *Troians* during the time of the siege, fought for succour from *David*, and that he stayed neuter in that warre. But it seemeth that *Mansseff* did miscast the time twixt *David* and the *Troian* warre. For it is generally received that *Troy* fell betwene the times of *Abdon* and *Samson* Judges of *Israel*, about the worlds yeere 2348 and *David* died in the yeere 2991.

§. IX.

Of the treasures of DAVID and SALOMON.

Verf. 14.



Is treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the first of *Chronicles*, that he left *Salemon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thousand talents of Gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brasse and yron passing all weight, which is more then any King of the world possit besides himselfe, and his son to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirtie and three cartload and a third of a cartload of silver, allowing two thousand weight of silver or fixe thousand pound sterling to every cartload, besides three score and seuentee millions of French Crownes, or of our money twenty three millions and a thousand pound: a matter, but for the testimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all beleefe. For that any riches were left him it doth not appeare, seeing that the Iudges had not any treasure, nor any soueraine power to make leuies: but when they went to the warres, they were followed by such voluntaries as the seuerall tribes by turnes gaue them: seeing also that *Saul* who was of a meane Parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the *Philistims*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part possit by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amisse to consider how *David* within the space of not very many yeeres, might amasse vp such mighty treasures. For though parsimonie be it selfe a great reuenue, yet needs there must haue been some other great meanes. It seemes that hee made the vttermost profit of all that hee had, that was profitable. *Eusebius* in his ninth booke and last Chapter de *preparatione Evangelica*, citeth the words of *Eusepius*, who reporteth that *David*, among other preparations for the Temple, built a nauie in *Melanu* (or as *Pillapandus* correcteth it, *Achanis*) a Citie of *Arabia* and from thence sent men to digge for gold in the Iland *Prepe*, which *Orius* thinkes, was *Ophir*, though *Eusepius* in his place of *Eusebius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this Iland is in the red Sea; from whence, saith this *Eusepius*, they brought gold into *Iury*. *Pineda lib. 4. de rebus Salomonis* c. 1. thinkes that *David* did this way also to enrich himselfe, and citeth this testimony of *Eusepius*: and yet certainly *David* had many other wayes to gather great riches. Much Land doubtlesse hee gained by conquest, from the *Canaanites* and *Philistims*, besides those fruitfull valleys neere *Jordan* in *Trachonitis* and *Basjan*, and the best of *Syria*, and other Countries bordering the *Israhelites*. These demaines belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captiues, which he tooke in his warres, which were notable to redeeme themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written, *1. Chron. 17.* that *Iebonathan* was ouer his treasures in the field, in the villages, in the Cities, in the townes; that *Ezri* was ouer the labourers, that tilled his ground; *Simeu* ouer the vineyards; and *Sabdi* ouer the store of the wine; *Bad Hanan* ouer the olive trees, and *Joab* ouer the store of the oyle, also that hee had herdmen that had charge ouer his cattell, both in the high Lands, and in the plaines, ouer his sheepe, camels, and asses. And this custome of enriching themselves by husbandry and Cattell, the ancient Kings euery where held, both before

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and after *Dauids* time. For wee reade of *Pharao*, that hee spake to *Ioseph* to appoint some of his brethren or of their seruants, to be Rulers ouer his cattell. We reade of *Vezia*, that hee loued husbandrie, had much cattell, and plough-men, and dressers of Vines: likewise wee reade it in all Greeke Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did especially consist in their Heards and flocks, whereof it were needfull to cite *Augus* and *Admetus* or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *David* it is not unlikely, but that those captiues which were not imployed in husbandrie, were many of them vsed by him in all sorts of gainfull professions, as the ancient *Romans* in like manner vsed their slaves.

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions which doubtlesse were great, and besides the innumerable presents which ycerely were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by *Tebu* and others) wee may adde the great spoiles which hee found in the Cities and Countries which hee conquered: also the head money which was gathered *per legem capitatiouis*; By the law of capitation or head money, euery man rich or poore paying halfe a licken of the Sanctuarie, which is about as much as fourteen pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous summe in that Kingdome: wherein one thousand thousand five hundred and seuentie thousand fighting men were numbred by *Joab*. Now although this Law of capitation be thought by some very learned not to haue bene perpetuall (which opinion of theirs neuertheless they conesse is against the *Hebrew* expolitions) yet *David* vpon this occasion is not vnlikely to haue put it in practise. And by these meanes might he be able to leaue those huge treasures to *Salomon*. Yet it may seeme that of this great masse of gold and silver left by *David*, the least part was his owne in priuate, and so will it appeare the lesse wonderfull that he left so much. Of his owne liberaltie wee finde, that he gaue to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thousand talents of silver, a great summe: but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the Sanctuarie it selfe were exceeding great, as needs they must haue been, hauing receiued continual encrease, without any losse or diminution euer since the time of *Moses* and *Iosuah*. The reuenues of the Sanctuarie (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defraied the daily expences, and maintayned the Priests and *Lenties*) were partly raised out of the head money before mentioned; partly out of the spoiles gotten in warre. For all the bootie was diuided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and the People which remayned at home, had the other halfe; whereby all the Countrie receiued benefite of the victorie, yet so, that the Souldiers had a farre greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiuing more for euery single share.

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fiftie, of that which the people receiued, and one in five hundred, of that which was giuen to the Souldiers; namely one hundred and one thousand part of the whole bootie. So in the spoile of *Midian*, thirtie two thousand women being taken, the armie had sixteene thousand of them for slaves, and the Congregation had other sixteene thousand; but out of the sixteene thousand giuen to the Armie, were exempted two and thirtie for the Lords tribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twentie. By this meanes, the lesse that the Armie was which had exposed it selfe to danger, the greater profit had euery Souldier; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaying at home were faine to vndergoe more than ordinarie trauaile in domestical affaires, did receiue by so much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was alwaies certaine, yea many times it was increased, either by some especiall commandement, as when all the gold, and silver, and other metalls found in *ericho*, were consecrated vnto God; or by thankfulness of the Rulers and People, as when after the victorie obtainyd against the *Amalians* without the losse of one man, all Jewells, Bracelets, Eare-rings, and the like, were offered vp, as voluntary presents.

Vu

Now

Gr. 17.

1. Chron. 26.

1. Chron. 21.

Numb. 31. 27.

Numb. 31. 20.

1. Chron. 19.

Numb. 31. 20.

Now how focuer the *Israelites* were many times oppressed, and troden downe by other Nations, yet were not the treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies neuer gat possession of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuarie must haue beene exceeding great; as containing about one hundred part of all the money and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purchased by so many victories, as they obtaigned against the bordering Nations. For that this treasure was not defrauded of the due portion, it is euident; seeing that before the time of *David* and his Lieutenant *Ioab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had vsed to dedicate of the spoiles obtaigned in warre, to maintayne the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Iudges and Captaines in other Ages. Certaine it is, that the Conquest of *David* brought into the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchased, those of *Iosua* perhaps excepted; but these vast summes of an hundred thousand Talents of siluer, may seeme rather to haue beene made vp, by the addition of his winnings and liberality, to the treasures laid vp in many former Ages, than to haue beene the meere fruits of his owne industrie.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them, for he receiued of yearly reuenues with his tributes fixe hundred sixtie fixe Talents of gold, besides the Customes of Spices. He had also fixe rich Returnes from the East *India*, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voyage every three yeeres, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth yeere of his raigne, and ruled fortie yeeres. Besides this, all *Judea* and *Israel* were now mathered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobab*, of *Damascene*, of *Palmyra*, of *Turra*; all of *Iedema*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewise did the *Philistines*, who with the *Perizzites*, *Heuites*, *Iebusites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet extinguished, though subiected.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdome of *Israel* reduced by *David*, who after fortie yeeres raigne, and seuerie yeeres of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and honour, and was buried in the Citie of *David*. It is written by *Iosephus* that there was hid in *David's* Tombe a maruailous quantitie of treasures, in so much as *Hyracanus* (who first of the *Chasmanai*, or race of the *Maccabees*, called himselfe King) one thousand and three hundred yeeres after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himselfe of *Antiochus* then besieging *Ierusalem*, and afterward *Hered* opening another Cell, had also an exceeding masse of gold and siluer therein. And it was an ancient custome to burie treasure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being discovered by the *Spaniards*, they enriched themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Salomon* did burie so much treasure in his fathers graue, it would hardly be beleueed, in regard of the great exactions with which he was faine to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise, or which were left vnto him: were it not withall considered that his want of monie grew from such magnificent employments. Particularly of the Sepulcher of *David* the Scriptures haue no mention, but only the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of buriall. Yet the Monumentes of those Kings, as (by Relation of the Duke of *Vlika*) they remayned within these thirtie yeeres, and are like to remaine still, are able to make any report credible, of the cost bestowed vpon them.

1. Chron. 2. 36.
2. 27. & 28.

A Talent of
gold is 770.
french crowns.
1. King. 10. 14.

1. King. 9. 25. 20
2. 10. 29.

1. Chron. 29. 28.

1. 2. 2. 1. 7.

Perigrin. 2. 11.
2. 11. ch.
Rad. 2. 11. 1.

§. X.

of the *Philistims*, whom *DAVID* absolutely mastered: and of
sundry other contemporaries with
DAVID.



F the *Philistims*, whose pride *David* was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of *David's* time somewhat heree may be spoken.

They descended of *Casloim*, who, according to *Iydor* and *Iosephus*, was one of the sonnes of *Misaim*, and was surnamed *Philistim*, as *Elsau* was surnamed *Edom*, and *Jacob Israel*. There were of them five Cities of peticte principalities; namely, *Azotus*, or *Asdod*, *Gaza* or *Atzaph*, *Ascalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Azaron*. It seemeth that *Casloim* was the first founder of this nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Egyptians*.

The first King of these *Philistims*, which the Scriptures haue named, was that *Abimelech* which loued *Sara*, *Abrahams* wife.

The second *Abimelech* liued at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of famine, *Abimelech* then residing at *Gerar* in the border of *Iudema*, which *Abimelech* 20 fancied *Isaac* his wife: as his father had done *Sara*.

After *Abimelech* the second, the *Philistims* Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till *David's* time: perhaps the government was turned into an Aristocratie. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philistims*, howsoever *Achis* be named King of *Gath*, the same to whom *David* fled, and who againe gaue him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul's* time.

After him wee read of another *Achis* who liued with *Salomon*, to whom *Semai* trauided to fetch back his fugitiue seruant, what time the seeking of his seruant was the losse of his life. *Ieremie* the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of *Palistin* or *Philistim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Ascalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The rest of 30 the warres of the *Philistims* are remembred in the Catalogue of the *Iudges*, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I shall not neede to collect the particulars in this place.

There liued at once with *David*, the third of the *Siluij* King of *Alba*, called *Latinius Siluius*, who is said to haue ruled that part of Italy fiftie yeeres. And about his fourteenth yeere *Codrus* the last King of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeeded the first Prince of those, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontide*, without regall name gouerned *Athens* during their life.

The reasons which moued the *Athenians* to change their government, were not drawne from any inconuenience found in the rule of Soueraigntie, but in honour 40 of *Codrus* onely. For when the *Grecians* of *Doris*, a region betwene *Phocis* and the mountaine of *Oeta*, sought counsaile from the Oracle, for their successe in the warres against the *Athenians*, it was answered, that then vndoubtedly they should preuaile and become Lords of that State, when they could obtaine any victorie against the Nation, and yet preserve the *Athenian* King liuing. *Codrus* by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrew himselfe from his owne forces, and putting on the habit of a common souldier, entred the Campe of the *Dorians*, and killing the first hee encountered, was himselfe forthwith cut in pieces.

Eupides the 31. King of *Assyria*, which others account but the 30. began to rule 50 that Empire, about the 13. yeere of *David*, and held it 38. yeeres.

Neere the same time began *Iscion* the second King of the *Heralids*, the sonne of *Eurythmes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the second of the *Heralids* in *Lacedemon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his succedours were called *Agids*, for many yeeres after. He restored the *Lacomians* to their former libertie: hee ouercame the Citizens of *Helos*

Helos in *Laconia*, who had refused to pay him tribute: hee condemned them and theirs to perpetual slavery; whereof it came, that all the *Messenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helotes*.

In like sort from the *Sclani* came the word *Slave*. For when that Nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seized upon the countrey of *Thyria* and made it their owne by Conquest, their victorie pleased them so highly, that thereupon they called themselves by a new name, *Slaves*, which is in their language *glorious*. But in after-times (that warmer Climate having thawed their northerne hardines, and nor ripened their wits) when they were trodden down, and made servants to their neighbours; the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondsmen *Slaves*, viling the word as a name of reproch: in which sense it is now current through many countreys.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and somewhat later, about the 23. yeere of *Dauid*, and say, that *Acheirsatus* was the fourth King of this race, the same whom *Eusebius* calls *Labeus*, and sets him in the thirteenth yeere of *Salomon*.

In the tenth yeere of *Acheirsatus*, *Androclus* the third sonne of *Codrus* assisted by the *Jones*, built *Ephesus* in *Caria*, who after the adjoyning of the Ile of *Samos* to his territorie, was slaine by the *Carians* whose countrey hee surped. He was buried (saith *Panfaninus*) in one of the gates of *Ephesus* called *Magnetes*, his armed *Statue* being set out our him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had subdued the *Ionians* (the next province to *Ephesus* on the sea coast of *Asia* the lesse) he enlarged his Dominions upon the *Aeolies*, which ioyneth to *Ionia*: and that his posteritie governed the Cities of *Ephesus* and *Erythrae* by the name of *Basilides* in *Strabo* his owne time. Of the expedition of the *Jones* how they came hither out of *Peloponessus*, I haue * spoken already upon occasion of the returne of the *Heraclides* into *Peloponessus*, wherein with the *Dories*, they expelled the *Achets*, and inhabited their places in that land: though this of the *Jones* succeeded that of the *Heraclides* 100. yeeres.

The Citie of *Ephesus* became exceeding famous: first, for the temple of *Diana* therein built; which had in length 425. foote, and 220. in bredth, sustained with 127. pillars of marble, of 70. foote high: whereof 27. were most curiously grauen, and all the rest of choice marble polish't, the worke being first set out by *Ctesiphon* of *Gnossos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that receiued the Christian faith, of which *Timothie* was Bishop; to whom, and to the *Ephesians*, *Saint Paul* wrote his Epistles so intitled. The other Citie posselt by *Androclus* in *Aeolis* was also vniuersally spoken of by reason of *Sibylla*, furnamed *Erythrae*: who liued seuen hundred and fourtie yeeres before Christ borne. *Saint Augustine* auoweth that a *Romane Proconsul* shewed him in an ancient Greeke coppie certaine verses of this Prophetesse: which began (as *Saint Augustine* changed them into Latine) in these wordes: *Iesus Christus Dei filius saluator. Iesus Christi sonne of God the Lord saluator*.

About the time that *Isab* besieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* beganne to gouerne in *Egypt*, the same that was father in Law to *Salomon*, whose Epistles to *Salomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembered by *Eusebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *Dauid*, was the Citie of *Magnesia* in *Asia* the lesse founded, the same which is seated vpon the riuer *Meander*, where *Scipio* gaue the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this territorie are the best Horses of the lesse *Asia* bred, whereof *Luce*:

Et Magnetis equis, Minya gens cognita remis.

About the same time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the inhabitants of *Chalcu* in 50 *Euboea*, according to *Seruius*, with whom *Strabo* ioyneth the *Cumani* of *Aeolis*, saying, that to the one of these people the government was giuen, with condition that the other should giue name to the Citie. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephorus* the famous schooler of *Isocrates*.

Euse-

Eusebius and *Cassiodor* finde the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. yeere of *Dauid*, but much mistaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Mitimus* the sonne of *Bader* brother to *Iezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Israel*; and betwene the death of *Dauid*, and the first of *Achab*, there were waited about 95. yeeres.

In this time also *Acausus* liued, the second of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteene in descent before the State changed into a Magistracie of tenne yeeres. Some writers make it probable that the *Aeolians* led by *Gratus*, the grand nephew of *Orestes*, posselt the Citie and Island of *Lesbos* about this time. In the 32. yeere of *Dauid*, *Hiram* began to reigne in *Tyre*, according to *Iosephus*, who saith, that in his twelfth yeere *Salomon* began the worke of the Temple. But it is a familiar error in *Iosephus*, to misreckon times, which in this point hee doth so strangely, as if hee knew not how at all to cast any account. For it is manifest that *Hiram* sent messengers, and Cedars to *Dauid*, soone after his taking of *Ierusalem*, which was in the very beginning of *Dauid*s reigne ouer *Israel*, when as yet hee had reigned onely seuen yeeres in *Hebron*, ouer the house of *Isa*. Wherefore it must needs be that *Hiram* had reigned about 30. yeeres before *Salomon*; vnllesse more credit should be giuen to those *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Iosephus*, than to the plain wordes of Scripture contradicting them. For that it was the same *Hiram* 20 which liued both with *Dauid* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifest.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of SALOMON.

§ I.

Of the establishing of SALOMON: of birthright, and of the cause of ADONIAHS death, and of SALOMONS wisdom.



SALOMON, who was brought vp vnder the Prophet *Nathan*, began to reigne ouer *Iuda* and *Israel*, in the yeere of the world 2091. Hee was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God: hee was also called *Iedidia*, or *Theophilus*, by *Nathan*, because the Lord loved him.

Hiram King of *Tyre*, after *Salomon*s anointing, dispatched Embassadors toward him, congratulating his establishment: a custome betwene Princes very ancient. Whence we read that *Dauid* did in like sort salute *Hannu* King of the *Ammonites*, after *Salomon*s.

his obtaining the Kingdome.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in bloud, though his reigne were peaceable. For soone after *Dauid*s death, hee caused his brother *Adonijah* to bee slaine by *Benaiah* the sonne of *Iehoiada*, taking occasion from *Adonijah* his desiring by *Bersabee*, that the young maid *Abisag* (which lay in *Dauid*s bosome in his latter dayes, to keepe him warme) might be giuen to him. Whatsoeuer he pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and fought the kingdome contrary to the will of *Dauid*, whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is said that a word is enough

enough to the wife, and he that sees but the claw, may know whether it bee a Lyon or no: so it may seeme that to the quick-sighted wisdom of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijah*, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had bene concubines to a King, might not after bee touched but by a King: whence *Achitophel* wilhed *Abisai* to take his Fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. And *David* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but shut them vp, and they remained widowed vntill their death. And this it seems was the depth of *Isobeths* quarrell against *Abner*, for hauing his Fathers Concubine. And some signification of this custome may seeme too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David*; *I have given thee thy masters house, and thy masters wives*. And in the words of *Saul*, vpbraiding *Jonathan*, that he had chosen *David* to the shame of the nakednesse of his Mother. Hereunto perhaps was some reference in this purpose of *Adonijah*, to marrie with her that was alwaies present with *David* in his latter daies, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conueying of the Kingdome to *Salomon*. There might be diuers farther occasions, as either that hee would learne such things by her as might be for the aduantage of his ambition, or that he would perswade her to forge some strange tale about *Dauids* last Testament, or any thing else that might prouide the title of *Salomon*.

As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, and with the customes of the *Iewes*: yet the Kings of the *Iewes* were so absolute, as they did therein, and in all else what they pleased. Some examples also they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to vse this paternall authoritie in transferring the birthright to a younger sonne: namely, of *Isaacs* dilhering *Esau*, and giuing the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Ioseph*: of whom hee made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *David*, it appears by the words of *Besabe* and *Nathan* to *David*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For as for popular election, that it was necessarie to confirme, or that the refusal of the people had authoritie to frustrate the elder brothers right to the Kingdome, it now here appears in the stories of the *Iewes*. It is said indeed that the people made *Saul* King at *Gilgal*: that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that he was King long before no man can doubt. In like manner elsewhere the phrase of chusing or making their King, is to bee expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a King, it is said, *Thou shalt make him King whom the Lord shall chuse*.

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon*: at the same time that he put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himselfe also of *Isab*, and three yeres after of *Shimei*, as *David* had aduised him: he displaced also the Priest *Abiathar*, who tooke part with *Adonijah* against him: but in respect of his office, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions; and because hee had borne the *Arke* of God before his Father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdome, hee tooke the daughter of *Pharao* King of *Egypt* to Wife: for so *Eusebius* out of *Eusebius* calls him. Hee offered a thousand Sacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing vnto him in a dreame, bade him aske what he would at his hands; *Salomon* chooseth wisdom, which pleased God. And God said vnto him, *Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy selfe long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy selfe, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words: by which wee may informe our selues what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coueting after long life, in respect of our felices, cannot but proceede of selfe-love, which is the roote of all impietic: the desire of priuate riches is an affection of couetousnesse which God so abhorreth; to affect reuenge, is as much as to take the sword out of Gods hand, & to distrust his Iustice. And in that it pleased God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brothers slaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *David*, or from*

from the Law of God. But because *Salomon* desired wisdom onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God to giue him withal that which he desired not. And I have also giuen thee (saith God) that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour. This gift of wisdom our Commentators stretch to almost all kinds of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and liuing creatures the Scripture testifieth, though no doubt the chief excellencie of *Salomons* wisdom, was in the knowledge of gouerning his kingdome: whence, as it were for an example of his wisdom, the Scripture telleth how soone he iudged the controuersie betweene the two harlots.

§. II.

Of *Salomons* buildings and glorie.

He then entred into league with *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from whom hee had much of his materials, for the Kings Palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had receiued a double charge, one from his father *David*, and another from God. For like as it is written of *David*, that he called *Salomon* his sonne, and charged him to build a house for the Lord God of *Israel*: so doth *Salomon* giue the force of a diuine precept to these words, *Behold, a sonne is borne vnto thee, &c. Hee shall build an house for my name*.

Hee began the worke of the Temple, in the beginning of the fourth yere of his reigne, at which time also hee prepared his fleet at *Esionaber* to trade for gold in the East *Indies*, that nothing might be wanting to supplie the charge of so great a worke. For that the Temple was in building, while his fleetes were passing to and fro it is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the *Almagim* trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the forme and example was giuen by God himselfe) many learned men haue written, as *Salmeron*, *Montanus*, *Ribera*, *Barradas*, *Azorius*, *Pillapandus*, *Pineda*, and others, to whom I referre the Reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which serued that building, *Salomon* employed thirtie thousand Carpenters, tenne thousand euery moneth by course: he alioyed eightie thousand *Masons* in the mountaine, and seuentie thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceiued, he selected out of the *Preseliter*, besides three thousand three hundred malters of his worke, so as he paid and imployed in all one hundred eightie three thousand and three hundred men, in which number the *Zidonians* which were more skillfull in hewing timber than the *Issalites*, may (as I thinke) be included. For *Hiram* caused his seruants to bring downe the Cedars and Firres from *Libanon* to the sea, and thence sent them in raftes to *Joppa*, or the next port to *Hierusalem*. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plaine that all but the thirtie thousand Carpenters, and the ouersers, were strangers, and as it seemeth the vassalls of *Hiram*, and of *Pharao* King of *Egypt*. In recompence of all this timber and stone, *Salomon* gaue *Hiram* twentie thousand measures of wheate, and twentie measures of pure oyle yeerely. *Eusebius* out of *Eusebius* in the ninth booke of his preparation the last Chapter, hath left vs a Copie of *Salomons* Letter to *Saron* (which was the same as *Hiram* or *Hiram*) King of *Tyre* in these words:

REX SALOMON SVRONI, Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœnicia regi. Amico paterno salutem. Scias me à Deo magno DAVI D patris mei regnum accepisse, cumq; mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram ereuit, cedere, ut etiam ad te scriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te, ut artifices atque fabros ad edificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.

King

KING SALOMON to King SYRON, of Tyre, Sydon, and Phœnicia King, and my father's friend, sendeth greeting; You may understand that I have received of the great God of my father DAVID, the Kingdom: and when my father commanded mee to build a Temple to God which created heaven and earth, hee commanded also that I should write to you. I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send mee Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.

To which the King SYRON made this answer.

SYRON, Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœnicia rex, SALOMONI regi salutem. Læti literis gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quantum scribis saluos ministrisq; ad condendum Templum esse tibi witten dos, misi ad te milia hominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Iudæa, virum in rebus architectura mirabilem, Carabis igitur ut necessarij non egeant, & Templo Dei condite ad nos redeant.

SYRON of Tyre, Sydon and Phœnicia King, to King SALOMON greeting: when I read your letters, I gave God thanks, who hath infused you in your fathers Kingdom. And because you write, that carpenters and workmen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I have sent unto you fourscore thousand men, and a Master-builder a Tyrian, borne of a Jewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be careful that all necessaries be provided for them, and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to vs.

1. King. s. from the t.v. to the g.

The Copies of these letters were extant in Iosephus time as him selfe affirmeth, and to be seene, saith he, *Tam in nostris quam in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our owne as in the Tyrian annals.* But he deliuereth them somewhat in different tearmes, as the Reader may finde in his Antiquities. But were this intercourse betwene Salomon and Hiram either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise deliuered in the Scriptures, than either Eusebius or Iosephus set it downe, but so, that in substance there is little difference betwene the one and the other.

The like letter in effect Salomon is said to haue written to Paphres King of Egypt, 30 and was answered as from Hiram.

But whereas some Commentors vpon Salomon finde that Hiram King of Tyre, and Paphres King of Egypt, gaue Salomon the title of Rex magnus, and cite Eusebius in Eusebius, I doe not finde any such addition of magnus in Eusebius in the last chapter of that ninth booke; neither is it in Iosephus in the eight booke and second chapter of the Jewes antiquities: it being a vaine title vsed by some of the Assyrian and Persian Kings, and vied likewise by the Parthians, and many other after them, in somuch as in latter times it grew common, and was vsurped by meane persons in respect of the great Herodes the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightinesse.

10. ant. 1.8. c. 2.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, Salomon fortified Ierusalem with a treble wall, and repaired Hazer which had bene the ancient Metropolis of the Canaanites, before Iosaphat time: so did he Gaza of the Philistines: he built Bethsur, Gerar and the Millo or munition of Ierusalem. For Pharaoh (as it seemeth in fauour of Salomon) came vp into the edge of Ephraim, and tooke Gerar, which the Canaanites yet held, and put them to the sword, and burnt their Citie. The place and territorie he gaue Salomons wife for a dowrie. And it is probable that because Salomon was then buied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the warre, that he entreated his father in law to rid him of those neighbours, which Pharaoh performed. But he thereby taught the Egyptians to visit those partes againe before they were sent for; and in his sonne Rehoboams time Shebacth this mans successor did sacke Ierusalem it selfe.

10. 1.8. ant. c. 2.

Salomon also built Megiddo in Manasse, on this side Iordan; and Balah in Dan: also Thadmor, which may be either Ptolemies Thamaron in the desert of Iuda (or as Iosephus

phus thinks Palmyra in the desert of Syria, which Palmyra because it stood on the utmost border of Salomons dominion to the north-east of Libanus, and was of Dauids conquest when he wan Damascus; it may seeme that Salomon therefore bellowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best arte that that age had. Iosephus calls this place Thadmora, by which name (saith hee) giuen by Salomon, the Syrians as yet call it. Hierom in his booke of Hebrew places calls it Thermeth. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by Adrian the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called Adrianopolis. In respect of this great charge of building Salomon raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twentie talents of gold received from Hiram seruant, Salomon offered Hiram twentie towns in or neere the vpper Galilee, but because they stood in an vnfruitfull and marish ground, Hiram refused them, and thereof was the territorie called Chabal.

These townes, as it is supposed, lay in Galilee of the Gentiles, *Non quod gentes ibi habitarent: sed quia (sub ditone regis gentilis erat, Not that it was possessed by Gentiles (saith Naulerus) but because it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile.* Howlouer it were, it is true that Salomon in his 21. yeere fortified those places, which Hiram refused. Further, he made a iourney into Syria Zobab, and established his tributes; the first and last warre (if in that expedition he were driuen to fight) that hee made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his Dominions, passing from Thadmor to the North of Palmyra, and so to the Deserts of Idumea, from whence hee visited Eziongaber and Eloib, the vttermoist place of the South of all his territories, bordering to the red sea: which Cities I haue described in the Storie of Moses.

§. III.

Of SALOMONS sending to Ophir, and of some seeming contradictions about SALOMONS riches, and of PINDEAS conceipt of two strange passages about Affricke.

30



Ere Salomon prepared his Fleet of Ships for India, with whom Hiram ioyned in that voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the Tyrians being of all other the most expert sea-men. From this part of Arabia, which at this time belonged to Edom, and was conquered by Dauid, did the Fleet passe on to the East India, which was not farre off, namely to Ophir, one of the Ilands of the Moluccas, a place exceeding rich in gold: witnesseth the Spaniards, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in Peru, doe yet plant in those Ilands of the East at Manila, and recouer a great quantitie from thence, and with lesse labour than they doe in any one part of Peru, or new Spaine.

The returne which was made by these Ships amounted to foure hundred and twentie talents, but in the second of Chronicles the eight, it is written foure hundred and fiftie talents: whereof thirtie talents went in expence for the charge of the fleet, and wages of men, and foure hundred and twentie talents, which makes fise and twentie hundred and twentie thousand Crownes came cleere. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1. Reg. 10. 14. which speaketh of fixe hundred sixtie and fix talens of gold, that summe, as I take it, is of other receipts of Salomons which were yeerely, and which came to him besides the profits from Ophir.

My opinion of the land of Ophir, that it is not Peru in America (as diuers haue thought) but a country in the East Indies; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedie returne to Ierusalem from the East Indies: then in three yeeres; and that Thar's in Scripture is diuers times taken for the Ocean, hath bene already declared in the first booke.

C. 8. §. 9. 10. 15.
Lib. 4. de rebus
Salomonis c. 6.
de 15.

Only

of David before and after Salomons birth, whereby wee may best make estimation of the yeeres which they consumed, and consequently learne the true, or most likely yeere of his natiuitie. Seuen yeeres David reigned in Hebron: in his eighth yeere hee tooke Ierusalem, and warred with the Philistims, who also troubled him the yeere following. The bringing home of the Arke seemes to haue bene in the tenth yeere of David, and his intention to build the Temple in the yeere ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leisure, lying in rest. After this he had warres with the Philistims, Moabites, Aramites and Edomites, which must needs haue held him fise yeeres, considered that the Aramites of Damascus raised warre against him, after such time as he had beaten Hadadezer; and that in euery of these warres he had the entire victorie. Neither is it likely that these seruices occupied any longer time, because in thole dayes and places there were no wintering camps in vse, but at convenient seasons of the yeere Kings went forth to warre, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies, partly vpon the spoyle of the enemies countrie, partly vpon the priuate prouision which euery souldier made for himselfe. The 17. yeere of David, in which he tooke Mophibosheth the sonne of Ionathan into his Court, appeareth to haue passed away in quiet; and the yeere following to haue begun the warre with Ammon; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to triall of a battaile (for Iob after the victorie, returned immediately to Ierusalem) the causes and preparations for that warre haue taken vp all the Summer. Davids personall expedition against the Aramites wherein hee brought all the tributaries of Hadadezer vnder his owne allegiance, appears manifestly to haue bene the next yeeres worke, wherein hee did cut off all meanes of succour from the Ammonites; all Syria, Moab and Idumaea being now at his owne deuotion. By this reckoning it must haue bene the 20. yeere of Davids reigne, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he sent forth Iob to besiege Rabba, and finished the warre of Ammon: wherein also fell out the matter of Priests wife. So one halfe of Davids reigne was very prosperous: in the other halfe he felt great sorrow by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heauie iudgement laid vpon him by God for his foule and bloudie offence.

Now very manifest it is, that in the yeere after the death of that child which was begotten in adulterie, Salomon was borne, who must needs therefore haue bene nineteene yeeres old or thereabout, when hee began to reigne at the decesse of his father, as being begotten in the 21. yeere of his fathers reigne, who reigned in all fortie.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of David, as may be collected out of ensuing actions: for two yeeres passed ere Absalom slew his brother Amnon; three yeeres ere his father pardoned him; and two yeeres more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seemes to haue bene one yeeres worke. So the rebellion it selfe with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by Sheba, the death of Amasa and the rest, may well seeme to haue bene in the 30. yeere of Davids reigne.

Whether the three yeeres of famine should be reckoned apart from the last yeeres of warre with the Philistims, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needfull to coniecture. Plaine enough it is, that in the tenne remaining yeeres of David there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for three yeeres of famine, for foure yeeres of warre, and for numbering the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his owne last infirmities, and disposing of the Kingdome. Yet indeed it seemes that the warre with the Philistims, was but one yeeres worke, and ended in three or foure fights, of which the two or three former were at Gab or Zeb neere unto Gezer, and the last at Gath. This warre the Philistims undertooke, as it seemeth, vpon confidence gathered out of the tumults in Israel, and perhaps emboldened by Davids old age, for hee fainted now in the battaile, and was afterwards hindered

dered by his men from exposing himselfe vnto danger any more. So David had fixer seuen yeeres of rest, in which time it is likely, that many of his great men of Warre died (being of his owne age) whereby the stirring spirit of Adonijah found little succour in the broken partie of Iob the sonne of Zerai.

At this time it might both truly be said by David to Salomon, Then art a wise man, and by Salomon to God, I am but a young child; for nineteene yeeres of age might well agree with either of these two speeches.

Neuerthelesse there are some that gather out of Salomons professing himselfe a child, that he was but eleuen yeeres old when hee beganne to reigne. Of these Rabbi Salomon seemes the first Authour, whom other of great learning and iudgement haue herein followed: grounding themselves perhaps vpon that which is laide of Absolons rebellion, that it was after fortie yeeres, which they vnderstand as yeeres of Davids raigne. But whereas Rehobem the sonne of Salomon was 41. yeeres old when hee beganne to reigne, it would follow hereby that his Father had begotten him, being himselfe but a child of nine or ten yeeres old; the difference betweene their ages being no greater, if Salomon (who reigned fortie yeeres) were but eleuen yeeres old when his raigne began. To auoid this inconuenience, Iosephus allows 80. yeeres of raigne to Salomon; a report so disagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeede haue in laour of this opinion construed the wordes of Iosephus, as if they included all the yeeres of Salomons life. But by such reckoning hee should haue bene 40. yeeres old at his Fathers death; and consequently should haue bene borne long before his Father had wonne Ierusalem; which is a manifest vntruth. Wherefore the 40. yeeres remembered in Absolons rebellion, may either seeme to haue reference to the space betweene Davids first anointment, and the trouble which God brought vpon him for his wickednesse, or perhaps be read (according to Iosephus, Theodoret, and the Latine translation) foure yeeres; which passed betweene the returne of Absolom to Ierusalem, and his breaking out.

p. V.

Of SALOMONS writings.



Here remaine of Salomons workes, that the Prouerbs, the Preacher, and the Song of Salomon. In the first he teacheth good life and correcteth manners, in the second, the vanitie of humane nature, in the third hee singeth as it were the Epithalamion of Christ and his Church. For the Booke intituled The wisdome of Salomon, (which some giue vnto Salomon, and some make the elder Philo the Author thereof) Hierome and many others of the best learned make vs thinke it was not Salomon that wrote it. Stylus libri sapientie (saith Hierone) qui SALOMONIS inscribitur, Graeco redollet elegantiam; The stile of the booke of wisdome, which is ascribed to SALOMON, fauoureth of the Grecian eloquence; and of the same opinion was S. Augustine, and yet hee confesseth in the nineteenth Booke and twentieth Chapter of the Citie of God, that the Author of that Booke hath a direct fore-telling of the Passion of Christ in these wordes: Circumueniamus inustum quoniam in iustis est nobis, &c. Let vs circumeuent the righteous, for he is vnpleasing to vs, he is contrarie to our doing, he checketh vs for offending against the Law, he maketh his boast to haue the knowledge of God, and he calleth himselfe the Sonne of the Lord, &c. and so doth the course of all the following wordes point directly at Christ. The Bookes of Ecclesiastes, Prouerbs, and Canties Cantionum, Rabbi Moses Kimchi ascribeth to Iay the Prophet. Simlas and Cedrenus report that Salomon wrote of the remedies of all diseases, and graued the same on the sides of the Porch of the Temple, which they say Ezechias pulled downe, because the people neglected helpe from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

X x

Of

Of *Salomons* bookes of Inuocations and Inchantments to cure diseases, and expell euill spirits, *Iosephus* hath written at large, though as I conceiue, rather out of his owne inuention, or from some vncertaine report, than truely.

He also speaketh of one *Eliasarus*, who by the roote in *Salomons* ring dispossest diuers persons of euill spirits in the presence of *Resaijan*, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainly so strange an example of humane frailty hath neuer been read of as this King: who hauing receiued wisdom from God himselfe, in honour of whom, and for his onely seruice, hee built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of *Israel* and *Iudea*, not by the law of Nature, but by the loue of God, and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perswasion of a few weake and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodnesse, of which he was more liberall to this King, than to any that euer the world had. Of whom *Siracides* writeth in this manner: *SALOMON reigned in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that hee might build a house to his name, and prepare the Sanctuary for ever: How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with vnderstanding, as with a flood: Thy minde covered the whole earth, and hath filled it with graue and darke sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Isles, and for thy peace thou wast beloued, &c. but thus hee concludeth: Thou didst how thy loynes to Women, and wast ouer-come by thy beauty, thou didst staine thine honour, and hast defiled thy posteritie, and hast brought wrath vpon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy folly.* cap. 27.

§. VI.
Of the Contemporaries of SALOMON.

NERE the beginning of *Salomons* reigne, *Agelaius* the third of the *Heracidae* in *Corinth*; *Labotes* in *Lacedemon*; and soone after *Sylanius Alba* the fourth of the *Syluij*; swayed those Kingdomes: *Laesthenes* then gouerning *Affryia*: *Asafus* and *Archippus* the second and third Princes after *Cadmus* ruling the *Athenians*.

In the sixe and twentieth of *Salomons* reigne *Hiram* of *Tyre* died, to whom *Baltasrus* succeeded, and reigned seuentene yeeres, after *Mercators* account, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sonnes. *Iosephus* giues him fewer yeeres. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Autolicius* findes *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there bee not some Kings omitted betweene the death of *Hiram*, and the reaigne of *Bozorius*.

Vasphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Sefac* or *Shisak* (as our *English Genea* termes him) beganne to gouerne in *Egypt*, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sosacris*; *Iosephus*, *Sefac*; *Cedrenus*, *Susefinus*; *Eusebius* in the column of the *Egyptian Kings* *Smendes*, and in that of the *Hebrewes* *Sufac*. *Iosephus* in the eight of his *Antiquities* reproveth it as an error in *Herodotus*, that hee ascribeth the acts of *Sufeto Sefestris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might haue done by comparison, accounting *Sefac* another *Sefestris*, for the great things hee did.

Of the great acts and verities of King *Sefestris* I haue spoken already in the storie of the *Egyptian* Princes: only in this hee was reproued, that hee caused foure of his captiue Kings to draw his Caroch, when hee was disposed to bee scene, and to ride in triumph: one of which foure, saith *Eutropius*, at such time as *Sefestris* was carried out to take the aire, call his head continually backe vpon the two fore-most wheelles next him; which *Sefestris* perceiuing, asked him what hee found worthy the admiration in that motion? to whom the captiue King answered, that in those hee beheld the instabilitie of all worldly things; for that both the

lowest part of the wheele was suddainly carried about, and became the highest, and the vpmost part was as suddainly turned downe-ward and vnder all: which when *Sefestris* had iudiciously weighed, hee dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like seruitude in the future. Of this *Sefestris*, and that hee could not be taken for *Sefac*, I haue spoken at large in that part of the *Egyptian* Kings preceding.

CHAP. XIX.

Of SALOMONS Successors vntill the end of
IEHOSAPHAT.

§. I.

Of REHOBAM his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes, and IEROBAMS Idolatrie.



REHOBAM the Sonne of *Salomon* by *Nehama* an *Ammonitisse*, now fortie yeeres olde, succeeded his Father *Salomon*, and was anointed at *Siechem*, where the ten Tribes of *Israel* were assembled: who attended a while the returne of *Rehobam* as yet in *Egypt*, since hee fled thither fearing *Salomon*. After his arrivall the people presented a Petition to *Rehobam*, to bee eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius ei fore Imperium, si amari mallet quam metui;* So should his Empire (saith *Iosephus*) be more assured, if hee desired rather to be beloued than feared.

whereof hee tooke three dayes to deliberate before his answer, of whom therefore it could not be said as of *Dauid*, that he was wiser than all his Teachers. For as of himselfe hee knew not how to resolute, so had hee not the iudgement to discern of counsellors, which is the very test of wisdom in Princes, and in all men else. But notwithstanding that he had consulted with those graue and aduised men, that serued his Father, who perswaded him by all meanes to satisfie the multitude: he was transported by his familiars and fauourites, not only to continue on the backs of his subiects those burdens which greatly crusht them; but (vaunting falsely of greatness exceeding his Fathers) he threatned in sharpe, or rather in terrible termes, to lay yet heauier, and more vn-supportable loades on them. But as it appeared by the success, those yonger aduisors greatly mistooke the nature of seueritie, which without the temper of clemencie is no other than crueltie to itselfe: they also were ignorant that it ought to be used for the helpe, and not for the harme of subiects. For what is the strength of a King left by his people? and what cordes or fetters haue euer lasted long, but those which haue beene twisted and forged by loue only? His witlesse parasites could well iudge of the Kings disposition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things else, it sufficed and enabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of *Rehobam* did not a little aduance *Ieroboams* designs. For being fore-told by the Prophet *Achish* of his future aduancement, these the Kings threats (changing the peoples loue into furie) confirmed and gaue courage to his hopes. For he was no sooner arrived, than elected King of *Israel*: the people crying out, What portion haue wee in *Dauid*? we haue no

inheritance in the Sonne of *Isai*. Now though themselves, euen all the Tribes of *Israel*, had consented to *Dauid*: anointing at *Hieros* the second time, acknowledging that they were his bonds and his sith: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgot both the bonds of nature, and their dutie to God, and, as all alienated resolute hearts doe, they serued themselves for the present with impudent excuses. And now ouer-late, and after time, *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man most hateful to all his Subjects, to pacifie them: whom they instantly beat to death with stones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from *Sibem* with all speede, and recovered *Ierusalem*, where preparing to invade *Israel*, with an hundred and foure-score thousand chosen men, *Shemai* in the person of God commanding to the contrarie, all was stayed for the present. In the meane time *Ieroboam* the new King fortified *Sechem* on this side, and *Penneh* on the other side of *Iordan*; and fearing that the Vnion and exercise of one Religion would also ioyne the peoples hearts againe to the Houle of *Dauid*; and hauing in all likelihood also promised the *Egyptians* to follow their Idolatrie: hee let vp two Calues of gold for the Children of *Israel* to worship, impiously perswading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these heerepresented those Gods, which deliuered them out of *Egypt*: and refusing the seruite of the *Leuites*, hee made Priests fit for such Gods. It must needs be that by banishing the *Leuites* which serued *Dauid* and *Salomon* through all *Israel*, *Ieroboam* greatly enriched himselfe: as taking into his hands ²⁰ all those Cities which were giuen them by *Moses* and *Iesus*, for as it is written, *The Leuites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Iuda, &c.* This irreligious policie of *Ieroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatrie that neuer could be rooted out, vntill *Israel* for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophetic and miracles impugned sufficiently when it first beganne, but the affections maintaining it, were so strong, that neither Prophecie nor Miracle could make them yeeld. *Ieroboam* could not be moued now by the authoritie of *Ahia*, who from the Lord had first promised vnto him the Kingdome; nor by the withering of his owne hand as hee stretched it ouer the Altar, which also claue a-sunder, according to the signe, which the man of God had giuen by the commandement of ³⁰ God, who againe recovered and cured him of that defect; yet hee continued as obstinate an Idolater as before, for hee held it the safest course in policie to proceede as he had begunne. This impious inuention of *Ieroboam*, who forsooke God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a moderne Historiian compared with the policies of late Ages, obseruing well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian borne. *Sic qui hodie* (saith hee) *politici vocantur, & propria commoda, presentisq; utilitates sibi tanquam vltimum finem constituunt, causam quam vocant status in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, premonenda, conseruanda, amplianda, nihil non sciendum putant. Si iniuria proximo irroganda, finistria honestissiq; leges subvertende, si religio ipsa pessandanda, si deniq; omnia iura diuina, & humana violanda, nihil per se nec salsq; relinquendum censent, cuncta ruunt, omnia periclitantur, nihil a se ipsis, modo id, quod de re sua esse sibi persuadent, obtemperant, ac si nullus sit qui ista curet, cessareque possit Deus; So they who are now called Politicians, propounding to themselves, as their utmost end and scope, their owne commoditie and present profit; are wont to alledge the case of state forsooth, as the principall point to be regarded: for the good of the state, for advancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they thinke that they may doe any thing. If they meane to oppress their neighbour, to ouerturne all lawes of iustice and honestie, if religion it selfe must goe to wracke, yea if all rights of God and Man must be violated, they will trie all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will doe any thing; let all goe to ruine, what care they, so long as they may haue what they would; as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.*

Indeed this allegation of *ragione del stato*, did serue as well to vp-hold, as at the first it had done to bring in this vile Idolatrie of the ten Tribes. Vpon this ground

Amasia

Amasia the Priest of *Bethel*, counsaile the Prophet *Amos*, not to prophetic at *Bethel*; For (saith he) it is the Kings Court. Vpon this ground euen *Iehu* that had maledicted the Priests of *Baal*, in zeale for the Lord, yet would not in any wife depart from that politike sinne of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Nebat*, which made *Israel* to sinne. It was reason of state that perswaded the last famous *French King Henrie* the fourth to change his Religion, yet the Protestants whom hee forsooke, obeyed him, but some of the Papists whom hee followed, murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizzor of wise proceeding delude euen those that know the foule face of impieitie lurking vnder it, and behold the wretched endes that haue euer followed it; where-¹⁰ of *Iehu* and all the Kings of *Israel* had, and were themselves very great examples.

§. II.

OF *REHOBAM* his impietie; for which hee was punished by *SESAC*: of his end and Contemporaries.

WHile *Ieroboam* was occupied in setting vp his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other side, hauing now little hope to recouer the Provinces lost, strengthened the principall places remaining with all endeavour: for hee fortified and victualled hitene Cities of *Iudah* and *Beniamin*:¹ nor that hee feared *Ieroboam* alone, but the *Egyptians*, to whom *Ieroboam* had not onely fastned himselfe, but withall inuited them to invade *Iuda*: laying perchance before them the incountable riches of *Dauid* and *Salomon*, which might now easily bee had, seeing ten of the twelue Tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the *Iudaans*. So as by those two wayes (of late yeeres often troden) to wit, change of Religion, and inuitation of forraigne force, *Ieroboam* hoped to settle himselfe in the seat of *Israel*, whom yet the powerfull God for his Idolatrie in a few yeeres after rooted out, with all his. *Rehoboam* also, hauing as hee thought, by fortifying diuers places, assured his estate, forsooke the Law of the liuing God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groves on euery high Hill, and vnder euery greene Tree.

And therefore in the fifth yeere of his raigne, *Sesac* or *Shishac* before spoken of, being now King of *Egypt*, and with whom as well *Adad* of *Idumea*, as *Ieroboam*, were familiar, and his instruments, entred *Iudaea* with twelue thousand Chariots, and three score thousand Horse, besides foote-men, which *Iosaphat* numbers at foure hundred thousand. This Armie was compounded of foure Nations; *Egyptians*, *Lubans*, *Succians*, and *Cushites*. The *Lubans* were *Lybians*, the next bordering Region to *Egypt*, on the West side. The *Cushites* were of *Petrie*, and of the *Desart Arabia*, which afterward followed *Zerah* against *Asa* King of *Iuda*. The *Succians* according to *Iunius* his opinion, were of *Succoth*, which signifieth Tents: hee doth suppose that they were the *Troglodites*, mentioned often in *Plinie*, *Ptolemie*, and other Authors. The *Troglodites* inhabited not farre from the bankes of the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward, about fixe hundred English mile from the belt and Maritimate part of *Egypt*: and therefore I doe not thinke that the *Succians*, or *Succai* were those *Troglodites*, but rather those *Arabians* which *Ptolemie* calles *Arabes Egyptii*, or *Iethiophagi*, which possesse that part of *Egypt* betwene the mountaines called *Alabastrins*, and the red Sea farre neerer *Egypt*, and readier to be leuiued then those remoued *Sauages* of the *Troglodyta*.

With this great and powerfull Armie, *Sesac* invaded *Iudaea*, and (besides many other strong Cities) wanne *Ierusalem* it selfe; of which, and of the Temple, and ⁵⁰ Kings house, he tooke the spoile, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shield which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of those which *Dauid* recovered from *Adad*, in the Syrian warre: these *Rehoboam* supplied with Targets of brasse, which were fit enough to guard a King of his qualitie: whom *Syracides* calleth, The foolishnesse of the people.

X x 3

From

Amos 7. 13.

2 Kings 10. 16.

2 Kings 10. 20.

1 Chron. 11.

2 Kings 14. 12.

2 Chron. 12. 3.

101. Adad 8. c. 4.

2 Chron. 12.

2 Kings 14.

Donat, in 12.

Chron.

101. Adad 8. c. 4.

101. Adad 8. c. 4.

Cap. 47. v. 13.

From this time forward the Kings of *Egypt* claimed the Soueraignty of *Indea*, and held the *Jewes* as their Tributaries: *Sefac*, as it seemes, rendring vp to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may bee gathered out of the wordes of God, where promising the deliuerance of *Iuda* after their humiliation, hee doth notwithstanding leaue them vnder the yoke of *Egypt*, in these wordes: *Nevertheless, they (to wit, the Indeanes) shall be his seruaunts, that is, the seruants of Sefac.*

After this ouerthrow and dishonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelue yeeres, and his losses received by *Sefac* notwithstanding, hee continued the warre against *Ieroboam* all his life time. After his death *Ieroboam* gouerned *Israel* foure yeeres.

Rehoboam liued 58. yeeres, and reigned 17. his storie was written at large by *She-miah* and *Hidden* the Prophets, but the same perilled with that of *Nathan* & the rest.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Tersippus*, the third and fourth *Archontes* or Gouernours for life after *Codrus*, governed in *Athens*. *Abdastartus*, or *Abstrartus*, in *Tyre*. *Doristhus* the fifth of the *Heraclidein* *Sparta*, according to *Eusebius* (others make him the sixth) and *Priminus* the fourth in *Corinth*. Over the *Latines* reigned *Syluius Albus*, and *Syluius Atys*, the fourth and fifth of the *Syluij*.

About the 12. of *Rehoboam*, *Abdastartus* King of *Tyre* was murdered by his Nurses sons, or foster brethren, the elder of which vsurped the Kingdom twelue yeeres.

Towards his latter times *Periclides*, or *Pythiades*, beganne to gouerne *Assyria*, the 34. King thereof: and not long after *Asartus*, the sonne of *Balestartus* recovered the Kingdome of *Tyre* from the *Phrygers*.

¶ III.

Of the great battaile betwene *Ieroboam* and *Abiah*, with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods iudgements.



BIAH the Sonne of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers Kingdome, and his vices. Hee raised an Armie of foure hundred thousand, with which hee invaded *Ieroboam*, who encountered him with a double number of eight hundred thousand, both Armies ioynd nere to the Mount *Ephraim*, where *Ieroboam* was vtterly ouerthrowne, and the strength of *Israel* broken; for there fell of that side five hundred thousand, the greatest ouerthrow that euer was giuen or received of those Nations. *Abiah* being now master of the field, recovered *Bethel*, *Ieshanah*, and *Ephron*, soone after which discomfiture, *Ieroboam* died: who reigned in all 22. yeeres. *Abiah*, the better to strengthen himselfe, entred into league with *Hefson*, the third of the *Adads* of *Syria*; as may bee gathered out of the 2. of *Chron.* he reigned but three yeeres, and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Idolo* the Prophet, as some part of his Fathers were.

Here wee see how it pleased God to punish the sinnes of *Salomon* in his Sonne *Rehoboam*: first, by an Idolator and a Traitor: and then by the successor of that *Egyptian*, whose daughter *Salomon* had married, thereby the better to assure his estate, which while he serued God, was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring Kings, and when hee forsooke him, it was torne asunder by his meanest Vassals; Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the *Egyptian Sefac*. For the sonne *Abiah* was able to leuie foure hundred thousand men, and with the same number hee ouerthrew eight hundred thousand *Israelites*, and slew of them five hundred thousand, God giuing spirit, courage, and inuention, when, and where it pleaseth him. And as in those times the causes were exprest, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their People: the same being both before, and at the instant deliuered by Prophets; so the same iust God, who liueth and gouerneth all things for euer, doeth in these our times giue victorie, courage, and discouragement, raise, and throw downe Kings, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in

in the present: for which reason, in these and other the afflictions of *Israel*, alwayes the causes are set downe, that they might bee as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in *Dauid* time for three yeeres, For *Saul* and his bloudie house, &c. And *Dauid* towards his latter end suffered all sorts of afflictions, and sorrowes in effect, for *Vriah*. *Salomon* had tenne tribes of twelue torne from his sonne for his idolatrie. *Rehoboam* was spoyled of his riches and honour by *Sefac* of *Egypt*, because the people of *Iuda* made images, high places, and groues, &c. And because they suffered *Sodomites* in the land. *Ieroboam* was punished in himselfe & his posteritie, for the golden Calues that he erected. *Ioram* had all his sonnes slaine by the *Philistines*, and his very bowels torne out of his bodie by an excoiating flux, for murdering his brethren. *Ahab* and *Iezabel* were slaine, the blood of the one, the bodie of the other eaten with dogs: for the false accusing and killing of *Naboth*. So also hath God punished the same and the like sinnes in all after-times, and in these our dayes by the same famine, plagues, warre, losse, vexation, death, sicknesse, and calamities, how soeuer the wife men of the world raise these effects no higher than to second causes, and such other accidents; which, as being next their eyes and eares, seeme to them to worke euery alteration that happeneth.

¶ IIII.

Of *Asa* and his Contemporaries.



O *Abiah* succeeded *Asa*, who enjoyed peace for his first ten yeeres, in which time hee established the Church of God, breaking downe the altars dedicated to strange gods, with their images, cutting downe their groues, and taking away their high places. Hee also spared not his owne mother, who was an Idolatresse, but depoling her from her regencie, brake her Idoll, stamp it, and burnt it. Hee also fortified many Cities, and other places, providing (as prouident Kings doe) for the troubles of war in the leasure of peace. For not long after hee was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the *Arabians* bordering *Iu'as*, and with such a multitude entred the territorie of *Assa*, as (for any thing that I haue read) were neuer assembled of that Nation, either before or since. For it is written, that there came against the *Iudeans* *Zerah* of *Aethiopia*, with an hoste of tenne hundred thousand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Assa* encountered with an armie of five hundred and fourescore thousand, leuied out of those two tribes of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, which obeyed him, and with which hee ouerthrew this fearefull multitude, and had the spoyls both of their Cities and Campe.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Ethiopian*, I haue *proued already, & were it but the length betwene *Ethiopia* and *Indea*, & the strong flourishing Regions of *Egypt* interuent (who would not suffer a million of strangers to passe through them) it were sufficient to make it appear how foolish the opinion is, that these inuaders were *Ethiopians*. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the Cities thereabouts were spoyled by the *Iudeans*, in following their victorie, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that *Gerar* standeth vpon the torrent of *Besor*, which *Dauid* past ouer when hee surprized the *Amalekites* or *Arabians*, this proueth sufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that *Gerar* was a frontier towne, standing on the vttermost South-border of all *Indea*, from all parts of *Ethiopia* fixe hundred miles. Also the spoyles which *Assa* tooke, as the cattell, Camels, and sheepe, whereof hee sacrificed five thousand, shew them to bee *Arabians* adioyning, and not far off, and not vnknewne *Ethiopians*. And if it be objected that these desert countries can hardly yeeld a million of men fit for the warre, I answer, that it is as like that *Arabia Petrea*, and the Desert which compasse two parts of the holy Land, should yeeld ten hundred thousand, as that two tribes of the

* In the former booke c. 4. §. 14. Item c. 6. §. 10. &c.

ther twelve, should arme five hundred and foure score thousand. Besides, it answereth to the promise of *God to Abraham*, that these nations should exceed in number; for *God* spake it of *Israel*, that hee would make him fruitfull, and multiply him exceedingly, that he should beget twelve Princes, &c.

Basia a King of *Israel* began to reigne in the third of *Asa*, and fearing the greatness of *Asa* after his great victorie, entertained *Benhadad* King of *Syria*, of the race of *Adadzer*, to ioyne with him against *Asa*; and to the end to blocke him vp, hee fortified *Rama*, which lieth in the way from *Ierusalem* towards *Samarina*.

This warre began according to the letter of the *Scriptures* in the 36. yeere of *Asa* his reigne: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that *Basia* died in the 26. yeere of *Asa*; therefore could not *Basia* begin this warre in the 35. of *Asa* his reigne, but in the 35. yeere of the diuision of *Juda* and *Israel*: for so many yeeres it was from the first of *Ieroboam*, who reigned 17. yeeres, to the 16. of *Asa*. It may seeme strange, that *Asa* being able to bring into the field an Armie of five hundred and foure score thousand good Souldiers, did not easily drive away *Basia*, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of *Abia* against *Ieroboam*, and of *Asa* himselfe against *Zerah*, being yet fresh in minde, which might well haue emboldened the men of *Juda*, and as much disheartened the enemies. Questionlesse there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the text, which caused *Asa* to fight at this time with money. It may be that the employment of so many hundred thousands of hands, in the late seruice against *Zerah*, had caused many mens priuate busines to lie vndispatched, whereby the people being now intentue to the culture of their lands and other trades, might be vnwilling to stirre against the *Israelites*, choosing rather to winke at apparant inconuenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring vpon them in after-times. Such backwardnesse of the people might haue deterred *Asa* from aduenturing himselfe with the least part of his forces, and committing the successe into the hands of *God*. Howsoeuer it were, hee tooke the treasures remaining in the Temple, with which hee waged *Benhadad* the *Syrian* against *Basia*, whose employments *Benhadad* readily accepted, and brake off confederacie with *Basia*. For the *Israelites* were his borderers, and next neighbours, whom neither himselfe (after his insuasion) nor his successors after him ever gaue ouer, till they had made themselves masters of that Kingdome. So *Benhadad* being now entred into *Nephtalim*, without resistance, hee spoyled diuers principall Cities thereof, and enforced *Basia* to quit *Rama*, and to leaue the same to *Asa*, with all the materials which hee had brought thither, to fortifie the same: which done, *Benhadad*, who loued neither partie, being laden with the spoiles of *Israel*, and the treasures of *Juda*, returned to *Damascus*. After this, when *Hananani* the Prophet reprehended *Asa*, in that hee now relied on the strength of *Syria*, and did not rest himselfe on the fauour and assistance of *God*, hee not only caused *Hananani* to be imprisoned, but hee began to burden and oppress his people, and was therefore strooken with the grievous paines of the gout in his feete, wherewith after hee had bene two yeeres continually tormented, hee gaue vp the ghost when hee had reigned 41. yeeres.

There liued with *Asa*, *Agelaius* the sixt of the *Heralidae*, and *Bacia* the sixt King of the same race in *Corinth*, of whom his successors were afterward called *Bacidae*. *Asartus*, and *Astarimus* were Kings in *Tyre*. *Astarimus* tooke reuenge on his brother *Phelletor*, for the murder of *Itobalus* Priest of the goddesse *Astarte*, whom *Salomon* in dotage worshipped. *Arys* and *Capsy* ruled the *Latines*. *Pirithiades* and *Opiratus* the *Allyrians*. *Trepius* and *Phorbas* the *Athenians*. *Chemmis* reigned in *Egypt*, who dying in the 36. yeere of *Asa*, left *Cheep* his successor, that reigned fiftie fixe yeeres, & vnto the 16. of *Ious*.

§. V.

§. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reigne of *Asa*.

IN the reigne of *Asa*, the Kingdome of *Israel* felt great and violent commotions, which might haue reduced the ten Tribes vnto their former allegiance to the house of *David*, if the wisdom of *God* had not otherwise determined. The wickednesse of *Ieroboam* had in his latter dayes, the sentence of heauie vengeance layd vpon it, by the mouth of *Abia*, the same Prophet which had foretold the diuision of *Israel*, for the sinne of *Salomon*, and his reigne ouer the ten Tribes. One sonne *Ieroboam* had among others, in whom onely *God* found so much pietie, as (though it sufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Family) it procured vnto him a peaceable end, an honourable testimony of the peoples loue, by their generall mourning and lamentation at his death, and (wherein he was most happy) the fauourable approbation of *God* himselfe.

After the losse of this good sonne, the vngodly father was soone taken away: a miserable creature, so conscious of his vile vnthankfulness to *God*, that hee durst not suffer his owne name to be vsed in consulting with a holy Prophet, assured of the ruine hanging ouer him and his, yea, of *Gods* extreme hatred; yet for bearing to destroy those accursed Idoles that wrought his confusion. So loth hee was to forsake his worldly wisdom, when the world was ready to forsake him, and all belonging to him, his hateful memory excepted.

Nadab the sonne of *Ieroboam*, reigned in the second and third yeeres of *Asa*, which are reckoned as two yeeres, though indeede his fathers last yeere of two and twentie did runne along (how farre is vncertaine) with the second of *Asa*, whose third yeere was the first of *Basia*, so that perhaps this *Nadab* enioyed not his Kingdome one whole yeere. He did not alter his fathers courses, neither did *God* alter his sentence. It seemes that hee little feared the iudgements denounced against his fathers house: for as a Prince that was secure of his owne estate, hee armed all *Israel* against the *Philistims*, and besieged one of their Townes. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill successe, and recalled to minde their grievous losse of five hundred thousand vnder *Ieroboam*, counting it an vnluckie familie to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, hee exasperated them) slaine hee was by *Basia*, whom the Armie did willingly accept for King in his stead. *Basia* was no sooner proclaimed King, than hee began to take order with the house of *Ieroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercie, to the sword. That hee did this for priuate respects, and not in regard of *Gods* will to haue it so, it is euident by his continuing in the same forme of Idolatrie which *Ieroboam* had begunne. Wherefore hee received the same sentence from *God* that had been layd vpon *Ieroboam*; which was executed vpon him also in the same sort. Hee beganne to infect *Asa*, by fortifying *Rama*; but was diuerted from thence by the *Syrian* *Benhadad*, who did waste his Country, & destroy all the Land of *Nephtalim*. Foure and twentie yeeres hee reigned: and then dying, left the Crowne to *Ela* his sonne; who enioyed it, as *Nadab* the sonne of *Ieroboam* had done, two yeeres current, perhaps not one compleat.

Ela was as much an idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. Hee sent an Armie against *Gibbethon*, the same Towne of the *Philistims*, before which *Nadab* the sonne of *Ieroboam* perished; but hee sate at home the while, feasting and drinking with his Minions, whereby hee gaue such aduantage against himselfe, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the King at *Tirza*, finding his Master so dissolute, and his behauiour so contemptible, conceited hope of the like fortune as *Basia* had found, by doing as *Basia* had done. Wherefore hee did let vp

1. King. 16. 19.

on *Eli* in his drunkenesse, and slue him. Presently vpon which fact, he filled himselfe King of *Israel*: and began his raigne with massacring all the house of *Baspha*; extending his crueltie not onely to his children, and kinsfolke, but vnto all his friends in *Tirza*. These newes were quickly blowne to the Campe at *Gibbethon*, where they were not welcommed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Souldiers in stead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they saluted King, they (quitting the siege of *Gibbethon*) presented themselves before *Tirza*; which in thort space they may seeme to haue forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the Citie, not courage to keepe himselfe from falling alive into his enemies hands, did set fire on the Palace, consuming it and himselfe together to ashes. Seuen dayes he is said to haue raigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Campe. For *Zimri* was also an idolater, walking in the way of *Ieroboam*; and therefore is likely to haue had more time wherein to declare himselfe, than the raigne of seuen dayes, and those consumed partly in murdering the friends of *Baspha*, partly in seeking to haue defended his owne life. After the death of *Eli*, there arose another King to oppose the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may seeme, that *Zimri* had made his party strong, as being able to set vp a new head, who doubtlesse would neuer haue appeared, if there had not been ready to his hand, some strength, not vnlily to resist and vanquish the Armie which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new Competitor of *Omri*, held out, I doe not finde; onely it appears that his side was decayed, and so he died, leaving no other Succesor than his concurrent.

§. VI.

A coniecture of the causes hindering the reunion of *Israel* with *Juda*, which might haue been effected by these troubles.



1. King. 16. 45.

Any man that shall consider the state of *Israel* in those times, may iustly wonder how it came to passe, that either the whole Nation, worried with the calamities already suffered vnder these vnfortunate Princes, and with the present ciuill warres, did not returne to their ancient Kings, and reunite themselves with the mighty Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppressed factions, did not call in *Asa*, but rather chiefe the one to endure a desperate necessitie of yelcing, or burning himselfe, the other to languish away, a man forsaken: than to haue recourse vnto a remedie, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that God was pleased to haue it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will is the cause of all things) vnlesse it could be proved, that he had forbidden *Asa* to deale in that businesse, as he forbade *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God vpon *Rehoboam*, did only binde his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appears by the Warre continued betwene *Israel* and *Juda*, so many yeeres following: wherein *Asa* so farre prevailed, that he wanne a great battaile, and recovered some Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his owne Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly looke into the second causes, moouing the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing vnder new vplatts, rather than to cast their eyes vpon that Royall house of *David*, from which the succession of true Kings in lineall descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly haue been layd vpon the meane beginnings thereof. To thinke that *Omri* had preuented his Competitors, in making peace with *Asa*, were a coniecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not onely an Idolater, but did worse than all that were before him, which as it might serue alone to proue, that *Asa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, so the course which hee professed to take at the very first, of reuenging the massacre committed vpon the

the familie and friends of *Baspha*, (As his mortall enemy) giues manifest reason, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, should more iustly than he, haue expected the friendship of *Juda* in that quarrell. Wherefore, in searching out the reason of this backwardnesse in the ten Tribes (which was such that they may seeme to haue neuer thought vpon the matter) to submit themselves to their true Princes; it were not amisse to examine the causes, moouing the people to reuenge the death of *Eli*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Asadab* the sonne of *Ieroboam*, who followed the warres in person, as a man of spirit and courage. Surely it is apparant, that the very first defection of the ten Tribes, was (if we looke vpon humane reason) occasioned by desire of breaking that heauie yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their neckes. Their desire was to haue a King that should not oppresse them; not to haue no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had caused them to renounce him, they did immediately choole *Ieroboam* in his stead, as a man likely to afford that libertie vnto them, for which hee had condescended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it seemes) herein altogether deueiled. For his affliction of popularitie appears in his building of decayed townes, and in the institution of his new deuiled idolatry; where hee tolde the people, that it was too much for them, to traualle so farre as to *Ierusalem*. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntarie, began to cease, towards the latter end of his reigne, and in the reigne of his sonne, when long time of possession had confirmed his title, which at the first was onely good by courtesy of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more offended by some prerogatives of a King that he still retained in his owne hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens: it is cleerely apparant, that the whole armie of all *Israel* ioynd with *Baspha*, taking in good part the death of *Asadab*, and eradication of *Ieroboams* house.

Now the reigne of *Baspha* himselfe, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) euery way vnfortunate; his labour and cost at *Rama* was cast away; the other side of his Kingdome harried by the *Syrians*; neither did hee winne that one towne of *Gibbethon* from the *Philistims*, but lest that businesse to his sonne, who likewise appears an vnprofitable sluggard. Wherefore it must needs be, that the fauour of the people toward the house of *Baspha* grew from his good forme of Ciuill gouernment, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Ieroboam* euer meant to doe. And surely hee that shall take paines to looke into those examples, which are extant of the different courses, held by the Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, in administration of iustice, will finde it most probable, that vpon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued so auerle from the line of *David*; as to thinke all aduersitie more tolerable, than the weightie Scepter of that house. For the death of *Iosab* and *Shimei* was indeed by them deferred; yet in that they suffered it without forme of iudgement, they suffered like vnto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without iudgement, and without any crime objected, other than the Kinges louelie: out of which by the same rule of arbitrarie iustice (vnder which it may be supposed that many were cast away) he would haue slaine *Ieroboam* (if hee could haue caught him) before hee had yet committed any offence, as appears by his confident returne out of *Egypt*, like one that was knowne to haue endured wrong, hauing not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Iehoram* did vpon his brethern, and vpon sundry of his greatest men; as also *Iosab* did so put to death *Zachariah*, the sonne of *Iehoiada*, who had made him King, even in the court of the house of the Lord: and *MANASSES* did shed innocent blood exceeding much, till he replenished *Ierusalem* from corner to corner; and this was imputed to him as another fault, besides his sinne, wherewith hee made *Juda* to sinne. Contrariwise, among the kings of *Israel* we finde no monument of such arbitrarie proceeding, vnlesse perhaps the words of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Asab* (which were but words) may bee taken for an instance,

2. Chron. 24. 21.

1. King. 21. 15.

2 King. 6. 31.

instance, when hee said, *God doe so to mee, and more also, if the head of ELISHA the sonne of SHAPHAT fall stand on him this day*; whereby it is not plain whether he meant to kill him without more adoe, or to haue him condemned as a false prophet, that had made them hold out against the *Aramites*, till they were faine to eate their owne children, which he thought a sufficient argument to proue, that it was not Gods purpose to deliuer them. The death of *Naboth* the weeth rather the libertie which the *Israelites* enioyed, than any peremptorie execution of the Kings will. For *Naboth* did not feare to stand vpon his owne right, though *Ahab* were euen sicke for anger, neither was hee for that cause put to death, as vpon commandement, but made away by conspiacie, the matter being handled after a iudiciall forme, to which might giue satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the deuice, though to God it could not.

2 King. 19. 10.

The murder of the Prophets is continually ascribed to *Iezabel*, an impudent woman, and not vnto the King her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made whereby their liues were taken from them; but certaine it is, that the people, being idolaters, were both pleased with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of *Iuda* (such as are registered) prouoe them to haue vsed a more absolute manner of command, than the Kings of the tenne Tribes. Neither doe their sufferings witness the contrary. For of those which reigned ouer *Iuda*, from the diuision of the Kingdom, to the captiuitie of the ten tribes, three were slaine by the people, and two were denied a place of buriall amongst their ancestors. Yea, the death of *Achaziah* and his brethren, slaine by *Iehu*, with the destruction of all the Royall seed by *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can reade) stirre vp in the people any such thirst of reuenge, as might by the suddenness and vniuersitie testifie the affliction to be general, and proceeding from a louing remembrance of their Princes; vntill we should thinke that the death of *Athalia*, after seuen yeeres reigne, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the present fence of her tyrannicall abusing the gouernement, whereon shee had seized. On the other side, such of the Kings of *Israel* as perished by treason (which were seuen of the twentie) were all slaine by conspiacie of the great men, who aspired by treason to the Crowne: the people being so farre from embrouing their hands in the blood of their Soueraignes, that (after *Nadab*) they did neuer forbear to reuenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approoue the good successe of treason, vntill seare compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being thoroughly reuenged vpon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharias*, vpon *Zimri* and *Shalum*, who traitorously got and vsurped, for a little while, their places; only three of the seuen remaine, whose endes how the people tooke, it may be doubtfull. Though indeede it is precisely said of the slaughter, committed on *Ahab*s children by *Iehu*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, because they were exceedingly afraid; and the same feare might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whose history (as others of that time) is cursorily passed ouer. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that neuer any of them perished by furie of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them, neither was there any moue vrging so forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in prison, as feare lest the people should stirre in their quarrell. And certainly (how soeuer all that the law calls treason, be interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which haue here most prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched it selfe with the blood of some great Officers; no such rebellions, how soeuer wicked and barbarous otherwile, thirsting after the ruine of their naturall Soueraigne, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten vpon his Royall person: which if any man impute vnto grosse ignorance, another may more charitably, and I thinke, more truly ascribe to a reuerent affection. Wherefore that fable of *Briareus*, who, being loosened by *Pallas*, did with his hundred hands giue assistance to *Iupiter*, when

2 King. 10. 4.

all

all the rest of the Gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir Francis Bacon, as signifying, that Monarches neede not to feare any courbing of their abso-luteneffe by mightie subiects, as long as by wisdom they keepe the hearts of the people, who will bee sure to come in on their side. Though indeede the storie might very well haue borne the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by *Hammer*, who tells vs that *Pallas* was one of the conspiacie, and that *Thetis* alone did marre all their practice, by loosening *Briareus*. For a good forme of gouernment sufficeth by it selfe to retaine the people, not onely without assistance of a laborious Wit, but euen against all deuices of the greatlest and shrewdest politicians; e-very Sherife and Constable, being sooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalfe, than any ouer-weening Rebelle how mightie soeuer, can against him.

This declaration of the peoples loue, being seldome found in *Iuda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it selfe of gouernment there was such, as neither gaue occasion of contentment vnto the subiects, nor of confidence in their good affection, to the Kings. Vpon which reasons it may seeme that the multitude was kept vually disarmed. For otherwise it would haue bene almost impossible, that *Athalia* the sister of *Ahab*, a stranger to the royall blood of *Iuda*, should by the onely authoritie of a Queene mother haue destroyed all the seede of *Dauid*, and vsurped the Kingdome very neere seuen yeeres without finding any resistance. Yea when *Iehoiada* the high Priest had agreed with the Captaines and principall men of the land to set vp *Iashob* their lawfull King, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected; hee was faine to giue to these Captaines and their men, the speeres and the shields that were King *DAVIDS*, and were in the house of the Lord. But we neede not enter into such particulars. Questionlesse, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their dutie toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their owne choice or admiffion, holding the Crowne by a more vncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the tenne tribes did neuer seeke to retorne to their ancient Lords: but after the destruction of their sixe first Kings, which died in the reigne of *Asa*, admitted a seventh of a new family, rather than they would consubiect themselves, with those of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, vnder a more honourable, but more heauie yoke.

So, *Asa* hauing scene the death of seuen kings of *Israel*, did himselfe after one and fourtie yeeres reigne, leauing *Iehosaphat* his sonne to deale with *Ahab* the son of *Omri*, who was the eight King ouer the tenne tribes.

2. VII.

Of IEHOSAPHAT and his contemporaries.



IEHOSAPHAT, who succeeded *Asa*, was a Prince religious and happie; hee destroyed all the Groves, Altars, and high places dedicated to idolatrie, and sent searchers to all places and people wanting instruction; hee recovered the Tribute due vnto him by the *Arabians* and *Philistims*: from the one hee had siluer, from the other sheepe and goates to the number of fifteene thousand and four hundred. The numbers of his men of warre were more than admirable: for it is written that *Achaz* had the command of three hundred thousand, *Iehohanan* of two hundred and fourescore thousand, and *Amasias* of two hundred thousand; also that hee had, besides these, in *Beniamin* of those that bare shields, which wee call *Targetiers*, and of Archers vnder *Eliada*

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two hundred thousand, and vnder the commaundement of *Iehorab* a hundred and fourescore thousand: which numbred together, make eleuen hundred and sixtie thousand, all which are saide to haue waited vpon the King, besides his garrisons.

That *Iuda* and *Beniemin*, a territorie not much exceeding the Countie of *Kent*, should musther eleuen hundred and sixtie thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number farre greater than it was found vpon any other view. *Iosh* in *Dauid*'s time found five hundred thousand: *Rihobam* found but an hundred and fourescore thousand: *Abia* foure hundred and eight thousand: *Asa* five hundred and fourescore thousand: *Amaziah* inrolled all that could beare armes, and they amounted to three hundred thousand: *Yeziah* three hundred and seuen thousand and five hundred. Surely, whereas it is written that when newes was brought to *Iehosaphat* that *Moab* and *Ammon* were entred his territorie to the West of *Jordan*, and that their numbers were many, hee feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that hee would haue feared euen the armie of *Xerxes*, if hee could haue brought into the field eleuen hundred and three-score thousand fighting men, leaving all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my selfe to better iudgement) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the seuenteenth, distributed to severall leaders, were not all at one time, but that the three hundred thousand vnder *Adnah*, and the two hundred and fourescore 20 thousand vnder *Iehohannan*, were after ward commaunded and mustered by *Amasiah*, *Eliade*, and *Iehosaphat*: for the grosse and totall is not in that place set downe, as was vnder the other Kings formerly named. Again as the aydes which *Iehosaphat* brought to *Abah* did not leue that he was a Prince of extraordinarie power, so the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* which hee feared could neuer make the one halfe of those numbers, which hee that commaunded least among *Iehosaphat*'s leaders had vnder him.

This mightie Prince notwithstanding his greatnesse, yet he ioyned in friendship with *Abah* King of *Israel*, who had married that wicked woman *Iezabel*. Him *Iosaphat* visited at *Samaria*, and caused his sonne *Ioram* to marrie *Athalia*, this *Achab*'s daughter.

Abah perswaded *Iosaphat* to assist him in the warre against the *Syrians*, who held the Citie of *Ramoth Gilead* from him, and called together foure hundred of his Prophets, or *Baalites* to foretell the successe: who promised him victorie. But *Iehosaphat* beleueed nothing at all in those diuiners, but resolved first of all to conferre with some one Prophet of the Lord God of *Israel*. Heere vpon *Achab* made answer that hee had one called *Mitchaiab*, but hee hated that Prophet, because hee alwayes foretold of euill, and neuer of any good towards him. Yet sent hee for *Mitchaiab* was to the King but by the way the messenger prayed him to consent with the rest of the Prophets: and so promise victorie vnto them as they did. But 40 *Mitchaiab* spaketh the truth, and repeated his vision to both Kings, which was that God asked who shall perswade *Achab*, that hee may goe up and fall at *Ramoth Gilead*? to whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that hee would enter into his prophets, and bee in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ: *Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri loquitur in vobis*. It is not you that speake, but the spirit of your father speaks in you: so in a contrarie kinde did the deuill in the prophets of *Baal*, or *Satan*, incourage *Achab* to his destruction. And as *P. Martir* vpon this place well obserueth, these euill spirits are the ministers of Gods vengeance, and are vied as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime employ. For as it pleaseth God by his good Angels, to save and deliuer from destruction, of which the Scriptures haue many examples: so on the contrarie, it is by the euill that he punisheth and destroyeth, both which are said to performe the will of their Creator, *sicet non eodem animo*. Ecclesiasticus remembreth a second sort of malignant natures, but they are euery-where visible. There are spir-
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rits, faith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on fire strokes. In the time of destruction they shew forth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Mitchaias* hauing by this his reuelation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets whose spirit hee discovered, was strooken by *Zikhiab* one of *Baals* prophets, and by *Achab* himselfe committed to prison: where he appointed him to be refused and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Mitchaiab*, not fearing to reply, answered, *If thou returnest in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by me*. Neuertheless *Achab* went on in that warre, and was wounded to death. *Iehosaphat* returned to *Ierusalem*, where he was reprehended by *Iehu* the Prophet for assisting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

After this the *Aramites* or *Damascens*, ioyned with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumeans* to invade *Iudea*: who passe *Iordan* and encampe at *Engaddi*, and when *Iehosaphat* gathered his armie, the Prophet *Ishaziel* foretold him of the victorie, which should bee obtained without any blood-shed of his part: and so when *Iehosaphat* approached, this assembly of nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, disagreeing with the *Idumeans*, and quarrelling for some causes among themselves, those of *Ammon* and *Moab* set vpon the *Idumeans*, and brake them vtterly: which done they also invaded each other; in which broile *Iehosaphat* arriving tooke the spoile of 20 them all without any losse of his part, as it was foretold and promised by God. Notwithstanding this victorie, *Iehosaphat* forgetting that hee was formerly reprehended for assisting an Idolatrous King, did not withstanding ioyne with *Ochazias*, the sonne of *Achab*, in preparing a Fleet to send to *Ophir*, hoping of the like returne which *Salomon* had: but as *Eliexor* the Prophet foretold him, his shippes perished and were broken in the port of *Ezion Giber*, and so that enterprize was ouer-
throwne.

Yet hee taketh part with *Iehoram* the brother of *Ochazias*, against the *Moabites*, with which Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel* the *Edomites* ioyne their forces, not forgetting, it seemes, that the *Moabites*, assisted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before destroyed 30 their armie.

The *Moabites*, subiects to *Dauid* and *Salomon*, forsaking the Kings of *Iuda*, gaue themselves for vassals to *Ieroboam*, and so they continued to his successors till the death of *Achab*: but *Iehosaphat*, notwithstanding the Idolatrie of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth, he was drawne into this warre both to bee auenged of the *Ammonites* for their defection from *Iuda* to *Israel*, as also because they had lately ioyned themselves with the *Syrians* against *Iosaphat*, and thirdly, to punish their double rebellion who first forsooke *Iuda* and now *Israel*.

Both Kings resolved to passe by the way of *Idumea*, thereby the better to assure that nation, for wee finde that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field 40 together at *Engaddi* against *Iehosaphat*: But whether they had then declared themselves against *Iehosaphat*, it is not certaine, for in the 2. of *Chronicles*. 11. vers. 8. it is written that in the time of *Iehoram*, the sonne of *Iehosaphat*, *Edom* rebelled, and therefore it seemeth to mee that the *Edomites*, when they were slaine by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themselves furnished in such conditions as they required, offered to turne from them, and to ioyne themselves with the armie of *Iuda*. For that they were numbered among the enemies of *Iosaphat*, it is plaine in the 2. of *Chron.* the 20. and as plaine e. 2. v. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Iehosaphat*'s death. Now in the passage of these Kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the yeere, or whether the *Idumeans* ha-
50 uing a purpose to rebell, misled the armie of *Iuda* and *Israel* with intent to inseeble them for want of water; true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the armies of *Craesus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* expeditions; and had, in all likelihood, vtterly perished, had not *Elisha* taught them to cut trenches, whereinto the water sprang, by which not only *Iehosaphat* and his armie, but
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Iehoram King of *Israel* an Idolator was relieved: the great mercie and goodnesse of God, hauing euer bene prone to faue the euill for the good, whereas hee neuer destroyed the good for the euill.

2. *Kin. 3.*2. *Chron. 20.*

Brech. ter. sancti.

The miserable issue of this warre, and how *Moab* burnt his sonne, or the sonne of the King of *Edom*, for sacrifice on the rampire of his owne Citie, I haue already written in the life of *Iehoram* among the Kings of *Israel*. *Iehosaphat* reigned twentie five yeeres and died, he was buried in the valley of *Iehosaphat*, and a part of the *Tyrans* set ouer his graue is yet to be seene, saith *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Iehu* the sonne of *Hanani*.

There lived with *Iehosaphat*, *Ophrates* in *Assyria*, *Capetus* and *Tiberinus* Kings 10 of the *Albans* in *Italie*; of the latter the riuier *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) tooke name.

In *Iehosaphat*'s time also ruled *Mecades* or *Mesades* in *Athens*; *Agelas* or *Agesslaus* in *Corinth*; and *Archilauus* of the same race, of the *Heracidae* the seuenth in *Lacedaemon*. *Balsarus* ruled the *Tyrans*; *Achab*, *Ochazias* and *Iehoram* the *Israelites*.

CHAP. XX.

Of *IEHORAM* the sonne of *IEHOSAPHAT*, and *AHAZIA*.

§. I.

That *IEHORAM* was made King sundry times.2. *Kin. 2. v. 1.*2. *Kin. 1. 17.*2. *Kin. 3. v. 1. and 9.*2. *Kin. 8. 16.*2. *Kin. 23. 42.*

IEHORAM the sonne of *Iehosaphat* King of *Juda* began to reigne at thirtie two yeeres of age, and liued vntill hee was fourtie yeeres olde, being eight yeeres a King: but of these eight yeeres, which *Iehoram* is saide to haue reigned, foure are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the *Syrian* warre with *Ahab*, left this *Iehoram* King in his stead, as *Ahab* did his sonne *Ahazias*. This appeares by the severall beginnings, which are giuen in Scripture to the two *Iehorams* kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, and to *Ahazias* the eldest sonne of *Ahab*. For *Ahazias* is saide to haue begun his reigne, in the seuenteenth yeere of *Iehosaphat*, *Iehoram* the brother of *Ahazias* succeeded him in the second yeere of *Iehoram* the sonne of *IEHOSAPHAT* King of *Juda*, that is, in the next yeere after that *Iehoram* of *Juda* was designed king by his father; it being (as wee finde elsewhere) the eighteenth yeere of *IEHOSAPHAT* himselfe, who went with the *Israelites* against *Moab*. Hereby it appeares that the full power and execution of the royall office was retained still by *Iehosaphat*, who governed absolutely by himselfe, not communicating the rule with his sonne. But in the fift yeere of *IEHORAM* King of *Israel*, which was the two and twentieth of *Iehosaphat*, the olde King tooke vnto him, as partner in the Gouvernement, this his eldest sonne, who was at that time thirtie two yeeres olde, his Father being fiftie seuen. Now forasmuch as *IEHOSAPHAT* reigned twentie five yeeres, it is euident that his sonne did not reigne alone till the eighth of *Iehoram* King of *Israel*. The like regard is to be had

had in accounting the times of other Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, who did not alwayes reigne precisely so long as the bare letter of the text may seeme at first to affirme: but their yeeres were sometimes compleat, sometimes only current, sometimes confounded with the yeeres of their successors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their times with the yeeres of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing lesse needfull than curious, to enquire into the reasons mouing *Iehosaphat* either to assume vnto him his sonne as partner in the Kingdome, whilst he was able him selfe to command both in peace and in warre, the like hauing neuer bene done by any of his progenitors, or hauing once (in the seuenteenth of his reigne) vouchsafed vnto him that honour, to resume it vnto himselfe, or at leastwise to deterre the confirmation of it, vntill foure or five yeeres were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may be a meane to find some light, whereby we may more cleerely discouer the causes of much extraordinary businesse ensuing, I hold it not a misse to make such coniecture, as the circumstances of the storie briefly handled in the Scriptures may seeme to approue:

Wee are therefore to consider, that this King *Iehosaphat* was the first of *Reheboams* issue that ever entred into any streight league with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in *Juda* before him, had with much labour and long warre, tired themselves in vaine, making small profit of the greatest advantages that could be wished. Wherefore *Iehosaphat* thought it the wisest way, to make a league offensive and defensive betweene *Israel* and *Juda*, whereby each might enioy their owne in quiet.

This confederacie made by a religious King, with one that did hate the Lord, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true root and fountain of all wisdom: yet as a piece of sound policie, doubtlesse it wanted not faire pretences of much common good thereby likely to arise, with mutuall fortification of both those kingdomes, against the incircumcised nations their ancient enemies. This apparant benefit, being so inestimable aiewell, that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditarie from father to sonne, it was thought a very good course to haue it confirmed by some sure bond of affinitie, and thereupon was *Athalia* the daughter of *Omr* and sister of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, giuen in marriage to *Iehoram*, who was sonne and heire apparant to the King of *Juda*. This Ladie was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of Queene *Iezabel* her brothers wife, that the durst vndertake, and could thoroughly perform a great deale more in *Ierusalem*, than the other knew how to compass in *Samaria*. Shee was indeede a fire-brand, ordained by God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in *Juda*, and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisdom, regardless of Gods pleasure, had brought her in.

The first fruits of this great league, was the *Syrian* warre at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Juda* and *Israel* did aduenture equally, but the profit of the victorie should haue redounded wholly to *Ahab*: as godly Princes very seldom so thrise by marching with Idolators, but rather serue the turnes of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himselfe, cannot be well affected to his seruants. Before their setting forth *Ahab* designed, as King, his sonne *Ahazias*; not so much perhaps in regard of the vncertaine euent of warre (for none of his predecessors had euer done the like vpon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet *Micah* (for he despised them) as inuiting *Iehosaphat* by his owne example, to take the same course, wherein he preuailed.

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§. II.

§. II.

Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old King IEROSAPHAT to change his purpose often, in making his sonne IERORAM King.

MAny arguments doe very strongly prooue *Iehoram* to haue bene wholly ouer-ruled by his wife; especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly Ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Achab*. 10

That she was a woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to liue a priuate life, the whole course of her actions witnesse at large. Much vaine matter shee was able to produce, whereby to make her husband thinke that his brethren and kindred were but meane and vnworthy persons in comparison of him, and of his children, which were begotten vpon the daughter and sister of two great Kings, not vpon base women and meere subiects. The Court of *Achab*, and his famous victories obtained against the *Syrian Benhadad*, were matter sufficient to make an insolent man thinke highly of himselfe, as being allied to honorably; who could otherwise haue found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heire apparent to the Crowne, whereof already he had, in a manner, the possession.

How soone his vices brake out, or how long hee dissembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be knowne. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did very soone make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon caused the young man to know himselfe better, by making him fall back into ranke among his younger brethren. And surely the doings of *Iehosaphat* about the same time, argue no small distemper of the whole country, through the misgovernment of his vngodly sonne. For the good old King was faine to make his progresse round about the land, reclaiming the people vnto the seruice of God; and appointing Judges throughout all the strong Cities of *Iuda* City by City. This had bene a needlesse labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by *Asa*, and by himselfe, had not suffered alteration, and the course of Iustice bene peruerced, by the power of such as had borne authoritie. But the necessitie that then was of reformation, appeares by the charge which the King did giue to the Iudges; and by his commission giuen to one of the priests in spiritual causes, and to the steward of his house in temporal matters, to be generall ouerscers.

This was not till after the death of *Ahaziah* the sonne of *Achab*; but how long after it is vncertaine. For *Iehoram* the brother of *Ahaziah* beganne his reigne (as hath bene already noted) in the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Iehoram*, *Iehosaphat*'s sonne, though afterward this *Iehoram* 40 of *Iuda* had another first and second yeere, euen in his fathers time, before hee reigned alone; as the best Chronologers and expositors of the holy text agree. So hee continued in priuate estate, vntill the two and twentieth of his fathers reigne, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignitie are not set downe, yet wee may not thinke, that motives thereto, appearing substantially, were wanting. *Iehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondencie with *Iehosaphat* that his father had done; and made vse of it. Hee drew the *Iudeans* into the warre of *Moab*, at which time it might well bee, that the young Prince of *Iuda* was againe ordained King by his father, as in the *Syrian* expedition hee had bene. Or if wee ought rather to thinke, that the preparations for the enterprize against *Moab* did not occupie so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, in which yeere that nation rebelled against *Israel*, vnto his two and twentieth; yet the daile negotiations betwene the two Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel*, and the affinitie betwene them contracted in the person of *Iehoram*, might

2. Chron. 19. v. 4.
5. &c.

might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certaine how the behaviour of the younger sonnes, in their elder brothers disgrace, might cause their Father to put him in possession for feare of tumult after his death; or the deepe dissimulation of *Iehoram* himselfe might winne the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing vniually in mischievous fell natures, to be as abiect and feruile in time of adueritie, as insolent and bloudy vpon aduantage. This is manifest, that being repolished of his former estate, hee demeaned himselfe in such wise towards his brethren, as caused their Father to enable them, not onely with store of siluer, and 10 of gold, and of precious things, (which kinde of liberality other Kings doubtlesse had vnto their younger sonnes) but with the custody of strong Cities in *Iuda*, to assure them, if it might haue been by vnwonted means, against vnwonted perils.

§. III.

The doings of IERORAM when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.

BVt all this providence auailed nothing; for an higher providence had otherwile determined of the sequele. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the younger sonnes of *Iehosaphat* found strong Cities, a weake defence, against the power of him to whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in vpon the summons of the King their brother, then had hee them without more ado; if they stood vpon their guard, then were they Traitors, and so vnable to hold out against him, who besides his owne power, was able to bring the forces of the *Israelitish* Kingdome against them, so that the apparant likelyhood of their final overthrow, sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoever it was, they were all taken and slain, and with them for company many great men of the Land; such belike, as either had 30 taken their part, when the Tyrant fought their liues, or had bene appointed Rulers of the Countrey, when *Iehoram* was depouled from his Government; in which Office they, without forbearing to doe iustice, could hardly auoide the doing of many things derogatory to their young Master, which if he would now call treason, saying that he was then King, who durst say the contrary?

After this, *Iehoram* tooke vpon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innovations in Religion: wherein he was not contented as other Idolatrous Princes, to giue way and faile conduct vnto Superstition and Idolatrie, nor to prouoke and encourage the people to that sinne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were so much addicted, hauing such knowledge of God, and of his detesting that about all other sinnes; but 40 he vied compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registered, to haue set tyf Irreligion by force.

Whilest he was thus busied at home, in doing what hee listed, the *Edomites* his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad; and hauing bitwene, since *Dauid*'s time, been gouerned by a *Pierrey*, did now make vnto themselves a King. Against these *Iehoram* in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots, with which hee obtained victory in the field, compelling the Rebels to flie into their places of aduantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that hee had gotten in beating and killing some of those whom hee should haue subdued, and kept his seruants. Now began the prophetic 50 of *Isaac* to take effect, wherein hee fore-told, that *Esaú* in process of time should breake the yoke of *Isaac*. For after this the *Edomites* could neuer be reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Iuda*, but held their owne so well, that when, after many ciuill and forraine warres, the *Semes* by sundry Nations had bene brought low; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Herod* his Sonne, and others of that race following them, be- came

came Lords of the *Jews*, in the decrepit age of *Israel*, and reigned as Kings, even in *Jerusalem* it selfe.

The freedome of the *Edomites*, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great Citie within *Juda*, which in the time of *Isaiah* had a peculiar King, to rebell against *Iehoram*, and let it selfe at libertie. *Libna* stood in the confines of *Beniamin* and of *Dan*, farre from the assistance of any bordering enemies to *Juda*, and therefore so vnlutely it was to haue maintained it selfe in libertie, that it may seeme strange how it could escape from vtter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to haue beentaken, by their powerfull, cruell, and thorough incensed Lord. The *Israelites* held such good intelligence at that time with *Juda*,¹⁰ that he would not haue accepted the Towne, had it offered it selfe vnto him: neither doe we read that it sought how to cast it selfe into a new subiection, but continued a free estate. The rebellion of it against *Iehoram*, was, because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers; which I take to haue not onely bene the first and remote cause, but euen the next and immediate reason, moouing the inhabitants to doe as they did: for it was a Towne of the *Leuites*: who must needs be driuen into great extremities, when a religion contrary to Gods Law, had not onely some allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulsiue authority to force vnto it all that were vnwilling. As for the vse of the Temple at *Jerusalem* (which being deuout men they might feare to lose by this rebellion) it was neuer denied to those of the ten reuolted Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather invited the *Israelites* thither, and gaue them kinde entertainment: vnder Idolaters they must haue bene without it whether they liued free or in subiection. Yet it seemes that priuate reasons were not wanting, which might moue them rather to doe than to suffer that which was vnwarrantable. For in the generall visitation before remembered, wherein *Iehosaphat* reformed his Kingdome, the good old King appointing new Gouernours, and giuing them especial charge to doe iustice without respect of persons, vsed these wordes, *The Leuites shall bee Officers before you; Bee of good courage, and doe it, and the Lord shall be with the good.* By these phrales, it seemes, that hee encouraged them against the more powerfull, than iust proceedings of his sonne; whom if the *Leuites* did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be euen with them, and make them now to feele, as many Princes of the Land had done, his heauie indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that wee can read) so much as besieged or molested, may iustly seeme very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Iehosaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to haue ouerwhelmed any one Towne, and buried it vnder the earth, which they might in one moneth haue cast into it with shouells, by ordinary approaches.

But it seemes that of these great numbers which his Father could haue leuiued, there were not many whom *Iehoram* could well trust; and therefore perhaps hee thought it an easier losse, to let one Towne goe, then to put weapons into their bandes, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happinesse to be feared, than to be loued; are faine themselves to stand in feare of those, by whom they might haue bene dreadfull vnto others.

¶ IIII. 50

¶ IIII.

Of the miseries falling vpon *Iehoram*, and of his death.



These afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the minde of the wicked Prince a Prophecie in writing was deliuered vnto him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wiues, and his owne body. Hereby likewise it appears that hee was a cruell Persecutor of Gods seruants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his Predecessors, both good and euill Kings, but were faine to denounce Gods iudgements against him by letters, keeping themselves close and farre from him. This Epistle is saide to haue bene sent vnto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizeus* prophesied in his stead before this time, euen in the dayes of *Iehosaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophecie in writing behinde him, or that (as some coniecture) the error of one letter in writing, was the occasion that wee reade *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeepe any thing may rather bee beleued than the Tradition held by some of the *Jewish Rabbins*, that *Elias* from heauen did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, deuised by *Erasmus*, or of the Verse that was sent from heauen to *S. Giles*.

But whosoever was the Author of this threatening Epistle, the accomplishment of the prophecie was as terrible, as the sentence. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians* brake into *Juda*, and tooke the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wiues, all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These *Philistines* had not presumed since the time of *Dauid*, to make any offensive warre till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Townes, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small Territorie, by defensiu armes, to which they were constrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Israelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to haue bene then as they are now, a naked people, all horsemen, and ill appointed; their Countrey affording no other furniture, than such as might make them fitter to robbe and spoile in the open fields, than to offend strong Cities such as were thicke set in *Juda*. True it is that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then knowen, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very flatly Cities. But it must be considered; that this was when they had learned of the *Romanes* the Art of Warre; and that the prouisions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one subdued Prouince, did make them able and skilfull in pursuing their conquest, and going onward into Regions farre removed from them. At this day hauing lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as liue in *Arabia* it selfe are good horsemen, but ill appointed, very dangerous to passengers, but vnable to deale with good Souldiers, as riding stark naked, and rather trusting in the swiftness of their horses, than in any other means of resistance, where they are well opposed. And such, or little better, may they seeme to haue bene, that spoiled *Juda* in the time of *Iehoram*. For their Countrey was alwayes baraine and desert, wanting manuell Arts whereby to supply the naturalls with furniture: neither are these bands named as chiefe in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philistines*. Out of this we may inferre, that one halfe, yea or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of *Juda* and *Beniamin* vnder *Iehosaphat* (wherein were enrolled three hundred and eightie thousand fighting men) had bene enough to haue driuen away farre greater forces than these enemies are likely to haue brought into the field, had not the people bene vnable to deale with them, for lacke of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes ielousie, as in *Sauls* time by the policie of the *Philistines*.

It may seeme that the house of the King which these invaders tooke, was not his

his Palace in *Ierusalem*, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Countie, where his wives and children at that time lay for their recreation: because we read not that they did sacke the Citie, or spoyle the Temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious bootie, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they tooke *Ierusalem* itselfe by surprize, the people being disarmed, and the Kings guards too weak to keepe them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous, and therefore having done what spoyle they could, with-drew themselves with such purchase as they were able safely to conueigh away.

The slaughter committed by *Iehu* vpon the two and fortie brethren of *Abasia*, or (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his brothers Sonnes, and the cruell massacre wherein all the Royall seede perished (onely *Ioa* excepted) vnder the tyrannie of *Abasia*, following within two yeeres after this invasion of the *Philistims*, and *Arabians*, make it seeme probable, that the sonnes of *Iehoram* were not all slaine at once, but that rather the first murder begane in his owne time, and was seconded by many other heauie blowes, wherewith his house was incessantly stricken, vntill it was in a manner quite hewed downe.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the bodie of this wicked King, smiting him with a grievous discale in his bowels, which left him not vntill his guts fell out, and his wretched soule departed from his miserable carcasce. The people of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of buriall in the Kingdome, who was guided by the same spirits that had bene his Fathers cuill Angels. *Abasia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous enterring of a dead husband. Shee was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintaine her owne greatnesse, to retaine her fauourites in their authoritie, and to place about her Sonne such Counsellours, of the house of *Ahab*, as were fittest for her turne. Wherefore shee thought it vnseasonable to make much ado about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, with a stately funeral of a man by them detested: but rather chose to let the blame of things passed bee layd vpon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her selfe and hers, which it now did concerne her to auoide. Such is the quality of wicked Infligators, hauing made greedie vse of bad employments, to charge, not only with his owne vices, but with their faults also, the man whose euill inclinations their sinister counsailes haue made worse, when once hee is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Iehoram* fell out indeede in a busie time; when his friend and cousin the *Israelite*, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult warre against the *Aramites*; and therefore could haue had no better leisure to helpe *Abasia*, in setting of things according to her owne minde, than he had (perhaps through the same hinderance) to helpe her husband, when he was distressed by the *Philistims*. Yea rather hee needed and craved the assistance of the men of *Iuda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not sped so well the last time, that they should willingly runne thither againe, vnlesse they were very fairly intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I haue thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as farre as the circumstances remembred in holy Scripture, would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appeare, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the revealed will of God, accomplish neuertheless his hidden purpose, and without miraculous meanes, confound themselves in the seeming wise deuices of their owne folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learne, to submit their iudgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to thinke, that they may safely dispense with his commandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisdom dictateth vnto them. For in such kinde of vnhappy subtilties, it is manifest that

Abasia

Abasia was able to furnith both her Husband and her Sonne, but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appeare, in that which immediately followeth.

§. V.

Of the raigne of *AHAZIA*, and his businesse with the King of *Israel*.



AHAZIAS, or *Abasia*, the sonne of *Iehoram* and *Abasia*, beganne his raigne ouer *Iuda* in the twelfth yeere of *Iehoram*, the sonne of *Ahab*, King of *Israel*, and reigned but that one yeere. Touching his age, it is a point of more difficultie than importance to know it; yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclusion, than that of *Tornellius*, alleaging the Edition of the *Servians* at Rome, Anno Domini 1588. which saith that hee was twentie yeeres old in the beginning of his Kingdome, and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that giue him two yeeres more. Like enough hee is to haue begone yong: for hee was gouerned by his Mother, and her Minuters, who gaue him counsaile by which hee perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his Fathers courses. In matter of State, he likewise vp-held the league made with the house of *Abab*. Hee was much bulied in doing little, and that with ill successe. He accompanied his Cousin the *Israelite* against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they wanne, but not without blowes: for the *Aramites* fought so well, that the King of *Israel* was faine to aduerture his owne person, which escaped not vnwounded. The Towne being wonne was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to bee made by *Hazael* king of *Aram*: which done, *Iehoram* King of *Israel* with-drew himselfe to the Citie of *Ieruel*, where with more quiet hee might attend the curing of his woundes, and *Abasia* returned to *Ierusalem*. It seemes that hee was but newly come home (for hee reigned in all scanty one yeere, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken vp a great part) when hee made a new iourney, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of *Israel*, who lay sore of his woundes. Belike *Abasia* was brewing some new plots, which his presence would haue hindred, and therefore sought euery occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vaine piece of worke so to leaue his kingdome, hauing no other businesse than by way of complement to goe see one whom hee had scene yesterday. Certaine it is that the Lord had resolved at this time to put in execution that heauie iudgement, which hee had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet vpon the house of *Abab*. And hereunto at this time had hee disposed not onely the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might seeme to haue bene accidentall; but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing lesse than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Abasia* doubtlesse was one; whose mischieuous purposes it will shortly bee needfull for explanation of some difficulties arising, that wee diligently consider and examine.

§. VI.

How *AHAZIA* perished with the house of *Ahab*; and how that Familie was destroyed by *IEHU*.



IN the whole Armie of *Israel*, with all the principall Captaines lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Disciple of *Elihu* the Prophet came in among the Captaines that were sitting together, who calling out from among them *Iehu*, a principall man, tooke him apart, and anointed him King ouer *Israel*, rehearsing vnto him the prophetic of *Elias* against the house of *Abab*.

Abab, and letting him vnderstand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The falshood of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captaines a desire to know his errand, which *Iehu* thought meete to let them know, as doubting whether they had ouer-heard all the talke or no. When hee had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forth-with proclaimed him King. For the propheticie of *Elias* was well knowne among them, neither durst any one oppose himselfe against him, that was by God ordained to performe it.

Iehu, who had vpon the sudden this great honour throwne vpon him, was not slow to put himselfe in possession of it, but vsed the first heate of their affections who ioyned with him, in setting on foote the businesse which nerely concerned him, and was not to be fore-slowed, being no more his owne than Gods.

The first care taken was that no newes of the reuolt might bee carried to *Israel*, whereby the King might haue had warning either to fight or flee: this being fore-seene, hee marched swiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet secure. King *Iehoram* was now so well recovered, of his wounds, that hee could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seemes that there was much feasting, and ioy made, especially by Queene *Iezabel*, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of *Abasias* comming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the Queene, as to visit the King.

Certaine it is, that since the rebellion of *Amab* against *Israel*, the house of *Abab* did neuer so much flourish as at this time. Seventy Princes of the blood Royall there were that liued in *Samaria*; *Iehoram* the sonne of Queene *Iezabel* had wonne *Ramoth Gilead*, which his Father had attempted in vaine, with losse of his life; and hee wonne it by valiant fight, wherein hee receiued wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amitie was so great betwene *Israel* and *Juda*, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of successe, to any rebellious enterprizer: so that now the propheticie of *Elias* might be forgotten; or no otherwise remembered, than as an vnlkele tale by them that beheld the maiestieall face of the Court, wherein so great a friend as the King of *Juda* was entertained, and fortie Princes of his blood expected.

In the midst of this securitie, whilest these great Estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosecution of their intents, first against the *Ammites*, and then against *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebels and enemies: or else were triumphing in ioy of that which was already wellatchieued, and the Queene Mother dressing her selfe in the brauest manner to come downe amongst them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower discovered a company comming. These newes were not very troublesome for the Armie that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to bee readie against all attempts of the *Ammites*, was likely enough to bee discharged vpon some notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not stirre. Onely the King sent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger comming to *Iehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to giue the Kings little warning as might bee. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to bee of small importance; yet the King to bee satisfied, sent out another that should bring him word how all went; and he was likewise detained by *Iehu*. These dumbe shewes bred some suspicion in *Iehoram*, whom the watchmen certified of all that happened. And now the company drew so neere, that they might, though not perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of *Iehu* himselfe by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loth to discover any weakness, caused his Chariot to be made ready; and issued forth with *Abasias* King of *Juda* in his company, whose presence added maiestie to his traine when strength to resist, or expedition to flee had been more needfull. This could not be done so hastily, but that *Iehu* was come euen to the Townes end; and there they met each other in the field

field of *Naboth*. *Iehoram* beganne to salute *Iehu* with termes of peace, but receiuing a better answer, his heart failed him, so that crying out vpon the treason to his fellow King, he turned away to haue fled. But *Iehu* soone ouertooke him with an arrow, where-with he strooke him dead, and threw his carke into that field, which, purchased with the blood of the rightfull owner, was to be watered with blood of the vniust possessor. Neither did *Abasias* escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize vpon him.

The Kings Palace was ioyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where *Iezabel* might soone be aduertised of this calamitie, if shee did not with her owne eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercie, whose judgement, pronounced against her long before, had ouer-taken her, when shee least expected it. But thee, full of indignation, and proud thoughts, made her selfe readie in all haste, and painted her face, hoping with her stately and imperious lookes to daunt the Traitor, or at the least to vter some *Apophibegme*, that should expresse her braue spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for euer. Little did shee thinke vpon the hungry dogs, that were ordained to deuoure her, whose paunches the *stibum*, with which shee besmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the scolding language where-with shee armed her tongue, could trouble the eares of him that had her in his power. As *Iehu* drew neere, shee opened her window, and looking out vpon him, beganne to put him in minde of *Zimri*, that had not long ioyned the fruits of his treason, and murder of the King his Master. This was in mere humane valuation stoutly spoken, but was in deede a piece of miserable folly, as are all things, howsoever laudable, if they haue an ill relation to God the Lord of all. Her owne *Eunuch*es that stood by and heard her, were not affected so much as with any compassion of her fortune; much lesse was her enemy daunted with her proud spirit. When *Iehu* saw that shee did vse the little remainder of her life in seeking to vexee him; hee made her presently to vnderstand her owne estate, by deedes and not by words. He onely called to her seruants to know which of them would be of his side, and soone found them readie to offer their seruice, before the very face of their proud Ladie. Hereupon he commanded them to cast her downe head-long: which immediately they performed without all regard of her greatnesse and estate, wherein shee had a few houres before shined so gloriously in the eyes of men; of men that considered not the iudgements of God that had bene denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude hands of her owne seruants, at the commandment of her greatest enemy, that was yesterday her subiect, but now her Lord: and shee perished miserably struggling in vaine with base groomes, who contumeliously did hale and thrust her, whilest her insulting enemy fate on horse-back, adding indignitie to her griefe by scornfull beholding the shamefull manner of her fall, and trampling her bodie vnder foote. Her dead carcase that was left without the walls was deuoured by dogges, and her very memorie was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatrie, murder, and oppression, with slow, but sure payment, and full interest.

Abasias King of *Juda* fleeing a pace from *Iehu*, was ouer-taken by the way where he lurked; and receiuing his deadly wound in the Kingdome of *Samaria*, was suffered to get him gone (which he did in all haste) and seeke his buriall in his owne Kingdome: and this fauour hee obtained for his grand-fathers sake, not for his fathers, nor his owne. He died at *Megidda*, and was thence carried to *Ierusalem*, where hee was entered with his Ancestors, hauing reigned about one yeere.

CHAP. XXI.

Of **ATHALIA**, and whose Sonne he was that succeeded vnto her.

p. I.

Of **ATHALIA** her usurping the Kingdome, and what pretences shee might forge.

s. Chron. 22. 9.



AFTER the death of *Abazias*, it is saide that his house was not able to retaine the Kingdome: which note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* vpon the death of her Sonne, haue giuen occasion to diuers opinions concerning the Pedegree of *Iosab*, who raigned shortly after. For *Athalia* being thus dispoiled of her Sonne, vnder whose name shee had reled at her pleasure, did forth-with lay hold vpon all the Princes of the blood, and slew them, that so she might occupie the Royall Throne her selfe, and raigne as Queene, rather than liue a Subiect. Shee had before-hand put into great place, and made Counsaillours vnto her sonne, such as were fittest for her purpose, and readie at all times to execute her will: that shee kept a strong guard about her it is very likely, and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Iehoram*, vpon the Princes, and many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearefull to stirre, whatsoeuer they law or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent soeuer it bee, is seldome or neuer so shamelesse as to refuse the commoditie of goodly pretences offering themselves; but rather scrapes together all that will any way serue to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not absurd for vs to thinke, that *Athalia*, when shee saw the Princes of the Royall blood, all of them in a manner, slaine by her husband, and afterwards his owne children destroyed by the *Philistines*, began euen then to play her owne game, reducing by artificiall practice, into faire likelihoods, those possibilities where-with her husbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great show of reason, either by her owne mouth, or by some trustie creature of hers, might shee giue him to vnderstand, how needfull it were to take the best order whilst as yet hee might, for feare of the worst that might happen. If the issue of *Dauid*, which now remained onely in his Familie, should by any accident faile (as wofull experience had already shewed what might after come to passe) the people of *Iuda* were not unlikely to chuse a King of some new stocke, a popular seditious man peraduenture, one that to countenance his owne unworthinesse, would not care what aspersions hee laide vpon that Royall house, which was fallen downe. And who could assure him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contriue the destruction of him, and all his feede? Wherefore it were the wisest way to designe by his authoritie, not onely his Succellour, but also the reuersion, and so to provide, that the Crowne might neuer be subiect to any risling, but remaine in the disposition of them that loued him best, if the worst that might bee feared coming to passe, his owne posteritie could not retaine it.

Such perswasions being vrged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate sollicitation of her that gouerned his affections, were able to make the iealous Tyrant thinke

thinke that the only way to frustrate all deuices of such as gaped after a change, was to make her Heire the last and youngest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the Queene-Mother, to vp-hold the first and eldest.

If *Athalia* tooke no such course as this in her husbands times, yet might shee doe it in her Sonnes. For *Abazias* (besides that he was wholly ruled by his Mother) was not likely to take much care for the securitie of his halfe-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wiues, in respect of his owne high borne Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischieuous woman forgate her selfe so farre in her wicked policie, that shee lost all opportunitie which the weakenesse of her husband and sonne did afford, of procuring to her selfe some seeming Title; yet could shee afterwards faime some such matter, as boldly shee might: being sure that none would aske to see her euidence, for feare of being sent to learne the certaintie of her sonne or husband in another world. But I rather thinke that shee tooke order for her affaires beforehand. For though shee had no reason to suspect or feare the suddaine death of her sonne, yet it was the wisest way to provide betimes against all that might happen, whilst her husbands issue by other women was young and vnable to resist. We plainly find that the Brethren or Nephewes of *Abazias*, to the number of two and fortie, were sent to the Court of *Israel*, only to salute the children of the King, and the children of the Queene. The slender occasion of which long iourney, considered together with the qualitie of these persons (being in effect all the stocke of *Iehoram* that could be growne to any strength) makes it very suspitious that their entertainment in *Iezabels* house would only haue bene more formall, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of *Iebn*. Hee that looks into the courses held both before and after by these two Queenes, will finde cause enough to thinke no lesse. Of such as haue aspired vnto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right Heires by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validitie than the sword of such as claimed by them could giue. Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentifull examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: Is there any thing *Ecclesi. 1. 10.*
 30 whereof one may say, Behold, this is new? it hath bene already in the old time that was before vs. That a King might shed his brothers blood, was proued by *Salomon* vpon *Adonia*; that he might aliene the Crowne from his naturall Heires, *Dauid* had giuen proofe: but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willingly shewing what they may doe, than acknowledging why *Salomon* slew his brother that had begunne one rebellion, and was entering into another. *Iehoram* slew all his brethren, which were better than hee: *DAVID* purchased the Kingdome, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed; if *Iehoram*, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that hee might aliene the remainder at his pleasure; or if *Abazias* sought to cut off the succession of his brethren, or of their issue: either of these was to be answered with the wordes which *Iehoiada* the Priest vsd afterwards, in declaring the title of *IOASH*: Behold, the Kings sonne must raigne; as the Lord hath said of the sonnes of *DAVID*. Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend some title, whatsoever it might bee, to the Crowne of *Iuda*; yet is it most certaine that shee had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treachery, murder, and open violence; and so shee held it fixe whole yeeres, and a part of the seventh, in good seeming-securitie.

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p. II.

§. II.

How IERU spent his time in Israel, so that he could not molest
ATHALIA.

IN all this time *Iehu* did neuer goe about to disturbe her; which in reason hee was likely to desire, being an enemy to her whole House. But hee was occupied at the first in establishing himselfe, rooting out the posteritie of *Abah*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in warres against the *Amite*, wherein hee was so farre overcharged, that hardly hee could retaine his owne, much lesse attempt vpon others. 10
Of the line of *Abah* there were seuentie living in *Samarita*, out of which number *Iehu* by letter aduised the Citizens to set vp some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident hee was, which they well vnderstood to proceede from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they tooke example by the two Kings whom hee had slaine, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their seruice, wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in lesse than one dayes warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were inioyned by a second letter from him. After this hee surprized all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtiltie, 20
faining a great sacrifice to their god, by which meanes he drew them altogether in to one Temple, where he slew them; and in the same zeale to God vterly demolished all the monuments of that impietie.

Concerning the Idolatrie deuiled by *Ierobam*, no King of *Israel* had euer greater reason than *Iehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to feare lest the people should be allured vnto the house of *Dauid*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted vp, and the Crowne of *Iuda* in the possession of a cruell Tyrannesse: he had receiued his kingdom by the vnexpected grace of God; and further, in regard of his zeale expressed in destroying *Baal* out of *Israel*, hee was promised, notwithstanding his following the linne of *Ierobam*, that the Kingdom should remaine in his Familie, to the fourth Generation. But all this would not serue; he would needs helpe to piece out Gods 30
providence with his owne circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedie gamester, who by stealing a needelesse Card to assure himselfe of winning a stake, forfeits his whole rest. He had questionlesse displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the vse of a superstition, so long practized as was that Idolatrie of *Ierobam*. Yet all these, how many sooner they were, had neuer once thought vpon making him King, if God, whom, to retaine them, hee now forsooke, had not giuen him the Crowne, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Iehu* drew terrible vengeance of God vpon *Israel*, whereof 40
Hazael King of *Damascus* was the Executioner. The crueltie of this barbarous Prince we may finde in the prophetic of *Elisema*, who fore-told it, saying: *Their strong Cities shall thou set on fire, and their young men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their infants against the stones, and rent in pieces their women with child.* So did not onely the wickednesse of *Abah* cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatrie of the people bring a lamentable miserie vpon all the Land: For the furie of *Hazael*s victorie was not quenched with the destruction of a few Townes, nor wearied with one inuasion; but he smote them in all the coasts of *Israel*, and wasted all the Countrey beyond the River of *Jordan*. Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seems that the people repented not of their Idolatrie; For in those dayes the Lord 50
beganne to loath *Israel*, but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble House of *Abah*, vnder which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had brauely fought for the conquest of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to restore the Ci-

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ties which his Father had wonne: whereas now they were faine to make wofull shifts, lying vnder a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his Master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruell enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can finde all manner of difficulties in seruing him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in stead of the ease and pleasure to themselves propounded by contrarie courses, ouerwhelmed with the troubles which they sought to auoide, and therein by God whom they first forsooke, forsaken, and left vnto the wretched labours of their owne blinde wisedome, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

§. III.

Of ATHALIAHs GOVERNMENT.

IHese calamities falling vpon *Israel*, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giuing her leisure to looke to things at home; as hauing little to doe abroad, vnlesse it were so that shee held some correspondence with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her husbands grand-father King *Aha*, who had done the like. And some probability that shee did so may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For wee finde, that this wicked *ATHALIA* and her children brake up the house of God, and all things that were 20
dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow vpon *BALIM*. Such a sacrifice, though it proceeded from a desire to set out her owne Idolatrie, with such pompe as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want some faire pretext of necessitie of the State so requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successfull was faine to doe the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taste of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

Vnder this impious gouernment of *Athalia*, the education of the Priests and Levites was very notable, and serued (no doubt) very much to retaine the people in the religion taught by God himselfe, howsoeuer the Queens proceedings aduanced the contrarie. For the pueritie of that sacred Tribe of *Leui* must needs haue been exceeding great at this time; all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being vterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites, by which they liued, being now very few, and small; and the store laid vp in better times vnder godly Kings, being all taken away by shamefull robbes. Yet they vp-held in all this miserie the seruice of God, and the daily sacrifice, keeping duly their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no lesse than in those dayes wherein their entertainment was farre better.

§. IIII.

Of the preservation of IOAS.

IERHOIADA then occupied the high Priest-hood, an honourable, wise and religious man. To his carefulnesse it may be ascribed, that the state of the Church was in some slender sort vp-held in those vnhappy times. His wife was *Iehoshabet*, who was daughter of King *Ieroram*, and sister to *Ahasia*, a godly Ladie and vertuous, whose pietie makes 50
it seeme that *Athalia* was not her Mother, though her access to the Court argue the contrarie: but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her owne Fathers house, than the education vnder such a Mother could haue permitted her to be such as shee was. By her care *IOASH* the young Prince that reigned soone after, was conueighed out of the nourserie, when *Athalia* destroyed all the Kings chil-

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dren,

dren, and was carried secretly into the Temple, whereas secretly hee was brought vp. How it came to passe that this young child was not hunted out, when his bodie was missing, nor any great reckoning (for ought that we finde) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine: for it was not good in policie, that the people should heare say, that one of the children had auoided that cruell blow; it might haue made them hearken after innovations, and so bee the lesse conformable to the present government. So *Iosb* was deliuered out of that slaughter, he and his Nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might bee thought peraduenture to bee cast away, as hauing no other guard than a poore woman that gaue him sucke, who foolishly doubting that shee her selfe should haue bene slaine, was fled away with him into some desolate places, where it was like enough that shee and hee should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coine such tales, and rather sweare them to bee true in their owne knowledge, than they will lose the thanks due to their ioyfull tidings.

†. V.
Whose Sonne IOAS was.

†. I.
Whether IOAS may be thought likely to haue bene the Sonne of AHAZIA.

NOW concerning this *Iosb*, whose sonne he was, it is a thing of much difficultie to asseigne, and hath caused much controuersie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him the sonne of AHAZIA, seeme plaine enough. How any figure of the Hebrew language might giue that title of Sonne vnto him, in regard that he was his Successor, I neither by my selfe can finde, nor can by any helpe of Authors learne how to answer the difficulties appearing in the contrarie opinions of them, that thinke him to haue bene, or not, the naturall Sonne of *Ahasia*. For whereas it is said, that the house of AHAZIA was not able to retaine the Kingdome; some doe inferre that this *Iosb* was not properly called his Sonne, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a sonne in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For these perceiuing that the Kingdome was to fall into their hands, in whom shee had no interest, might easily finde cause to feare, that the tyrannie exercised by her husband, at her instigation vpon so many noble Houses, would now bee reuenged vpon her selfe. The ruine of her Idolatrous religion might in this case terrifie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedie of *Iezabel* teaching her what might happen to another Queene. All this had little concerned her, if her owne grand-child had bene heire to the Crowne; for shee that had power enough to make her selfe Queene, could with more ease, and lesse enuie, haue taken vpon her the office of a Protector, by which authoritie shee might haue done her pleasure, and bene the more both obeyed by others, and secure of her owne estate, as not wanting an Heire. Wherefore it was not needefull, that she should be so vnnatural, as to destroy the child of her owne sonne, of whose life she might haue made greater vse, than shee could of his death: whereas indeede, the loue of grand-mothers to their Nephewes, is little lesse than that of Mothers to their children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seeme incredible, that all naturall affection should be cast aside, when as neither necessitie yetgh, nor any commoditie thereby gotten requirerh it, yea when all humane policie doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would haue perswaded.

†. II.

†. II.

That IOAS did not descend from NATHAN.

BUT (as it is more easie to finde a difficultie in that which is related, than to shew how it might haue otherwise been) the pedigree of this *Iosb* is, by them which thinke him not the sonne of *Ahasia*, set downe in such sort that it may very iustly be suspected. They say that he descended from *Nathan* the sonne of *Dauid*, and not from *Salomon*, to which purpose they bring a Historie (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *Dauid*, saying that the line of *Salomon* held the kingdome with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the familie of *Nathan* should succede it. Concerning this *Nathan* the sonne of *Dauid* there are that would haue him to bee *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they thinke, was by *Dauid* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as also *S. Augustine* sometime was, but afterward hee reuoked it, as was meet; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the sonnes of *Dauid*, by *Bathshua* the daughter of *Amnes*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. *Gregory Nazianzen* (as I finde him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him, *Erasmus*, and *Faber Stapulensis*, haue likewise held the same of *Iosb*, deriuing him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan*, and those other brethren of *Salomon* by the same mother, are thought, vpon good likelihoods, to haue been the children of *Vria* the *Hittite*: and so are they accounted by sundry of the fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulenfis*, who follow the Hebrew expofitors of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling himselfe the onely begotten of his mother, doe approue this expofition: for wee reade of no more than two sonnes which *Bathshua* or *Bathsheba* did beare vnto *Dauid*, whereof the one, begotten in adultery, died an infant, and *Salomon* onely of her children by the King did liue. So that the rest must needs haue been the children of *Vria*, and are thought to haue been *Dauid*'s onely by adoption. Wherefore, if *Iosb* had not been the sonne of *Ahasia*, then must that pedigree haue been false, wherein *S. Matthew* deriueh him lineally from *Salomon*; yea, then had not our blessed Sauiour issued from the loynes of *Dauid*, according to the flesh, but had onely been of his line by countesse of the Nation, and forme of Law, as any other might haue been. As for the authority of *Philo*, which hath drawne many late writers into the opinion that *Iosb* was not of the posteritie of *Salomon*, it is enough to say, that this was *Prier Annus* his *Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo* bath any such matter; but *Annius* can make Authors to speake what he list.

†. III.

That IOAS may probably be thought to haue bene the sonne of IERORAM.

IN so doubtfull a case, if it seeme lawfull to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought vpon, methinks it were not amisse to lay open at once, and peruse together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickedness of *Ieroram* the sonne of *Iehosaphat* King of *Juda*, for which hee and his children perished, rehearteth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of *Dauid*, that according to his promise he would giue him alight, and to his children for ever: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same *IERORAM*, there was not a sonne left him, save *IEHOAHAS* the youngest of his sonnes. Now, if it were in regard of Gods promise to *Dauid*, that after those massacres of *Ieroram*, vpon all his brethren, and of the *Philistims*, and *Arabians* vpon the children of *Ieroram*, one of the seede of *Dauid* escaped, why may it not be thought that hee was said to haue escaped, in whom the line of *Dauid* was preferred? for had all the race of *Salomon* been rooted vp in these wooll T ragedies, and the progenie of *Nathan* succeeded in place thereof, like enough it is that some remembrance more particular would haue been extant, of an euent so

so memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguished, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogie* of our Lord; as it is recounted by *S. Luke*: but the preferuation of the house of *David*, mentioned in the bookes of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the person of *Iehobab*, in whom the Royal branch of *Salomon*, the naturall, and not onely legall issue remaining of *David*, was kept aliue. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Iosif*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdome, was the yongest sonne of *Iehoram*, whose life *Athalia* as a stepdame, was not likely to pursue. For it were not easily understood, why the preferuation of *David*'s line, by Gods speciall mercie, in regard of his promise made, should pertaine rather to that time, when besides *Athalia* himselfe, there were two and fortie of his brethren, or (as in another place they are called) sonnes of his brethren remaining aliue, which afterwards were all slaine by *Iehu*; than haue reference to the lamentable destruction and little lesse than extirpation of that progenie, wherein one onely did escape. Certainly that inhumane murder which *Iehoram* committed vpon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Historie) reuenged vpon his owne children; then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the *Philistims* and *Arabians*; but being onely begun by them, was afterwards prosecuted by *Iehu*, and finally tooke effect by the hands of that same wicked woman, at whose instigation hee had committed such barbarous outrages. And from this execution of Gods heauie iudgement layd vpon *Iehoram* and all his children, onely *Iehobab* his yongest sonne was exempted; whom therefore if I should affirme to be the same with *Ios*, which is called the sonne of *Athalia*, I should not want good probability. Some further appearance of necessity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise haue bene. For it was the yongest sonne of *Iehoram* in whom the race was preserved; which could not in any likelihood be *Athalia*, seeing that he was twenty yeeres old at the least (as is already noted) when hee began to raigne, and consequently, was borne in the eighteenth or twentieth yeere of his Fathers age. Now, I know not whether of the two is more vnlkely, either that *Iehoram* should haue begotten many children before hee was eightene yeeres old, or that hauing (as hee had) many wiues and children, hee should vpon the sudden, at his eighteenth yeere, become vnfruitfull, and beget no more in twenty yeeres following: each of which must haue been true, if this were true that *Athalia* was the same *Iehobab*, which was his yongest sonne. But this inconuenience is taken away, and those other doubts arising from the causelesse cruelty of *Athalia*, in seeking the life of *Ios*, are easily cleared, if *Ios* and *Iehobab* were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion. For he was *seuen yeeres old when hee began to reigne*; which if wee vnderstand of yeeres compleat, he might haue been a yeere old at the death of *Iehoram*, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sickness. Neither is it more absurd to say that he was the naturall sonne of *Iehoram*, though called the sonne of *Athalia*, than it were to say, as great Authors haue done, this difficultie notwithstanding, that hee was of the posteritie of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to answer, which had it concurred with the rest, might haue serued as the very foundation of this opinion. The name of *Iehobab*, that soundeth much more neere to *Ios*, than to *Athalia*, in an English eare, doth in the Hebrew (as I am informed by some, skilfull in that language) through the diuersitie of certaine letters, differ much from that which is most resembleth in our Westerne manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be so that *Athalia* herselfe be also called *Asaria*, and must haue had three names, if hee were the same with *Iehobab*; in which manner *Ios* might also haue had several names; yet, because I finde no other warrant hereof than a bare possibility, I will not presume to build an opinion vpon the weak foundation of mine owne coniecture, but leaue all to the consideration of such as haue more abilitie to iudge, and leisure to consider of this point.

†. IIII.

†. IIII.

Vpon what reasons *ATHALIA* might seeke to destroy *Ios*, if he were her owne grandchild.

If therefore we shall follow that which is commonly receiued, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be said, that *Athalia* was not onely blinded by the passions of ambition and zeale to her idolatrous worship of *Basim*, but pursued the accomplishment of some naturall desires, in seeking the destruction of her grandchild, and the rest of the blood Royall. For whether it were so that *Athalia* (as proud and cruell women are not alwayes chaste) had imitated the libertie of *Iezabel* her sister in law, whose whoredomes were vpbraid by *Iehu* to her sonne; or whether she had children by some former husband, before she was married vnto *Iehoram* (which is not vnlikely in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and sister to *Ahab*) certaine it is that she had sonnes of her owne, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondered at, that to settle the Crowne vpon her owne children, shee did seeke to cut off, by wicked policie, all other claimes. As for *Ios*, if he were his grandmother, yet shee might mistrust the interest which his mother would haue in him, lest when he came to yeeres, it might withdraw him from her deuotion. And heretofore (besides that women doe commonly better loue their daughters husbands, than their sonnes wiues) there is some appearance in the reigne of her sonne: for shee made him spend all his time in idle journeys, to no other apparant end, than that shee might rule at home; and hee liuing abroad be estranged from his wife, and entertaine some new fancies, wherein *Iezabel* had cunning enough to see his tutorlesse. But when the sword of *Iehu* had rudely cut in sunder all these fine deuices, then was *Athalia* faine to goe roundly to worke, and doe as shee did, whereby the thought to make all sure. Otherwise, if (as I could rather thinke) she were onely stepdame to *Ios*, we neede not seeke into the reasons mouing her to take away his life; her owne hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

§. VI.

A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty of vsing coniecture in Histories.

Thus much concerning the person of *Ios*, from whom, as from a new roote, the tree of *David* was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this Historie, and the diuersitie betweene it and others, the lesse me thinkes I neede to suspect mine owne presumption, as deserting blame, for curiositie in matter of doubt, or boilelesse in libertie of coniecture. For all Histories doe giue vs information of humane counsailes and euents, as farre forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can afford; but of Gods will, by which all things are ordered, they speake onely at random, and many times fallily. This we often finde in profane writers, who ascribe the ill successe of great vndertakings to the neglect of some impious Rites, whereof indeede God hath horrid the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the lesse wonder, if we consider the idolatry made by the *Iewes* in *Egypt* vnto *Jeremie* the Prophet reprehending their idolatry. For, howsoeuer the written Law of God was knowne vnto the people, and his punishments layd vpon them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and euen then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent vnto their owne wills, that they would not by any means be drawne to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worship the *Queene of Heauen*, as they and their

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their Fathers, their Kings and their Princes had vied to do; For then (said they) had we plenty of victuall, and were well, and felt no evil: adding that all manner of miseries were befallen them, since they left off that seruice of the *Queene of Heauen*. So blinde is the wisdom of man, in looking into the counsaile of God, which to finde out there is no better nor other guide than his owne written will not peruerbed by vaine additions.

5. Phil. Sid. in his
Appl. for Poetry.

But this Historie of the Kings of *Israel* and *Juda* hath herein a singular prerogative above all that haue been written by the most sufficient of merely humane authors: it setteth downe expressly the true, and first causes of all that happened; not in imputing the fault of *Ahab* to his ouer-forwardnesse in barraile; the ruine of his familie, to the securitie of *Ieroboam* in *Ierel*; nor the victories of *Hazael*, to the great commotions raised in *Israel*, by the coming of *Iehu*; but referring all vnto the will of God, I meane, to his revealed will: from which that his hidden purposes doe not varie, this story, by many great examples, giues most notable prooffe. True it is, that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these bookes nothing largely described; nor perhaps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, that Historians doe borrow of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, records not alwayes true, and notorious actions commonly insufficient to discouer the passions which did set them first on foote. Wherefore they are faine (I speake of the best, and in that which is allowed, for to take out of *Linie* every one circumstance of *Claudius* his journey against *Adraball* in *Italie*, fitting all to another businesse, or any practice of that kinde, is neither Historical nor Poetical) to search into the particular humour of Princes, and of those which haue governed their affections, or the instruments by which they wrought, from whence they doe collect the most likely motives, or impediments of euery businesse; and so figuring as neere to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they iudiciously consider the defects in counsaile, or obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to giue assurance, howsoever it may giue satisfaction. For the heart of man is vnsearchable: and Princes, howsoeuer their intents bee seldome hidden from some of those many eyes which prie both into them, and into such as liue about them; yet sometimes either by their owne close temper, or by some subtil miste, they concale the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselves lie dead, and buried in obliuion, when the preparations which they begate, are conuerted to another vse. The industrie of an Historian, hauing so many things to weary it, may well be excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further search; though it often fall out, where sundry occasions worke to the same end, that one small matter in a weake minde is more effectually, than many that seemes farre greater. So comes it many times to passe, that great fires, which consume whole houles or Townes, begin with a few straws, that are wasted or not scene; when the flame is discovered, hauing fastened vpon some wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionless it is, that the warre commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against the *Greekes*, proceeded from desire of the *Persians* to enlarge their Empire: howsoever the enterprize of the *Athenians* vpon *Sardes*, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrell: yet *Herodotus* telleth vs, that the wanton desire of *Queene Mithras*, to haue the *Grecian* dames her bondwomen, did first moue *Darius* to prepare for this warre before he had receiued any injury; and when he did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enioy what was already gotten.

Herod. l. 1.

I will not here stand to argue whether *Herodotus* bee more iustly reprehended by some, or defended by others; for alleading the vaine appetite, and secret speech of the *Queene* in bed with her husband, as the cause of those great evils following; this I may boldly affirme, (hauing I thinke, in euery estate some sufficient witness) that matter

matter of much consequence, founded in all seeming vpon substantiall reasons, haue issued indeed from such pettie trifles, as no Historian would either thinke vpon, or could well search out.

I therefore it was a good answer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope made to a certaine Frier, coming to visite him in his Popedom, as hauing long before in his meane estate, bene his familiar friend. This poore Frier, being emboldened by the Pope to vse his old libertie of speech, aduentured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was possible for his Holinesse, whom he rather tooke for a direct honest man, than any cunning politician, to attaine vnto the Papacie; in compassing of which, al the subtiltie (sayd hee) of the most crafty braines, linde worke enough: and therefore the more I thinke vpon the Art of the conclaue, and your vnaptnesse thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to satisfie the plaine dealing Frier, dealt with him againe as plainly, saying, Hadst thou liued abroad as I haue done, and scene by what folly this world is gouerned, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred vnto those exorbitant engines, by which the course of affaires is moued; the Pope said true. For the wisest of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutual toleration, worke more closely, and earnestly, than right reason either needs or can. But if we lift vp our thoughts to that supreme Gouernour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was said of *Iupiter*:

*Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Vento, et urbes, regna,q; trisita
Dinosq; mortalesq; turbas,
Imperio regit vnus aquo.*

Who rules the duller earth, the wind-swolne streames,
The ciuill Cities, and th' infernall realmes,
Who th' host of heauen and the mortall band,
Alone doth gouerne by his iust command.

Then shall wee finde the quite contrary. In him there is no vncertaintie nor change; he foreseeeth all things, and all things disposed to his owne honour; Hee neither deceiueth nor can be deceiued, but continuing one and the same for euer, doth constantly gouerne all creatures by that law, which hee hath prescribed and will neuer alter. The vanities of men beguile their vaine contriuers, and the perpetitie of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction: yea, this broad and headlong passage to hell, is not so delightfull as it seemeth at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poisons which infect the soule, many cruell thornes deeply wounding the bodie, all which, if any few escape, they haue onely this miserable advantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the seruice of God is the path guiding vs to perfect happinesse, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicitie, yielding such abundance of ioy to the conscience, as doth easily counteruaile all afflictions whatsoever; though indeed those brambles that sometimes teare the skinne of such as walke in this blessed way, doe commonly lay hold vpon them at such time as they sit downe to take their ease, and make them with themselves at their iournies end, in the presence of their Lord whom they faithfully serue, in whose presence is the fulnesse of ioy, and as whose right hand are pleasures for euermore.

Psal. 16. v. 11.

Wherefore it being the end and scope of all History, to teach by example of times past, such wisdom as may guide our desires and actions, we should not maruaile though the *Chronicles of the Kings of Iuda and Israel*, being written by men inspired with the Spirit of God, instruct vs chiefly, in that which is most requisite for vs to know, as the meanes to attaine vnto true felicitie, both here, and hereafter, propounding

pounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, *The feast of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom.* Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) been written by some Prophet after the captivity: wee may well beleue that the counsaile of God therein, and the executioners of his righteous will, should haue occupied either the whole or the principall room in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of *Darius*, the desire of his Wife, and the businesse at *Sardes*, with other occurrences, been the lesse true, though they might haue bene omitted, as the lesse materiall: but these things it had bene lawfull for any man to gather out of profane Histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein hee should not haue done iniurie to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forborne to derogate to from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more then was due.

Such, or little different, is the businesse that I haue now in hand: wherein I cannot beleue that any man of iudgement will tax mee, as either fabulous or presumptuous. For he doth not faile, that rehearseth probabilities as bare coniectures; neither doth he depraue the Text, that seeketh to illustrate and make good in humane reason, those things, which authority alone, without further circumstance, ought to haue confirmed in euery mans beliefe. And this may suffice in defence of the libertie, which I haue vsed in coniectures, and may hereafter vsed when occasion shall require, as neither vnlawfull, nor misbecoming an Historian.

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p. VII.

The conspiracie against ATHALIA.

When *Athalia* had now fixe yeeres and longer worn the Crowne of *Isa-*
da, and had found neither any forsaie enemy, nor domestical aduer-
sarie to disturbe her possession, suddenly the period of her glory, and
reward of her wickednesse meeting together, tooke her away without
any warning, by a violent and shamefull death. For the growth of the
young Prince began to be such, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had
been very vnfitting that his education should bee simple, to make him seeme the
childe of some poore man (as for his safetie it was requisite), when his capacite re-
quired to haue bene inducted with the stomake and qualities meete for a King. All
this *Iehoiada* the Priest considered, and withall, the great increase of impietie, which
taking deepe roote in the Court, was likely to spread it selfe ouer all the Countrey, if
care were not vsed to weede it vp very speedily. Wherefore he associated vnto him-
selfe some of the Captaines, in whose fidelitie he had best assurance, and hauing taken
an oath of them, and shewed them the Kings sonne, he made a Covenent with them,
to aduance him to the Kingdome. These drew in others of the principall men, to
countenance the action, procuring at the first onely that they should repaire to *Jeru-*
salem, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed
not many perswasions to winne them to the businesse: the promise of the Lord vnto
the house of *Dauid*, was enough to assure them, that the action was both lawfull, and
likely to succcede as they desired.

But in compassing their intent some difficulties appeared: For it was not to be
hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good issue; neither
were the Captaines, and other associates of *Iehoiada* able by close working, to drawe
together so many trustie and seruicable hands as would suffice to manage the busi-
nesse. To helpe in this case, the Priest gaue order to such of the *Leuites*, as had fini-
shed their courses in waiting on the Diuine seruice at the Temple, and were now re-
lieued by others that succeeded in their turnes, that they should not depart vntill
they knew his further pleasure. So by admitting the new commers, and not dis-
charging the old, he had, without any noise, made vp such a number, as would bee
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able to deal with the Queens ordinarie Guard, and that was enough, for if the Ty-
rannesse did not preuaile against them at the first brunt, the fauour of the People
was like to shew it selfe on their side, who made head against her. These *Leuites*
were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the person of the King, who
as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captaines, and other adherents, were be-
stowed in the vtter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it selfe had store enough;
King *Dauid* had left an Armourie to the place, which was now employed in defence
of his issue.

All things being in a readinesse, and the day come, wherein this high designe was
to be put in execution; *Iehoiada* deliuered vnto the Captaines, Armour for them
and their adherents; appointed a guard vnto the Kings person; produced him o-
penly, and gaue vnto him the Crowne; vling all ceremonies accustomed in such so-
lemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings, the Queene was the
last that heard any word; which is not so strange as it may seeme: for insolent na-
tures, by dealing outrageously with such as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly
loose the benefit of hearing what is to bee feared, whilst yet it may bee prevented,
and haue no information of danger, till their own eyes, amazed with the sudden-
nesse, behold it in the shape of ineuitable mischiefe.

All *Jerusalem* was full of the rumour, and entertayned it with very good liking.
Some carried home the newes, others ranne forth to see, and the common joy was
so great, that without apprehension of perill, vnder the windowes of the Court,
were the people running and prailing the King. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the
extraordinarie concourse, and noise, of folkes in the streets, making towards the
Temple, with much vnusuall passion in their lookes, did presently conceiue, that
somewhat worthe of her care was happened; though, what it might bee, shee did
not apprehend. Howsoeuer it were, shee meant to vie her owne wisdom in look-
ing into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It
may bee, that shee thought it some especiall solemnitie vsed in the Diuine seruice,
which caused this much ado; and hereof the vnaccustomed number of *Leuites*, and
of other deuout men, about the towne, might giue some presumption.

2 Chron. 23. 14.

Many things argue that shee little thought vpon her owne Tragedie; although
Iosaphus would make it seeme otherwise. For we finde in the Text, *Shee came to the*
people into the house of the Lord (which was neere to her Palace) and that when shee
looked and saw the King stand by his pillar, as the manner was, with the Princes, or
great men of the Land by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming him, shee rent her
clothes, and cryed, Treason, Treason. Hereby it appears that shee was quietly go-
ing, without any mistrust or feare, to take her place, which when shee found occu-
pied by another, then shee began to afflicte herselfe, as one cast away, and cryed out
in vaine vpon the Treason, whereby shee saw that shee must perill. But that shee
came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Iosaphus* reporteth) and that
her companie being beaten back, shee entred alone, and commanded the people to
kill the young Tyrant, I finde no where in Scripture, neither doe I hold it credible.
For had shee truly knowne how things went, shee would surely haue gathered her
friends about her, and vsed those forces in defence of her Crowne, by which shee
gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if it were granted, that shee, like a new
Semiramis, did march in the head of her troupe, yet it had bene meere madnesse in
her, to enter the place alone, when her assistants were kept out; but if shee percei-
uing that neither her authoritie, nor their owne weapons, could preuaile to let in
her guard, would neuertheless take vpon her to command the death of the new
King, calling a child of teene yeeres old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill
him, whom shee saw to bee armed in his defence, may wee not thinke that shee was
mad in the most extreme degree? Certaine it is that the counsaile of God would
haue taken effect, in her destruction, had shee vsed the most likely meanes to disap-
point it: yet wee neede not so cut her throate with any morall impossibilities. It is
Aaa enough

2 Chron. 23. 14.
2 Chron. 23. 14.
2 Chron. 23. 14.

enough to say, that the godly zeale of *Iehotada* found more easie successe, through her indiscretion, than otherwise could have beene expected; so that at his appointment, shee was without more adoe, carried out of the Temple and slaine, yea so, that no blood, saue her owne, was shed in that quarrell; her small traine, that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

§. VIII.

The death of *ATHALIA*, with a comparison of her and *IZABEL*.

Most like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashnesse of her Nephew *Iehoram* the *Israelite*, who did foolishly cast himselfe into the very throat of danger, gaping vpon him, only through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet, shee her selfe, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and hauing liued such a life as *Iezabel* had done, was rewarded with a futable death. These two Queenes were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her husband; was an Idolatresse, and a Murtheresse. The only difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Iezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them 20 suruiuing her husband about eight yeeres, did spend the time in satisfying her owne affections; the one ying tyrannie, as the exercise of her haughtie minde; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her vnchaste body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seeme in this world to pertaine vnto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the fudaine by Conspirators, and each of them exclaiming vpon the Treason, receiued sentence from the mouth of one that had liued vnder her subiection; in execution whereof, *Iezabel* was trampled vnder the feet of her enemies horses; *Athalia* slaine at her owne horse-gate; the death of *Athalia* hauing (though not much) the more 30 leisure to vex her proud heart; that of *Iezabel*, the more indignitie, and shame of body. Touching their buriall, *Iezabel* was deuoured by Dogges, as the Lord had threatned by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* wee doe not finde. Like enough it is, that she was buried, as hauing not persecuted and slaine the Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument; for shee was a Church-robbet. The seruice of *Baal* erected by these two Queenes, was destroyed as soone as they were gone, and their Chaplaines, the Priests of that Religion, slaine. Herein also it came to passe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who sue them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of *Hazeel* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who seemes to haue bene her good friend) 40 pretended her reuenge, as any part of his quarrell to *Juda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Iezabel*, perished in few dayes after her: whether *Athalia* left any behinde her, it is vncertaine; shee had sonnes liuing after shee was Queene, of whom, or of any other, that they were slaine with her, we doe not finde.

This is a matter not vnworthie of consideration, in regard of much that may depend vpon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had bene in *Ierusalem* when their Mother fell, their death would surely haue followed hers as neerely, and bene registered, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Priest of *Baal*. That Law by which God forbade that the children should die for the fathers, could not haue saued these vngodly Imps, whom the clause following would haue cut off, which commands, that 50 euery man shall die for his owne sinne. Seeing therefore that they had bene professors & aduancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of *Baal* with the spoile of it; likely it is, that they should not haue escaped with life, if *Iehoiada* the Priest could haue gotten

Deut. 24. 16.

ten them into his hands. As there was lawfull cause enough requiring their death, so the securitie of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, cruied as much, and that very earnestly. For these had bene esteemed as heires of their mothers Crowne, and being reckoned as her assistants in that particular businesse of robbing the Temple, may be thought to haue carried a great sway in other matters, as Princes and fellowes with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is euident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazeel* in his warres against *Iebu*) absent from *Ierusalem*; whereby *Iehotada* might, with the more confidence, aduerture to take Armes against their Mother, that was desolate.

CHAP. XXII.

Of *IOAS* and *AMASIA*, with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of Carthage.

§. I.

Of *IOAS* his doings, whilest *IEHOIADA* the Priest liued.



By the death of *Athalia*, the whole Countrie of *Inda* was filled with great ioy and quietnesse, wherein *ioas* a childe of seuen yeeres old or there-about, began his raigne, which continued almost fortie yeeres. During his minority, hee liued vnder the protection of that honorable man *Iehoiada* the Priest, who did as faithfully gouerne the Kingdome, as hee had before carefully preferred the Kings life, and restored him vnto the Throne of his ancestors. When hee came to mans estate, he tooke by appointment of *Iehoiada* two wiues, and begat Sonnes and Daughters, repairing the family of *Dauid*, which was almost worne out. The first Act that hee tooke in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needfull piece of worke, in regard of the decay wherein that holy Place was fallen, through the wickednesse of vngodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should vp-hold the Temple, whom the Temple had vp-held. This businesse hee followed with so earnest a zeale, that not only the *Leuites* were more 40 slack than he, but even *Iehotada* was faine to be quickned by his admonition. Mooney was gathered for the charges of the worke, partly out of the taxe imposed by *Moser*, partly out of the liberalltie of the people who gaue so freely, that the Temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with vessels of gold and silver, and with all other Vntiles. The sacrifices likewise were offered, as vnder godly Kings they had bene, and the seruice of God was magnificently celebrated.

2 Chron. 24. 14.

§. II.

The death of Iehoiada, and Apostasie of IOAS.

BVt this endured no longer than the life of *Iehoiada* the Priest: who having lived an hundred and thirtie yeeres, dyed before his Countrie could haue spared him. He was buried among the Kings of *Iuda*, as he well deserved, having preferred the race of them, and restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting vp themselves, and all their issue. Yet his honorable Funerall seemes to haue bene giuen to him, at the motion of the people; it being said, *They buried him in the Citie of DAVID.* As for the King himselfe, who did owe to him no lesse than his Crowne and life, he is not likely to haue bene Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if hee had thereby bene discharged of some heauie debt.

For after the death of *Iehoiada*, when the Princes of *Iuda* beganne to flatter their King, he soone forgate, not only the benefits, received by this worthie man his old Councellour, but also the good precepts which he had received from him, yea and God himselfe, the Author of all goodnesse. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, wherewith *Iehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the Countrie, in fifteene or sixteene yeeres; that thirtie yeeres, or there-about, of the raigne of *IOAS*, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to cleere it from that mischief. The King himselfe, when once hee was entred into these courtes, ranne on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his libertie, to despise the seruice of God; and a manifest prooffe of his being now King indeede, that hee regarded no longer the fowre admonitions of deuout Priests. Hereby it appears, that his former zeale was onely counterfeited, wherein like an actor vpon the stage, he had striven to expresse much more liuely affection, than they could shew, that were indeed religious.

§. III.

The causes and time of the Syrians invading Iuda in the dayes of IOAS.

BVt God, from whom hee was broken loose, gaue him ouer into the hands of men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazael* King of *Aram*, hauing taken *Gath*, a Towne of the *Philistims*, addressed himselfe towards *Ierusalem*, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich bootie, did incite him. He had an Armie hearted by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the warre (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough, that the Kings of *Iuda* had assailed the *Israelites*, in their enterprises vpon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I thinke he did not want some further intigation. For if the Kingdome of *Iuda* had molested the *Aramites*, in the time of his predecessour, this was thoroughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour *Israel*, and leauing the ten Tribes in their extreme miserie, to the furie of *Hazael* himselfe. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* should haue gone about to awake a sleeping Dogge, and stirre vp against himselfe a powerfull enemy, before hee had assured the conquest of *Israel*, that lay betwene *Ierusalem* and his owne Kingdome, if some oportunitie had not promised such ealie and good successe, as might rather aduance, than any way disturbe, his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sonnes of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countries vially doe) to draw many partakers of their owne to his side; and not to remaine, as *IOAS* did, a neutral in the warre betwene him and *Israel*, but to ioyne all their forces with his, as they had

cause,

cause, for the rooting out of *Iehu* his posteritie, who, like a bloudie Traytor, had vtterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queenes, their mother, euen the whole house of *Ahab*, to which he was a subiect. If this were so, *Hazael* had the more apparant reason to invade the Kingdome of *Iuda*. Howsoever it were, wee finde it plainly, that *IOAS* was afraid of him, and therefore tooke all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, or in his owne house, with which present hee redeemed his peace: the Syrian (questionlesse) thinking it a better bargaine, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the assurance of this, for the possibilitie of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich bootie of vnhappie treasure, which, belonging to the liuing God, remained a small while in the possession of this mightie, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the graue. For in the thirtie seuenth of *IOAS*, which was the fifteenth of *Iehoiadas*, he made this purchase; but in the same or the very next yeere he died, leauing all that he had vnto his Sonne *Benhadad*, with whom these treasures prospered none otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprise of *Hazael* is, by some, confounded with that warre of the *Aramites* vpon *Iuda*, mentioned in the second Booke of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alleged by them that hold the contrarie opinion, doe forcibly prooue, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without blood shed or fight; in the later, *IOAS* tryed the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put to the work, hee lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life: In the one, *Hazael* himselfe was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrariwise, the King of *Aram* then reigning (who may seeme to haue then bene the Sonne of *Hazael*) is said to haue bene at *Damascus*. The first Armie came to conquer, and was so great, that it terrified the King of *Iuda*; The second was a small compaignie of men, which did animate *IOAS* (in vaine, for God was against him) to deale with them, as hauing a very great Armie.

Now, concerning the time of this former inualion, I cannot perceiue that God forsooke him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeede some, very learned, who thinke that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Iehoiada* the Priest, because that storie is ioyned vnto the restauration of the Temple. This had bene probable, if the death of *Iehoiada* had bene afterwards mentioned in that place of the second Booke of *Kings*, or if the Apostasie of *IOAS* or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeede to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his owne will and pleasure, neither was he more vniust in the afflictions of *Iob* that righteous man, or the death of *Iehoiada* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid vpon *Pharaoh*, or his iudgements vpon the house of *Ahab*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent seruice of God therewithall, which are ioyned together, were vied in the house of the Lord continually, all the dayes of *Iehoiada*; soone after whose death, if not immediately vpon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the fixe, or thirtie seuenth yeere of this *IOAS* his raigne, the King falling away from the God of his Father, became a foule Idolater.

And indeede we commonly obserue, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay vpon his seruants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, haue alwayes tended vnto the bettering of their good. In which respect, euen the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (the death of his Saints being precious in the sight of the Lord) are to their great aduantage. But with euil and rebellious men, God keepeth a more euen, and more strict account; permitting vially their faults to get the start of their punishment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amonites*) till their wickednesse be full; or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to runne on in their wicked courtes, to their greater miserie. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appears that he dealt with *IOAS*. For this vnhappie man did not onely continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew so forgetfull of God and all goodnesse, as if he had strouento exceede the wickednesse of all that

went before him, and to leaue such a villainous patterne vnto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should indure to imitate.

§. IIII.

How ZACHARIA was murdered by IOAS.

SVndry Prophets haue laboured in vaine to reclaim the people from their superstition, *Zacharia* the sonne of *Iehoadas* the Priest, was stirred vp at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wickednesse, and make them vnderstand the punishment due vnto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so honourable, and sonne to a man so exceeding beloued in his life time, and reuerenced, that if *IOAS* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elías*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honestie, to haue cloaked his ill affection, and haue vsed at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had borne vnto the King, and the vnrecountable benefits, which they had done vnto him, from his first infancie, were such, as should haue placed *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured loue of *IOAS*, yea though he had bene otherwise a man of very small make, and not verie good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should bee heard with reuerence, how simple soeuer he appears that brings it. But this King *IOAS*, hauing already scorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deale with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandman in that parable of our Saviour, dealt with the heire of the Vineyard; who said, *This is the heire, come let vs kill him, that the inheritance may be ours*. By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing belike that hee was no free Prince, as long as any one durst tell him the plaine truth, how great soeuer that mans deserving were, that did so, yea though Gods commandement required it. So they conspired against this holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any forme of open Law, as was practised vpon *Achaz*, or whether surprising him by any close treacherie, I doe neither reade nor can conjecture. The dignity of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracie, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publike iudgement, though the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, by order of Law, inflicted vpon malefactors, may argue the contrarie. Most likely it is, that the Kings commandement, by which he suffered, tooke place in stead of Law: which exercise of meere power (as hath bene already noted) was nothing strange among the Kings of *Iuda*.

Luke 20. 14.

§. V.

How IOAS was shamefully beaten by the *Aramites*, and of his death.

THis odious murder, committed by an vnthankfull snake vpon the man in whose boosome he had bene fostered, as of it selfe alone it sufficed, to make the wretched Tyrant hateful to men of his owne time, and his memorie detested in all ages; so had it the well-descried curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompanie it vnto the throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell downe swiftly, and heavily vpon the head of that vngenerall monster. It was the last yeere of his reigne; the end of his time comming then vpon him, when he thought himselfe beginning to lue how he liued without controulement. When that yeere was expired, the *Aramites* came into the Countrey, rather as may seeme to get pillage, than to performe any great action;

action; for they came with a small companie of men: but God had intended to doe more by them, than they themselves did hope for.

That *IOAS* naturally was a coward, his bloudie malice against his best friend, is, in my iudgement proofe sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with *Hazael*, when hee might haue leauied (as his sonne after him did mulster) three hundred thousand chosen men for the warre, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs bee valiant and make his people know, how stout of disposition their King was, when he might haue his owne will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. Forto encounter with a few bands of rousers, hee tooke a verie great Armie, so that wife-men might well perceiue, that he knew what he did, making shew as if he would fight for his Countrey, and expose his person to danger of warre, when as indeed all was meere ostentation, and no perill to be feared; he going forth so strongly appointed, against so weake enemies. Thus might wisemen thinke, and laugh at him in secret; considering what adoe he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisdom of this world is foolishnesse, did laugh not onely at this vaine-glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* and King *IOAS* met, whether it were by some folly of the leaders, or by some amazement happening among the Souldiers, or by whatsoever meanes it pleased God to worke, so it was, that that great Armie of *Iuda* recedde, a notable over-throw, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of *Iuda*, at whose perswasion the King had become a Rebelle to the King of Kings. As for *IOAS* himselfe (as *Abulensis* and others expound the storie) hee was forely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they thinke) taken and shamefully tormented, to bring out of him an excessive ranfome.

And surely, all circumstances doe greatly strengthen this conjecture. For the text (in the old translation) saith, they exercised vpon *IOAS* ignominious iudgements; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-fauouredly. Now at that time *IOAS* the son of *Iehoadas* reigned ouer *Israel*, and *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael* ouer the *Syrians* in *Damascus*; the one a valiant vnder-taking Prince, raised vp by God to restore the State of his miserable Countrey; the other inferior euery way to his father, of whose purchases he lost a great part, for want of skill to keepe it. The difference in condition found betwene these two Princes, promising no other euent than such as after followed, might haue giuen to the King of *Iuda* good cause to bee bold, and plucke vp his spirits, which *Hazael* had beaten downe, if God had not bene against him. But his fearefull heart being likely to quake vpon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* King in hope, that by terrifying him with some shew of warre at his doores, it were ealie to make him craue any tolerable conditions of peace. The vnexpected good successe hereof, already related, and the (perhaps as unexpected) ill successe, which the *Aramites* found in their following warres against the King of *Israel*, sheweth plainly the weaknesse of all earthly might, resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his ordinance, both the Kingdome of *Iuda*, after more than fortie yeeres time of gathering strength, was vnable to driue out a small companie of enemies; and the Kingdome of *Israel*, hauing so bene trodden downe by *Hazael*, that onely fiftie Horse-men, ten Chariots, and ten thousand Foot-men were left, prevailed against his Sonne, and recovered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples hereof are euery-where found, and therefore I will not insist vpon this; though indeed we should not, if we be Gods children, thinke it more tedious to heare long and frequent reports of our heavenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-father vpon earth.

When the *Aramites* had what they listed, and saw that they were not able, being

ing so few, to take any possession of the Countrey, they departed out of *Inda* laden with spoile, which they sent to *Damascus*, themselves belike falling vpon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not halfe so well. The King of *Inda* being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sonnes of an *Ammonitessie*, and of a *Moabitessie*, whom some (because onely their Mothers names being strangers, are expressed) thinke to haue bene bond-men. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or feare, lest (as Tyrants vse) hee should reuenge his disaster vpon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoever else it were that animated them to murder their King; the Scripture tells vs plainly, that, *for the blood of the children of Iehoiada*, this befell him. And the same time when hee had bene vied as the pretence of their conspiracie, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amaziah*, the sonne and successor of *Iosias*, durst not punish them, till his Kingdome was established: but contrariwise, his bodie was judged vnworthie of buriall in the Sepulchres of the Kings: whereby it appears, that the death of *Zecharia* caused the treason, wrought against the King, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompensed by his Sonne, vpon the Traytors, with well-deferred death.

§. VI.

Of the Princes living in the time of *Iosias*: Of the time when *Carthage* was built; and of *Dido*.

I Here liued with *Iosias*, *Alexander* and *Diognetus* in *Athens*: *Eudemus* and *Aristomedes* in *Corinth*: about which time *Agrippa Sylulius*, and after him *Sylulius Aluatus*, were Kings of the *Albani* in *Italie*. *Ocrasætes*, commonly called *Anacynadaraxes*, the thirtieth King succeeding vnto *Ophratanes*, began his raigne ouer the *Assyrians*, about the eighteenth yeere of *Iosias*, which lasted fortie two yeeres. In the sixteenth of *Iosias*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded vnto *Cheops* in the Kingdome of *Egypt*, and held it fiftie yeeres.

In this time of *Iosias*, was likewise the raigne of *Pigmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of *Carthage* by *Dido*, the building of which Citie is, by diuers Authors, placed in diuers ages, some reporting it to be seuentie yeeres yonger than *Rome*, others about foure hundred yeeres elder, few or none of them giuing any reason of their assertions, but leauing vs vncertaine whom to follow: *Iosephus*, who had read the Annals of *Tyre*, counting one hundred fortie and three yeeres and eight moneths from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth yeere of *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido*, in the seuenth of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this account (which is not rare in *Iosephus*) are very perplexed, and serue not verie well to make cleere the totall summe. But whether it were so that *Iosephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write, some number of the yeeres, which hee reckoned in Fractions, as they were diuided among the Kings of *Tyre*, from *Hiram* to *Pigmalion*; we may well enough beleue, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whose Bookes he giues vs the whole summe, had good meanes to know the truth; and could rightly reckon the difference of time, betwene two workes no longer following one the other, than the memorie of three or foure generations might easily reach. This hundred fortie and foure yeeres current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleuenth yeere of *Iosias*, was a hundred fortie and three yeeres before the birth of *Rome*: and after the destruction of *Troy*, two hundred eighty and nine: a time so long after the death of *Aeneas*, that wee might truly conclude all to bee fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Aulus* noteth, who doth honor her Statua with this Epigramme.

ILIA

Aulus Ep. 117.

ILLA ego sum Dido vultu quam conspicis hostes,
astimulata modis pulchra, virgineis.
Talis eram, sed non MARO quam multis finxit erat mens,
Vitæ necesse fuit lata cupidinebus
(Namq; nec AENEAS vidit me Troius unquam
Nec Libyam aduenit, clasibus Iliacis.
Sed furias fugiens, atq; arma prociacis IARBAE,
Servauit, fateor, morte pudicitiam;
Pectore transfixo, caecos quod pertulit enses)
Non furor, aut laeso crudus amore dolor.
Sic cecidisse iunat: vixi sine vulnere fama,
Vita virum, positum manibus oppeti.
Inuida cur in me stimulasti Musa MARONEM,
Fingeret ut nostra dampna pudicitiae?
Vos magis historici lectores credite de me
Quam qui furta Deum concubitusq; canunt.
Falsidici vates: temerant qui carmine verarum,
Humansq; deos assimulant vitij.

Which in effect is this,

I Am that *Dido* which thou here dost see,
 Cunningly framed in beauteous Imagie.
 Like this I was, but had not such a foule,
 As *MARO* fained, incestuous and foule.
AENEAS neuer with his *Troian* hoast
 Beheld my face, or landed on this coast.
 But flying proud *IARBAE* villanie,
 Not mou'd by furious loue or iealousie;
 I did with weapon chaft, to fauour my fame,
 Make way for death vntimely, ere it came.
 This was my end; but first I built a Towne,
 Reueng'd my husbands death, liu'd with renowne.
 Why did'st thou stirre vp *VIRGIL*, enuious Muse,
 Falsely my name and honour to abuse?
 Readers, beleue Historians; not those
 Which to the world looves thefts and vice expose.
 Poets are liars, and for verses sake
 Will make the gods of humane crimes partake.

From the time of *Dido* vnto the first *Punick* warre, that *Carthage* grew and flourished in wealth and conquests, we find in many histories: but in particular we find little of the *Carthaginian* affaires before that warre, excepting thole few things that are recorded of their attempts vpon the Isle of *Sicily*. Wee will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mightie Citie, vntill such time as they shall encounter with the State of *Rome*, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecuted in the meane while the Historie that is now in hand.

§. VII.

§. VII.

The beginning of AMAZIA his reigne. Of IOAS King of Israel, and ELISHA the Prophet.



AMAZIAS, the sonne of *Iosb*, being twentie five yeeres old when his father dyed, tooke possession of the Kingdome of *Juda*, wherein he laboured to demean himselfe, as his new beginning might be least offensive. The Law of *Moses* he protested to observe; which howsoever it had bene secretly despised since the time of *Iehoram*, by many great persons of the Land, yet had it by prouision of good Princes, yea and of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deepe roote in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conform himselfe vnto it. And at that present time, the laughter, which the *Aramites* had made of all the Princes, who had with-drawne the late King from the seruice of God, being seconded by the death of the King himselfe, even whilest that execrable murder, committed by the King vpon *Zecharias*, was yet fresh in memorie, did serue as a notable example of Gods iustice against Idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to discourage *Amazias* from following the way, which led to such an euill end. He therefore, hauing learned of his father the arte of dissimulation, did not only forbear to punish the Traytors that had slaine King *Ioas*, but gaue way to the time, and suffered the dead bodie to be interred, as that of *Iehoram* formerly had bene, in the Citie of *Dauid*, yet not among the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*. Neuertheless, after this, when (belike) the noise of the people hauing wearied it selfe into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoever their deede done, was applauded as the handie-woke of God) had neither any mightie partakers in their fact, nor strong maintainers of their persons, but rested secure, as hauing done well, seeing it was not ill taken; the King, who perceived his gouernement well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the heate of mens affections, being well allayed, it was easie to distinguish betweene their treasons and Gods judgement, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were suffered to liue; which could not but giue contentment to the people, seeing that their King did the office of a iust Prince, rather than of a reuenging sonne. This being done, and his owne life the better secured, by such exemplarie iustice, against the like attempts, *Amazias* carried himselfe outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and so continued in rest, about twelue or thirteene yeeres.

As *Amazias* gathered strength in *Juda* by the commoditie of a long peace, so *Ioas* the *Israelite* grew as fast in power, by following the warre hotly against the *Aramites*. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predecessors had bene, worshipping the Calues of *Ieroboam*. For this sinne had God so plagued the house of *Iehu*, that the ten Tribes wanted little of being vtterly consumed, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Iehu* and his sonne *Iehoshaphat*. But as Gods benefites to *Iehu*, sufficed not to with-draw him from this politike Idolatrie; so were the miseries, rewarding that impietie, vnable to reclaime *Iehoshaphat* from the same impious course: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of *Israel*, condescended vnto the prayers of this vngodly Prince, euen then when hee and his miserable subjects, were obstinate in following their owne abominable wayes. Therefore in temporall matters, the ten Tribes recovered space, but the fauour of God, which had bene infinitely more worth, I doe not find, nor beleuee, that they fought; that they had it not, I finde in the words of the Prophet, saying plainly to *AMAZIAS*, *The Lord is not with Israel, neither with all the house of Ephraim.*

Whe-

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet *Elisha*, who liued in those times, did fore-tell the prosperitie of the *Israelites* vnder the Raigne of *Ioas*; or whether *Iehoshaphat*, wearied and broken with long aduersitie, thought it the wisest way, to discharge himselfe in part of the heauie cares attending those vnhappy Syrian warres, by laying the burthen vpon his hopefull sonne; we finde that in the thirtie-seuenth yeere of *IOAS*, King of *Juda*, *IOAS* the sonne of *IEHOHAZ* began to raigne ouer *Israel* in *Samarina*, which was in the fiftieth of his fathers raigne, and some two or three yeeres before his death.

It appeares that this yong Prince, euen from the beginning of his Rule, did so well husband that poore stocke which hee receiued from his Father, often Chariots, fiftie Horse-men, and ten thousand Foot, that he might seemelike to proue a thriuer. Among other circumstances, the wordes which he spake to *Elisha* the Prophet, argue no lesse. For *IOAS* visiting the Prophet, who lay sicke, spake vnto him thus; *O my father, my father, the Chariot of Israel, and the horse-men of the same*: by which manner of speech hee did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had stood his Kingdome in more stead, than all the Horses and Chariots could doe.

This Prophet who succeeded vnto *Elias*, about the first yeere of *Ioram* the sonne of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, dyed (as some haue probably collected) about the third or fourth yeere of this *Ioas*, the Nephew of *Iehu*. To shew how the Spirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did rest vpon him; it exceedeth my facultie. This is recorded of him, that hee did not only raise a dead child vnto life, as *Elias* had done, but when hee himselfe was dead, it pleased God that his dead bones should restore life vnto a carcase, which touched them in the graue. In fine, hee bestowed, as a legacie, three victories vpon King *Ioas*, who thereby did set *Israel* in a faire way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had vlsurped, and weakening the Kings of *Damascus* in such sort, that they were neuer after terrible to *Samarina*.

§. VIII.

Of AMAZIA his warre against EDOM; His Apostasie; and ouerthrow by IOAS.



THE happie successe which *Ioas* had found in his warre against the *Aramites*, was such as might kinde in *Amazias* a desire of vndertaking some expedition, wherein himselfe might purchase the like honour. His kingdome could furnish three hundred thousand seruiceable men for the wars; and his treasures were sufficient for the payment of these, and the hire of many more. Cause of warre hee had very iust against the *Edomites*, who hauing rebelled in the time of his grand-father *Iehoram*, had about fiftie yeeres bene vnreclaymed, partly by meanes of the troubles happening in *Juda*, partly through the sloth and timorousnesse of his father *Ioas*. Yet, forasmuch as the men of *Juda* had in many yeeres bene without all exercise of warre (excepting that vnhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of wisdom to increase his forces, with Souldiers waged out of *Israel*, whence hee hired for an hundred talents of silver, an hundred thousand valiant men, as the Scripture telleth vs, though *Iosaphat* diminish the number, saying that they were but twentie thousand.

This great Armie, which with so much cost *Amazias* had hired out of *Israel*, he was faine to dismisse, before hee had employed it, being threatned by a Prophet with ill successe, if hee strengthened himselfe with the helpe of those men, whom God (though in mercy hee gaue them victorie against the cruell *Aramites*) did not loue, because they were Idolaters. The *Israelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dismissal, as an high disgrace; which to reuenge, they fell vpon

2 Kings 13. 20.

2 Kings 13. 16.

2 Chron. 22. 6.
Ios. Antig. Iud.
lib. 9. c. 10.

a peece of *Iuda* in their returne, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand men; and some spoile, which they carryed away. But *Amazia* with his owne forces, knowing that God would be affilant to their journey, entered courageously into the *Edomites* Countre; ouer whom obtaining victorie, hee slew ten thousand, and tooke other ten thousand prisoners, all which hee threw from an high rocke; holding them, it seemes, rather as Traytors, than as iust enemies. This victorie did not seeme to reduce *Edom* vnder the subiection of the crowne of *Iuda*, which might be the cause of that seueritie, which was vsed to the prisoners; the *Edomites* that had escaped, refusing to buy the liues of their friends and kinsmen at so deare a rate, as the losse of their owne libertie. Some townes in mount *Seir*, *Amazia* 10 tooke, as appears by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefensible, in that he left no garrisons there, whereby he might another yeere the better haue pursued the conquest of the whole Countre. Howsoever it were, he got both honor by the journey, & gaine enough, had he not lost himselfe.

Among other spoiles of the *Edomites*, were carried away their gods, which being vanquished and taken prisoners, did deserve well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwise, I know not by what strange witchcraft, so belorded this vnworthie King *Amazia*, that hee let them up to bee his gods, and worshipped them, and burred in- 15 cense vnto them.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet sent from God, hee gaue a churlish 20 and threatening answer; asking the Prophet, who made him a Counsellor, and bidding him hold his peace for feare of the worlth. If either the costly stiffe, whereof these Idols were made, or the curious workmanship and beautie, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had rauished the Kings fancy; me thinks, he should haue rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as house-hold ornaments and things of pleasure, than thereby haue suffered himselfe to be blinded, with such vnreasonable deuotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to worke much vpon his imagination; much more should the bad seruice which they had done to their old Clients, haue moued him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it seemes to me, 30 that the same affections caried him from God, vnto the seruice of Idols, which afterwards moued him to talke so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had alreadie obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and sent away such auxiliarie forces as he had gathered out of *Israel*; which done, it is said, that he was encouraged, 40 and led forth his people, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by miracle, than let him faile of obtaining all his hearts desire. But with better reason he should haue limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was, that *Esau*, hauing broken the yoke of *Isaac* from his necke, accordingly as *Isaac* had foretold, should no more become his seruant. If therefore *Amazia* did hope to reconquer all the Countre of *Edom*, he failed of this expectation; yet so, that he brought home 45 both profit and honor, which might haue well contented him.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wherewith men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe vnto God the honour of those actions in which it hath pleased him to vfe their owne industrie, courage, or force-sight. Therefore it is commonly scene, that they, who entring into battaile, are carefull to pray for aide from heaven, with due acknowledgement of his power, who is the giner of victorie; when the field is won, doe vaunt of their owne exploits: one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gaue checke to such a battallion; a third, how hee seized on the enemies Canon; eury one struing to magnifie himselfe, whilest all forget God, as one that had not bene present in the action. To ascribe to fortune 50 the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better successe, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Authour of his happinesse; so hee whose meere wisdom and labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is doubly

doubly bound to shew himselfe thankfull, both for the victorie, and for those vertues by which the victorie was gotten. And indeed so farre from weakenesse is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may wel be called the height of magnanimity; no vertue being so truly heroicall, as that by which the spirit of a man aduanceth it selfe with confidence of acceptation, vnto the loue of God. In which sense it is a braue speech that *Euander* in *Virgil*, vseth to *Aeneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition,

*Aude hostes contemneré opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.*

10 With this Philosophie *Amazia* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had shewed himselfe a better man of warre than any King of *Iuda*, since the time of *Iehosaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people should thinke him little inferior to *David*: of which honour hee law no reason why the Prophets should rob him, who had made him loose a hundred talents, and done him no pleasure, he hauing preuailed by plaine force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was distempered with such vaine thoughts as these (besides the wickedness of his impietie following) *Iehosaphat* doth testifie; saying, That hee despised 15 God, and that being putt vp with his good successe, of which neuerthelesse hee would not acknowledge God to bee the Authour, hee commanded *Joas* King of *Israel* to become his subject, and to let the tenne Tribes acknowledge him their Soueraigne, as they had done his Ancestors King *David* and King *Salomon*. Some thinke that his quarrell to *Joas* was rather grounded vpon the iniurie done to him by the *Israelites*, whom he dismissed in the journey against Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stirre him vp, than the remembrance of an olde title, forgotten long since, and by himselfe neglected thirtene or fourteene yeeres. Neuerthelesse it might so be, that when he was thus prouoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call olde matters into 30 question; that so the Kings of *Israel* might, at the least, learne to keepe their subjects from offending *Iuda*, for feare of endangering their owne Crownes. Had *Amazia* desired onely recompence for the iniurie done to him, it is not improbable that he should haue had some reasonable answer from *Joas*, who was not desirous to fight with him. But the answer which *Joas* returned, likening himselfe to a Cedar, and *Amazia* in respect of him to no better than a thistle, shewes that the challenge was made in insolent termes, stust perhaps with such proud comparison of nobilitie, as might be made (according to that which *Iehosaphat* hath written) betweene a King of ancient race, and one of lesse nobilitie than vertue.

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Aias*, that when, going to the warre of *Troy*, his father did bid him to be valiant, and get victorie by Gods assistance, he made answer, 40 that by Gods assistance, a coward could get victorie, but he would get it alone without such helpe: after which proud speech, though hee did many valiant acts, hee had small thanks, and finally killing himselfe in a madnesse, whereinto he fell vpon disgrace receiued, was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That *Amazia* did vter such words, I doe not find: but hauing once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of such words, hee was rewarded with successe according. The verie first counsaile wherein this Warre was concluded, serues to proue that hee was a wife Prince indeed at *Ierusalem*, among his Paraites; but a foole when hee had to 50 deale with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weakie people, trusting more in the site of their Countrey than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Joas*, who from his poore beginnings had rayled himselfe to such strength, that hee was able to lend his friend a hundred thousand men, and had all his Nation exercised, and trained vp, in a long victorious warre. But as *Amazia* discouered much want of judgement, in vndertaking such a match; 60

*Sophocles in A.
Iact. Lem.*

so in prosecuting the businesse, when it was set on foot, hee behaued himselfe as a man of little experience, who hauing once onely tried his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in warre there was nothing else to doe, than send a defiance, fight, and winne. *Ios* on the contrarie side, hauing bene accustomed to deale with a stronger enemy than the King of *Iuda*, vsed that celeritie, which peradventure had often stood him in good stead against the *Aramite*. Hee did not sit waiting till the enemies brake in and waited his Countrey, but presented himselfe with an Army in *Iuda*, ready to bid battaile to *Amazias*, and saue him the labour of a long iourne. This could not but greatly discourage those of *Iuda*; who (besides the impression of feare which an inuasion beates into people, not inured to the like) hauing deuoured, in their greedie hopes, the spoyle of *Israel*, fully perswading themselves to get as much, and at as easie rate as in the iourne of *Edom*; were so farre disappointed of their expectation, that well they might suspect all new assurance of good lucke, when the olde had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding, their King that had stomacke enough to challenge the patrimonie of *Salem*, thought like another *Dauid*, to winne it by the sword. The issue of which foolehardinesse might easily be foreseene in humane reason; comparing together, either the two Kings, or the qualitie of their Armies, or the first and ominous beginning of the Warre. But mere humane wisdom, howsoever it might foresee much, could not haue prognosticated all the mischiefe that fell vpon *Amazias*. For as soone as the two Armies came in sight, God, whose helpe this wretched man had so despoiled, did (as *Iosephus* reports it) strike such terror and amazement into the men of *Iuda*, that without one blow giuen, they fled all away, leaving their King to shift for himselfe, which hee did so ill, that his enemy had soone caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into most abiect basenesse. That the Armie which fled, sustained any other losse than of honour, I neither find in the Scriptures nor in *Iosephus*; it being likely that the soone beginning of their flight, which made it the more shamefull, made it also the more safe. But of the mischiefe that followed this ouerthrow, it was Gods will that *Amazias* himselfe should sustaine the whole disgrace. For *Ios* carried him directly to *Ierusalem*, where he had him procure that the gates might be opened, to let him in and his Armie; threatening him otherwise with present death. So much amazed was the miserable caytiue, with these dreadfull wordes, that he durst doe none other, than perswade the Citizens, to yeeld themselves to the mercie of the Conqueror. The Towne, which afterwarde being in weaker state, held out two yeeres, against *Nebuchadnezzar*, was vtterly dismayed, when the King, that should haue giuen his life to saue it, vsed all his force of command and intreatie to betray it. So the gates of *Ierusalem* were opened to *Ios*, with which honour (greater than any King of *Israel* had euer obtained) hee could not rest contented, but, the more to despight *Amazias* and his people, he caused foure hundred cubits of the wall to be throwne downe, and entred the Citie in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the King before him, as in triumph. This done, he sackt the Temple, and the Kings Palace, and so, taking hostages of *Amazias*, hee dismissed the poore creature that was glad of his life, and returned to *Samaria*.

p. IX. 30

p. IX.

A discourse of the reasons hindering Ios from vniuing Iuda to the Crowne of Israel, when he had wonne Ierusalem, and held Amazias prisoner. The end of Ios his Reigne.



EE may justly maruaile how it came to passe, that *Ios*, being thus in possession of *Ierusalem*, hauing the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, and his owne entrie, could bee so contented to depart quietly, with a little spoyle, when hee might haue seized vpon the whole Kingdome. The reigne of *Athalia* had giuen him cause to hope, that the issue of *Dauid* might be dispossessed of that crowne; his owne Nobilitie, being the sonne and grand childe of Kings, together with the famous acts that hee had done, were enough to make the people of *Iuda* thinke highly of him; who might also haue preferred his forme of gouernment, before that of their owne Kings, especially at such a time, when a long succession of wicked Princes had smothered the thanks, which were due to the memorie of a few good ones. The commoditie that would haue ensued, vpon the vnion of all the twelue Tribes, vnder one Prince, is so apparant, that I need not to insist on it. That any message from God forbade the *Israelites* (as afterwards in the victorie which *Peka* the sonne of *Romelia* got vpon *Ahaz*) to turne his present aduantage, to the best vse, wee doe not reade. All this makes it the more difficult to resolue the question, why a Prince so well exercised, as *Ios* had bin, in recouering his owne, and winning from his enemy, should forsake the possession of *Ierusalem*, and willtully neglect the possibilities, or rather cast away the full assurance of so faire a conquest, as the Kingdome of *Iuda*.

But concerning that point, which, of all others, had bene most materiall, I mean the desire of the vanquished people to accept the *Israelite* for their King, it is plainly seene, that entring *Ierusalem* in triumphant manner, *Ios* was vnable to concoct his owne prosperitie. For the opening of the gates had bene enough to haue let him not only into the Citie, but into the Royall Throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by faire intreatie (especially hauing sure means of compulsion) hee might haue made his owne, when they saw themselves betrayed, and basely giuen away by him whose they had bene before. The faire mark which this opportunity presented, hee did not ayme at, because his ambition was otherwise and more meanelly busied, in leuelling at the glorie of a triumphant entrie through a breach. Yet this error might afterwards haue bene corrected well enough, if entring as an enemy, and shewing what he could doe, by spending his anger vpon the wall, he had within the Citie done offices of a friend, and laboured to shew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his courtesinesse beganne, and sought to please it selfe, with that which is commonly most readie to the spoyler, yet should be most forborne. The treasure wherewith *Sesac*, *Hazael*, and the *Philistines*, men ignorant of the true God & his Religion, had quenched their greedy thirst, ought not to haue tempted the appetite of *Ios*, who though an Idolatour, yet acknowledged also and worshipped the eternall God, whose Temple was at *Ierusalem*. Therefore when the people saw him take his way directly to that holy place, and lay his rauenous hands vpon the consecrated vessels, calling the family of *Obed Edom* (whose children had hereditarie charge of the treasure) to a strict account, as if they had bene Officers of his owne Exchequer, they considered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a Noble Prince, an *Israelite* and their brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that course, which the most vertuous King of our age (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely auoyded by stealing a few Apples, hee lost the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people detested him, and after the respite of a few dayes, might by comparing themselves one to one, perceiue his

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Souldiers to be no better than men of their owne mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of so great a Citie. It is not so easie to hold by force a mightie towne entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by vnadvised feare. For when the Citizens, not being disarmed, recover their spirits, and begin to vnderstand their first error; they will thinke vpon every aduantage, of place, of prouisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-stones, and rather chooseth by desperate resolution, to correct the euills growne out of their former cowardice, than suffer those mischiefs to poyson the body, which in such halfe-conquests, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more liuely example hereof cannot be desired, than the Citie of *Florence*, which through the weakenesse of *Peter de Medicis*, governing therein as a Prince, was reduced into such hard termes, that it opened the gates vnto the French King *Charles* the Eighth, who not plainly professing himselfe either friend or foe to the Estate, entred the Towne, with his Armie, in triumphant manner, himselfe and his horse armed, with his lance vpon his thigh. Many insolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell minitred, betweene them and the Townes-men: so farre forth that the *Florentines*, to preferue their libertie, were driuen to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge summes of readie money, and the absolute Signorie of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the Citie in Armes. But *Peter Caponi*, a principall Citizen, catching these Articles from the Kings Secretarie, and tearing them before his face, bade him sound his trumpets, and they would ring their bells: which peremptorie wordes made the French bethinke themselves, and come readily to this agreement, that for fortie thousand pounds, and not halfe of that money to be paid in hand, *Charles* should not onely depart in peace, but restore whatsoeuer he had of their Dominion, and continue their assured friend. So dangerous a matter did it seeme for that braue Armie, which in few moneths after wanne the Kingdome of *Naples*, to fight in the streets, against the armed multitude of that populous Citie. It is true, that *Charles* had other businesse (and so perhaps had *Ioas*, as shall anon be shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houses, vually drawes every Citizen to saue his owne, leauing victorie to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and resolute, women can quench, as fast as the enemy, hauing other things to looke vnto, can set on fire. And indeed that Commander: is more giuen to anger than regardfull of profit, who vpon the vncertaine hope of destroying a Towne, forsakes the assurance of a good composition. Diuersitie of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in *Ierusalem*, as we know it was in *Florence*.

How strongly soeuer *Ioas* might hold himselfe within *Ierusalem*, he could not easily depart from thence, with his bootie safe, if the Armie of *Iuda*, which had bene more terrified than weakened in the late encounter, should re-enforce it selfe, and giue him a checke vpon the way. Wherefore it was wisely done of him, to take hostages for his better securitie, his Armie being vpon returne, and better loden than when it came forth; for which causes it was the more vnapt to fight.


Besides these impediments, within the Citie and without, seruing to coole the ambition of *Ioas*, and keepe it downe from aspiring to the Crowne of *Iuda*; it appears that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Elisha* the Prophet; who when this *Ioas* had smitten the ground with his arrowes thrice, told him that he should no oftner smite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Israel* had against *Aram*, are by some, and with great probability, referred vnto the fifth, sixth and seventh yeeres of *Ioas*: after which time, if any losses ensuing had blemished the former good successe, it might the King of *Israel* haue likened himselfe to a stately Cedar, and worke could hee haue either lent the *Indaan* one hundred thousand men, or meet him in battaille, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thousand of his owne. Seeing therefore it is made plaine by the

the words of *Elisha*, that after three victories, *Ioas* should find some change of fortune, and suffer losse; we must needs conclude, That the *Aramite* prevailed vpon him this yeere, it being the last of his Raigne. That this was so, and that the *Syrians*, taking aduantage of *Ioas* his absence, gaue such a blow to *Israel*, as the King at his returne was not able to remedie, but rather fell himselfe into new misfortunes, which increased the calamitie, wee may euidently perceiue in that which is spoken of *Ieroboaam* his sonne. For it is said, That the Lord saw the exceeding bitter afflictions of *Israel*, and that hauing not decreed to put out the name of *Israel* from vnder the heauen, he preferred them by the hand of *Ieroboaam*, the sonne of *Ioas*. This is enough to proue, that the victorious Raigne of *Ioas* was concluded with a sad catastrophe; the riches of the Temple halting his miserie and death, as they had done with *Sefer*, *Athalia*, and *Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Craesus*, and other sacrilegious Potentates.

Thus eyther through indignation conceived against him, by the people of *Ierusalem*, and courage which they tooke to set vpon him within the Walls: or through preparation of the Armie that lay abroad in the Countrey, to bid him battaile in open field, and recover by a new charge the honour which was lost at the former encounter; or through the miseries daily brought vpon his owne Countrey, by the *Syrian* in his absence, if not by all of theses *Ioas* was driuen to lay aside all thought of winning the Kingdome of *Iuda*; and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste homewards, where hee found a sad welcome, and being viterly forsaken of his wonted prosperitie, forsooke also his life in few moneths after, leauing his Kingdome to *Ieroboaam* the second, his fortunate and valiant sonne.

§. X.

The end of *AMAZIA* his Raigne and Life.

30  Ny man is able to ghesse how *Amazias* looked, when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted so much of his owne great prowesse and skil in armes, threatening to worke wonders, and set vp anew the glorious Empire of *Dauid*, was now vncafed of his Lyons hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beast as he had bene painted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had minitred vnto such, as held him in dislike; which at this time, doubtlesse, were very many: for the shame that fals vpon an insolent man, seldome failes of meeting with abundance of reproch. As for *Amazias* (besides that the multitude are alwayes prone to lay the blame vpon their Governours, euen of those calamities which happened by their owne default) there was no child in all *Ierusalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this mischiefe. He had not onely challenged a good man of Warre, being himselfe a Daltard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common enemy, to haue him let into the Citie, that with his owne eyes hee might see what spoyle there was, and not make a bad bargain by heare-say. The father of this *Amazias*, was a beastly man; yet when the *Aramites* tooke him and tormented him, hee did not offer to buy his owne life at so deare a rate, as the Citie and Temple of *Ierusalem*. Had he offered, should they haue made his promise good? Surely the baile which they had made in condescending to this hard match, was very vnfortunate: for by keeping cur the *Israelite* (which was easie enough) any little while, they should soone haue bene rid of him, seeing 50 that the *Aramites* would haue made him runne home, with greater speed than hee came forth. Then also, when hauing trusted vp his baggage, hee was ready to bee gone, a little courage would haue serued to perswade him to leaue his load behind; had not their good King deliuered vp Hostages, to secure his returne, as loth to defraud him of the recompence due to his paines taken.

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Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this vnhappy King: it had bene well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his faults vnto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appeares, that he continued an Idolatour to the very last. For it is said of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, *they wrought treason against him in Ierusalem*; a manifest prooffe that he was not reclaimed, vnto his liues end. And certainly, they which tell a man in his aduersitie of his faults passed, shall sooner bee thought to vpbraid him with his fortune, than to seeke his reformation. Wherefore it is no maruaile, that Priests and Prophets were lesse welcome to him, than euer they had bene. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a heart into him, whereof themselves might alwayes be masters, wanted not plausible matter to reuiue him. For hee was not first, nor second, of the Kings of *Iuda*, that had bene ouercome in battaile. *Dauid* himselfe had abandoned the Citie, leaving it, before the Enemie was in sight, vnto *Absalom* his rebellious sonne. Many besides him had received losses, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Iosabab* might so easily haue bene kept out; why did their Ancestors let *Sesac* in? *Asa* was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his owne hands hee emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessity of the State. Belike these traducers would commend no actions but of dead Princes: if so, hee should rather liue to punish them, than dye to please them. Though wherein had hee giuen them any cause of displeasure? It was hee indeed that commanded to set open the gates to *Iosabab*; but it was the people that did it. Good seruants ought not to haue obeyed their Masters Commandements, to his disadvantage, when they saw him not master of his owne Person. As his captiuitie did acquite him from blame, of all things that hee did or suffered in that condition; so was that misfortune it selfe, in true estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his losse. For had hee bene as hasty to flye, as others were; hee might haue escaped, as well as others did. But seeking to reach the base Multitude courage, by his Royall example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom hee trusted. Vnworthy creatures that could readily obey him, when speaking another mans wordes, being prisoner, he commanded them to yeeld, hauing neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, hee bad them stand to it, and fight like men. The best was that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand liues were saved; the Enemie hauing wisely preferred the surprise of a Lion that was Captaine, before the chase and slaughter of an Armie of Stags that followed him.

These or the like words comforting *Amazias*, were able to perswade him, that it was euen so indeed. And such excuses might haue serued well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But hee that was vnwilling to ascribe vnto God the good successe foretold by a Prophet; could easily find how to impute this late disaster, vnto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it seemes that hee meant to keepe himselfe safe from her, by sitting still; for in fifteene yeeres following (so long hee out-liued his honour) we find not that hee stirred. As for his subjects, though nothing henceforth bee recorded of his government, yet we may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spent among them, increasing their hatred, to his owne ruine. He that suspecteth his owne worth, or other mens opinions, thinking that lesse regard is had of his person, than hee beleueeth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authoritie, in purchasing the name of a serueman. For the affected lowrenesse of a vaine fellow, doth many times resemble the grauitie of one that is wise: and the feare wherein they liue, which are subiect vnto oppression, carries a shew of reuerence, to him that does the wrong; at least it serues to dazle the eyes of vnderlings, keeping them from prying into the weaknesse of such as haue iurisdiction ouer them. Thus the time, wherein, by well vsing it, men might attaine to be such as they ought, they doo vsually mispend, in seeking to appeare such as they are not. This is a vaine and decei-

deceivable course, procuring instead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous consequence; especially when an vnable spirit, being ouerparted with high authoritie, is too passionate in the execution of such an Office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amazias* thought by extreme rigour to hold vp his reputation, what did heeclie than strive to make the people thinke hee hated them, when of themselves they were apt enough to beleue, that hee did not loue them? The best was that hee had, by reuenging his fathers death, provided well enough for his owne securitie: but who should take vengeance; (or vpon whom?) of such a murder, wherein euerie one had a part? Surely God himselfe, who had not giuen comfort and aidment or leaue vnto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the blood of his Anoynted. Yet as *Amazias*, carelesse of God, was carried headlong by his owne affection; so his subjects, following the same ill example, without requiring what belonged vnto their duties, rose vp against him, with such headlong fury, that being vnable to defend himselfe in *Ierusalem*, hee was driuen to forsake the Citie, and flic to *Lachis*, for safegard of his life. But so extreme was the hatred conceived against him, and so general, that neyther his absence could allay the rage of it in the Capitall Citie, nor his presence in the Countrey abroad procure friends, to defend his life. Questionlesse, he chose the Towne of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other best affected to him; yet found hee there none other fauour, than that the people did not kill him with their owne hands: for when the Conspirators (who doubted not themselves about rayling an Armie for the matter) sent pursuers after him, hee was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the vtmost Citie of his Dominion Westward, standing somewhat without the border of *Iuda*; so that he might haue made an escape (if hee durst adventure) into the Territorie of the *Philistines*, or the Kingdomes of *Israel*. Therefore it may seeme that hee was detained there, where certaine it is that hee found no kind of fauour: for had not the people of this Towne, added their owne treason to the general insurrection; the murderers could not at so good leisure as they did, haue carried away his bodie to *Ierusalem*, where they gaue him buriall with his fathers.

§. XI.

Of the Interregnum, or vacancie, that was in the Kingdom of *Iuda*, after the death of *AMAZIA*.

It hath already bene shewed, that the raignes of the Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel* were sometimes to be measured by compleat yeeres; otherwhiles, by yeeres current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last yeeres of his fathers Raigne or the first of his sonnes. But we are now arrived at a meere vacation, wherein the Crowne of *Iuda* lay voyd eleuen whole yeeres: a thing not plainly set downe in Scriptures, nor yet remembered by *Iosephus*, and therefore hard to be beleueed, were it not proved by necessary consequence.

Twice we find it written, that *AMAZIA*, King of *Iuda*, liued after the death of *IOAS* King of *Israel* fifteene yeeres; whereupon it follows, that the death of *AMAZIA*, was about the end of fifteene yeeres compleate, which *IOAB* the second (who in the fifteenth yeere of *AMAZIA* made King ouer *Israel*) had raigned in *Samarita*. But the succession of *PEZZIA*, who is also called *Azarias*, vnto his father in the Kingdom of *Iuda*; was eleuen yeeres later than the sixteenth of *IOAB*: for it is expressed, that *AZARIA* beganne to raigne in the seuen and twentieth yeere of *TEROBAM*; the sixteenth yeere of his life, being ioyned with the first of two and fittie that hee raigned. So the Interregnum of eleuen yeeres cannot be diuided, without some hard meanes vsed, of interpreting the text other wise than the letters sound.

Yet

Yet some conjectures there are made, which tend to keepe all euen, without acknowledging any voyde time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by the seuen and twentieth yeere of *Ieroboam*, we should perhaps vnderstand the seuen and twentieth yeere of his life; or else (because the like wordes are no where else interpreted in the like sense) that *Azaria* was cleauen yeeres vnder age, that is, five yeeres old, when his father died, and so his sixteenth yeere might concur with the seuen and twentieth of *Ieroboams* or that the text it selfe may haue suffered some wrong, by miswriting twentie seuen for seuteene yeeres, and so, by making the seuteene yeere of *Ieroboam* to be newly begun, all may be salued. These are the conjectures of that worthie man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the first of which, it may suffice, that the Author himselfe doth easily let it passe, as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that vpon every doubt, we should call the text in question, which could not be satisfied in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may be held with some qualification, that *Azaria* began his Raigne being five yeeres old; but then must we adde those cleauen yeeres which passed in his minoritie, to the two and fiftie that followed his sixteenth yeere, which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an *interregnum*.

But why should we be so careful to auoide an *interregnum* in *Iuda*, seeing that the like necessitie hath enforced all good Writers, to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few yeeres, in the Kingdome of *Israel*? The space of time betweene *Ieroboams* death, and the beginning of *Zachariabs* Reigne, and such another gap found betweene the death of *Iehoiada*, and the beginning of *Iehoiakims*, haue made it easily to be admitted in *Samaria*, which the consideration of things as they stood in *Iuda*, when *Amazias* was slaine, doth make more probable to haue happened there, yea although the necessitie of computation were not so apparant.

For the publike furie, hauing so farre extended it selfe, as vnto the destruction of the Kings owne person, was not like to be appeased without order taken for obtaining some redresse of those matters, which had caused it at the first to breake forth into such extremity. We need not therefore wonder how it came to passe, that they which already had throwne the miselues into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to withhold the Crowne from a Prince of that age, which being interested in all ornaments of Regalitie, is neuer thelesse exposed to many injuries, proceeding from head-strong and forgetfull subjects.

As for their conjecture, who make *Azaria* to haue bene King but one and forty yeeres, after hee came out of his nonage; I dare not allow it, because it agrees too hardly with the text. The best opinion were that, which giues vnto *Ieroboam* cleauen yeeres of Raigne with his Father, before hee beganne to raigne single in the sixteenth of *Amazias*; did it not swallow vp almost the whole Raigne of *Ioua*, and extending the yeeres of those which raigned in *Israel* (by making such of them compleat, as were only current) and take at the shortest the Raignes of Princes ruling in 40 other Nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this: euery man may follow his owne opinion, and see mine more plainly in the Chronologicall Table, drawne for these purposes.

§. XII.

Of Princes Contemporary with *Amazias*, and more particularly of *Sardanapalus*.

THE Princes liuing with *Amazias*, and in the cleauen yeeres that followed his death, were *Ioua* and *Ieroboam* in *Israel*; *Cepherus* and *Myserinus* in *Egypt*; *Sylaius* *Alladius*, and *Syluius Auentinus* in *Alban*; *Agamemnon* in *Cerinth*; *Diogenetus* *Pheredus*, and *Arifbron* in *Athen*; in *Lacedemon* *Thecleus*, in whose time the *Spartans* wan from the *Achians*, *Gerathus*, *Amysus*, and some other Townes.

But

But more notable than all these, was *Affrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth yeere of *Amazias*, succeeding his father *Orazapes* or *Anasyndaraxes*, reigned twentie yeeres, and was slaine the last of the cleuen void yeeres which fore-went the Raigne of *Azaria*. In him ended (as most agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire oge thousand, two hundred and fortie yeeres. A most luxurious and effeminate Palliard he was, passing away his time among strumpets, whom he imitated both in apparell and behaviour.

In these voluptuous courses hee liued an vnhappy life, knowing himselfe to be so vile, that he durst not let any man haue a sight of him; yet scene he was at length, and the sight of him was so odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Medis* vnder him, finding meanes to behold the person of his King, was so incensed with that beastly spectacle, of a man disguised in womans attire, and struing to counterfeite an harlot, that hee thought it great shame to liue vnder the command of so vnworthie a creature. Purposing therefore to free himselfe and others from so base subiection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Beleus* or *Belofus* a *Chaldean*, who told him plainly, that the Kingdome of *Sardanapalus* should fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleased with this propheticke, did promise vnto *Belofus* himselfe the gouernment of *Babylon*; and so concluding how to handle the busines, one of them stirred vp the *Medes*, and allured the *Persians* into the quarrell, the other perswaded the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* to venture themselves in the same cause. These foure Nations armed fortie thousand men against *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himselfe, but gathering such forces as hee could, out of other Nations, encountered the rebels, as one that would by deedes refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that warre, answere to the manner of his retirednesse. For in three battailes hee carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into such fearefull termes, that had not *Belofus* promised them constantly some vnexpected succours, they would forthwith haue broken vp their Campe. About the same time, an Armie out of *Bactria* was coming to assist the King; but *Arbaces* encountering it vpon the way, perswaded so strongly by promise of libertie, that those forces joyntly caused selues with his. The sodaine departure of the enimie seeming to be a flight, caused *Sardanapalus* to feast his Armie, triumphing before victorie. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new supply, came vpon him by night, and forced his Camp, which through ouer-great securitie was vnprepared for resistance.

This ouerthrow did so weaken the Kings heart, that leauing his wiues brother *Salamenus* to keepe the field, he withdrew himselfe into the Citie of *Nineue*; which, till new aides that he sent for should come, hee thought easily to defend; it hauing bene propheticke, that *Ninieue* should neuer be taken, till the Riuer were enemy in the Towne. Of the greatnesse and strength of *Ninieue*, enough hath bene spoken in our discourse of *Ninus*. It was so well victualled, that *Arbaces* (hauing in two battailes ouerthrowne the Kings Armie, and slaine *Salamenus*) was faine to lye two whole yeeres before it, in hope to winne it by famine; whereof yet he saw no appearance. It seemed that he wanted Engines and skill to force those wals, which were a hundred foot high, and thicke enough for three Chariots in front to passe vpon the rampire. But that which he could not doe in two yeeres, the Riuer of *Tygris* did in the third: for being high swolne with raines, it not only drowned a part of the Citie through which it ranne, but threw downe twentie furlongs of the wall, and made a faire breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, eyther terrified with the accomplishment of the olde Oracle, or seeing no meanes of resistance left, shutting vp himselfe into his Palace, with his wiues, Eunuchs and all his treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith hee and they were together consumed. *Strabo* speaks of a monument of his, that was in *Anchiale* a Citie of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inscription, shewing that he built that Citie and *Thursus* vpon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eate and

Strabo l. 9.

and drinke, and make merry, encouraging other, with verses well knowne, to a voluptuous life, by his owne example, telline that his nature was more prone to sensuality, than to any vertue becoming a Prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwife of his end; saying that *Arbaces*, when hee first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that suddenly hee slew him with a dagger. But the more general consent of Writers agrees with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Ctesias* a Greeke Writer, that liued in the Court of *Persia*, where the truth might best be knowne.

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Assyria*; from the time of *Semiramis*, vnto *Sardanapalus*, though I beleue that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Orosius* hath it, incessantly) buied, in offensive or else defensive armes; yet for the most part of them I doe better trull *Diodorus Siculus*, who saith that their names were ouerpassed by *Ctesias*, because they did nothing worthie of memory. Whatsoeuer they did; that which *Theophrastus Antiochenus* hath said of them is verie true; *Silence and obliuion hath oppressed them.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Of VZZIA.

§. I.

The prosperitie of VZZIA, and of *Jeroboam* the second, who reigned with him in *Israel*. Of the Anarchie that was in the tenne Tribes after the death of *Jeroboam*. Of *Zacharia*, *Salm*, *Menahem* and *Pekahia*.



VZZIA, who is also called *Azarias* the sonne of *Iotham*, was made King of *Juda*, when he was sixtene yeeres old, in the seuen and twentieth yeere of *Jeroboam* the sonne of *Ios* King of *Israel*. Hee serued the God of his father *Dauid*, and had therefore good successe in all his enterprises. Hee built *Eloth*; a Towne that stood nere to the Red Sea, and restored it to *Juda*. Hee ouercame the *Philistims*, of whose Townes hee dismantled some, and built others in sundrie parts of their Territories. Also hee got the maiestie ouer some parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites*

to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his prosperous warres, wherein (as *Isaiah* rehearseth his acts) he beganne with the *Philistims*, and then proceeded vnto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His Armie consisted of three hundred and seuen thousand men of warre, ouer which were appointed two thousand fixe hundred Captaines. For all this multitude the King prepared *shields*, and *spearres*, and *helmetts*, and other Armes requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite vnto that which some of his late predecessors had held, who thought it better policie to vse the seruice of the Nobilitie, than of the multitude; carrying forth to warre the *Princes* and all the *Chariots*.

As the victories of *Vzzia* were farre more important, than the atchievements

of all that had reigned in *Juda*, since the time of *Dauid*; so were his riches and magnificent workes, equally if not superior to any of theirs that had bene Kings betwene him and *Salomon*. For besides that great conquests are wont to repay the charges of Warre with triple interest, he had the skill to vse, as well as the happinesse to get. Hee turned his Lands to the best vse, keeping *Ploughmen* and *Dressers of Vines*, in grounds conuenient to such husbandry. In other places hee had *Cattell* feeding, whereof he might well keepe great store, hauing wonne so much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had abundance of waste ground seruing for pasture. For defence of his Cattell and Herdsmen, hee built *Towres* in the wilderness. He also digged many *Cisternes* or *Ponds*, *Isophne* calls them *Water-courses*; but in such drie grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these *Towres* hee so commanded the water, that none could without his consent, releue themselves therewith; questionlesse he tooke the onely course, by which he might securely hold the Lordship ouer all the Wilderness; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreme drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the vse of *Trauailers*.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of *Eloth* by the Red Sea, and of *sundrie Townes* among the *Philistims*; hee repaired the wall of *Jerusalem*, which *Ios* had broken downe, and fortified it with *Towres*, whereof some were an hundred and fiftie Cubits high.

The State of *Israel* did neuer so flourish, as at this time, since the diuision of the twelue Tribes into two Kingdomes. For as *Vzzia* preuailed in the South, so (if not more) *Jeroboam* the sonne of *Ios*, King of the tenne Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories, against the *Syrians*, he wanne the Royall Citie of *Damascus*, and he wanne *Hamath*, with all the Countrie thereabout from the entring of *Hamath*, vnto the Sea of the Wilderness, that is (as the most expound it) vnto the vast deserts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was vndiscovered. So the bounds of *Israel* in those parts, were in the time of this *Jeroboam*, the same (or not much narrower) which they had bene in the Raigne of *Dauid*.

But it was not for the pietie of *Jeroboam*, that hee thrived so well; for hee was an Idolater: it was only the compassion which the Lord had on *Israel*, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction, whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which caused him to alter the successe of warre, and to throw the victorious *Aramites*, vnder the feet of those, whom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of *Iehu*, to which God had promised the Kingdome of *Israel*: vnto the fourth generation, was now not farre from the end; and now againe it was inuited vnto repentance, by new benefites, as it had bene at the beginning. But the sinne of *Jeroboam* the sonne of *Nebat*, was held so precious, that neither the Kingdome it selfe, given to him by God, was able to draw *Iehu* from that politike Idolatrie, nor the misery falling vpon him and his posteritie, to bring them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperitie, of *Jeroboam* the sonne of *Ios*, to make him render the honour that was due, to the onely giuer of victorie. Wherefore the promise of God, made vnto *Iehu*, that his sonnes, vnto the fourth generation, should sit on the throne of *Israel*, was not enlarged; but, being almost expired, gaue warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that wee, who find no particulars recorded, can hardly ghesse at the occasions) forgoing the last accomplishment.

When *Jeroboam* the Sonne of *Ios*, after a victorious raigne of one and fortie yeeres, had ended his life, it seemes in all reason that *Zacharia* his Son, should forthwith haue bene admitted, to raigne in his stead; the Nobilitie of that race hauing gotten such a lustre, by the immediate succession of foure Kings, that any Competitor, had the crowne passed by election, must needs haue appeared base; and the verue of the last King, hauing bene so great, as might well serue to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the alreadie confirmed right of a family so rooted in possession. All this notwithstanding, two or three and twenty

yeeres did passe, before *Zacharia* the Sonne of *Ieroboam* was, by vniforme consent, receiued as King. The true originall causes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Be-thel*, where the golden Calues did stand: yet second instruments of this disturbance, are likely not to haue bene wanting, vpon which, the wisdom of man was ready to cast an eye. Probable it is, that the Captaines of the Armie (who afterwards slew one another, so fast, that in fourteene yeeres there raigned fise Kings) did now by head-strong violence, rent the Kingdome asunder, holding each what hee could, and eyther despiſing or hating some qualities in *Zacharia*, vntill, after many yeeres, wearied with dissention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they consented to yeeld all quietly to the sonne of *Ieroboam*. That this *Anarchie* lasted almost three and twentie yeeres, we find by the difference of time, betwene the fiftieth yeere of *Vzzia*, which was the last of *Ieroboam* his one and fortieth (his seven and twentieth concurring with the first of *Vzzia*) and the eight and thirtieth of the same *Vzzia*, in the last fixe moneths whereof, *Zacharia* raigned in *Samaria*. There are some indeed that by supposing *Ieroboam* to haue raigned with his father eleuen yeeres, doe cut off the interregnum in *Juda* (before mentioned) and by the same reason, abridge this *Anarchie*, that was before the Raigne of *Zacharia* in *Israel*. Yet they leaue it twelue yeeres long: which is time sufficient to proue, that the Kingdome of the ten Tribes was no lesse dis tempered, than as is already noted. But I choole rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes raigning abroad in the World, than this doubtfull conjecture, that giues to *Ieroboam* two and fiftie yeeres, by adding three quarters of his fathers Raigne, vnto his own, which was it selfe indeed too long, that hee may well seeme to haue begonne it very yong: for I doe not thinke, that God blessed this Idolater, both with a longer raigne, and with a longer life, than he did his seruant *Dauid*.

Thus much being spoken of the time, wherein the throne of *Israel* was void, before the raigne of *Zacharia*, little may suffice to be said of his Raigne it selfe, which lasted but a little while. Sixe moneths onely was he King; in which time he declared himselfe a worshipper of the golden Calues; which was enough to iustifie the judgement of God, whereby he was slaine. He was the last of *Iehu's* house, being (inclusiuely) the first of that line; which may haue bene some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly succession: the propheticke hauing determined that race in the fourth generation. But (besides that Gods promise was extended vnto the vtmost) there was no warrant given to *Sallum* or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had bene giuen to *Iehu*, for the slaughter of *Ieroboam*, and for the eradication of *A-bahi's* house.

Zacharia hauing bene sixe moneths a King, was then slaine by *Sallum*, who raigned after him, the space of a month in *Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I doe not find; save onely that he was a Traytour, and the sonne of one *Iabeſo*, whereby his father got no honour. It seemes that he was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himselfe; and now, when all other Competitors were sitten downe, thought easily to preuaile against that King, in whose person the race of *Iehu* was to faile. Manifest it is, that *Sallum* had a strong partie: for *Tiphſab* or *Thapſa*, and the Coast thereof euen from *Tirzah*, where *Menabem*, his enemy and supplanter then lay, refused to admit, as King in his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, *Sallum* receiued the reward of his treason, and was slaine by *Menabem* who raigned in his place.

Menabem the sonne of *Gadi*, raigned after *Sallum* tenne yeeres. In opposition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane: For hee not onely destroyed *Tiphſab*, and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he ripped vp all their women with child, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty bene vsed in reuenge of *Zacharias* death, it is like that hee would haue bene as earnest, in procuring vnto him his Fathers Crowne when it was first due. But in performing that office,

office, there was vsed such long deliberation, that wee may plainly discouer Ambition, Disdain, and other priuate passions, to haue bene the causes of this basely outrage.

In the time of *Menabem*, and (as it seemes) in the beginning of his Raigne; *Pul*, King of *Assyria*, came against the Land of *Israel*; whom this new King appeared, with a thousand talents of siluer, leauiſt vpon all the substantiall men in his Countrey. With this money the *Israelite* purchased, not only the peace of his Kingdome, but his owne establishment therein: some factious man (belike) hauing either inuited *Pul* thither, or (if he came vncalled) fought to vsf his helpe, in deposing this ill beloued King. *Iosephus* reports of this *Menabem*, that his Raigne was no milder than his entrance. But after ten yeeres, his tyrannic ended with his life: and *Pekahia*, his Sonne, occupied his roome.

Of this *Pekahia* the storie is short: for hee raigned only two yeeres; at the end whereof, he was slaine by *Pekah*, the Sonne of *Remaliah*, whose treason was rewarded with the Crowne of *Israel*, as, in time coming, another mans Treason against himselfe shall be. There needs no more to be said of *Menabem*, and his Sonne, save that they were, both of them, Idolaters; and the Sonne (as wee finde in *Iosephus*) like to his Father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Assyrian* King, who first opened vnto those Northerne Nations the way into *Palestina*, it will shortly follow in order of the storie, to deliuer our opinion: whether he were that *Belofus* (called also *Belus*) and by some, *Phul Belochus*) who joyned with *Arbaee* the *Median*, against *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were some other man. At the present it is more fit wee relate the end of *Vzzia's* life, who out-liued the happineſſe wherein we left him.

§. II.

The end of VZZIA his Raigne and life.

AS the zeale of *Iehoiada*, that godly Priest, was the meane, to preferre the linage of *Dauid*, in the person of *Ioas*; so it appears, that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Vzzia*, to bring him vp, and aduance him to the Crowne of *Juda*, when the hatred borne to his Father *A-mazias*, had endangered his succession. For it is said of *Vzzia*, that hee sought God in the dayes of *Zacharia* (which vnderstood the visions of God) and when as he sought the Lord, God made him prosper.

But, when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for hee transgressed v. 16. against the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burne incense, vpon the Altar of incense. Thus he thought to enlarge his owne authoritie, by meddling in the Priests office, whose power had in euery extremity bene so helpful to the Kings of *Juda*, that mere gratitude, and ciuill policie, should haue held backe *Vzzia* from inuoluing thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had bene silent in this case, and not forbidden it. Howsoeuer the King forgot his dutie, the Priests remembered theirs, and God forgot not to assist them. *Azaria* the high Priest interrupted the Kings purpose, and gaue him to vnderstand, how little to his honour it would proue, that he tooke vpon him the office of the sonnes of *Aaron*. There were with *Azaria* foure score other Priests, valiant men, but their valour was shewed onely in assisting the high Priest, when (according to his dutie) hee reprehended the Kings presumption. This was enough, the rest God himselfe performed. Wee finde in *Iosephus*, that the King had apparelled himselfe in Priestly habit, and that hee threatened *Azarias* and his Companions, to punish them with death, vnlesse they would be quiet. *Iosephus*, indeed, enlargeth the storie, by inserting a great Earthquake, which did teare downe halfe an Hill, that rowled foure furlongs, till it rested against another Hill, spoyling vp the high-ways, and spoyling the Kings Garden in the passage. With this Earth-quake, he sayth, that the rooffe of the Temple did cleaue,

cleave, and that a Sunne-beame did light vpon the Kings face, which was presently infected with leprosie. All this may haue beene true; and some there are who thinke that this Earth-quake is the same, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*; wherein they doe much misse-reckon the times. For the Earth-quake spoken of by *Amos*, was in the daies of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*, who dyed seuen and thirtie yeeres before *Vzzia*; so that *Iotham* the Sonne of *Vzzia*, which supplied his Fathers place in government of the Land, should, by this account, haue beene then vnborne: for hee was but siue and twentie yeeres old, when hee beganne to raigne as King. Therefore, thus farre only wee haue assurance; that while *Vzzia* was wiold with the Priests, the leprosie rose vpon in his forehead, before the Priests. Hereupon he was caused, in all haste, to depart the place, and to liue in a house by himselfe, vntill he dyed; the rule ouer the Kings house, and ouer all the Land, being committed to *Iotham*, his Sonne, and Successor. *Iotham* tooke not vpon himselfe the stile of King, till his Father was dead; whom they buried in the same field wherein his Ancestors lay interred, yet in a Monument a-part from the rest, because he was a Leper.

§. III.

Of the Prophets which liued in the time of *Vzzia*; and of Princes then ruling in *Egypt*, and in some other Countries.

IN the time of *Vzzia* were the first of the lesser Prophets, *Hosea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*, and *Jonas*. It is not indeed set downe, when *Joel*, or *Obadiah*, did prophesie: but if the Prophets, whose times are not expressed, ought to bee ranged (according to *S. Hieromes* rule) with the next before them; then must these two be iudged contemporarie with *Hosea* and *Amos*, who liued vnder King *Vzzia*. To enquire which of these siue was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* liued, hath so painefully bene sought, without reprehension; how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquitie of these holy Prophets? It seemes to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the Prophet *Jonas*; who foretold the great victories of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*; & therefore is like to haue prophesied in the dayes of *Ieroboam*, whilst the affliction of *Israel* was exceeding bitter; the Text it selfe intimating no lesse: by which consequence, he was elder than the other Prophets, whose workes are now lost. That which remaineth of him, seemes, not without reason, vnto some very learned, to haue belonged vnto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whose dayes *Ninive* was first of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all the rest are found expresse promises of the Messias.

In the Raigne of *Vzzia* likewise it was, that *Esaï*, the first of the foure great Prophets, beganne to see his visions. This difference of greater and lesser Prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they haue left written (as *S. Augustine* giues reason of the distinction) because the greater haue written larger Bookes. The Prophet *Esaï* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much written; or of his Nobilitie, (for their opinion is rectified, who thinke him to haue beene the sonne of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he liued; but for the excellencie, both of his stile and argument, wherein he so plainly foretellet the Birth, Miracles, Passion, and whole Historie of our Sauour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that hee might as well be called an Euangelist, as a Prophet; hauing written in such wise, that (as *Hierome* sayth) one would thinke he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an Historie of matters already past.

Bocchoris was King of *Egypt*, and the ninth yeere of his Raigne, by our computation

tion (whereof in due place we will giue reason) was current, when *Vzzia* tooke possession of the Kingdome of *Inda*.

After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Aphsis* followed in the Kingdome of *Egypt*, vnto him succeeded *Anysis*; and these two occupied that Crowne lix yeeres. Then *Sabacus*, an *Ethiopian*, became King of *Egypt*, and held it siue yeeres, whereof the tenne first ranne along with the last of *Vzzia* his Raigne and life. Of these and other *Egyptian* Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affaires shall come to be intermedied with the businesse of *Inda*.

In *Atens*, the two last yeeres of *Ariphron* his twentie, the seuen and twentieth of *Thespis*, the twentieth of *Agamnestor*, and threeth first of *Aeschylus* his three and twentie, made euen with the two and fiftie of *Vzzia*; as likewise did in *Alba* the last seuen of *Siluius Auentinus* his seuen and thirtie, together with the three and twentie of *Siluius Procas*, and two and twentie the first of *Siluius Amulius*. In *Media* *Arbaces* beganne his new Kingdome, in the first of *Vzzia*, wherein, after eight and twentie yeeres, his Sonne *Sesarmus* succeeded him, and raigned thirtie yeeres. Of this *Arbaces*, and the diuision of the *Assyrian* Empire, betwene him and others, when they had oppressed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it convenient to vse more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great vncertainty in the storie of the *Assyrian* Kings, who haue alreadie found the way into *Palestina*, and are not likely to forget it.

§. IIII.

Of the *Assyrian* Kings, descending from *Phyl*: and whether *Phyl* and *Belosus* were one person; or heads of sundrie Families, that raigned a-part in *Ninive* and *Babylon*.

BY that which hath formerly bene shewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparant, that the chiefe therein was *Arbaces* the *Median*; to whom the rest of the Confederates did not only submit themselves in that Warre, but were contented afterwards to bee judged by him; receiving by his authoritie sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited liues. The first example of this his power, was shewen vpon *Belosus* the *Babylonian*, by whose especiall aduice and helpe, *Arbaces* himselfe was become so great. Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannicall manner, as might giue offence in that great alteration of things, eyther to the Princes that had assisted him, or to the generallitie of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belosus*, he vsed the counsaile of his other Captaines, and then pardoned him of his owne Graces; allowing him to hold, not only the Citie and Prouince of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embelzing whereof his life had bene endangered.

In like manner, he gaue rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Prouinces; retaining (as it appeares) only the Soueraignetie to himselfe, which to vse immoderately hee did naturally abhorre. Hee is said, indeed, to haue excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding vnto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promise, hee destroyed the Citie of *Ninive*; permitting the Citizens neuertheless to take and carrie away euery one his owne goods. The other Nations that ioyined with him, as the *Persians* and *Bablians*, he drew to his side, by the allurements of libertie; which he himselfe so greatly loued, that by slacke too much the reines of his owne Soueraignetie, hee did more harme to the generall estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedome, which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Country was pared narrower by *Salmanassar* (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom wee finde, in the Scriptures, to haue held some Townes of the

Medes, and the civill administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Deceus*, the fifth of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that government; by reducing them into stricter termes of obedience.

How the force of the *Assyrians* grew to be such, as might in fourecore yeeres, if not sooner, both extend it selfe vnto the conquest of *Israel*, and teare away some part of *Media*, it is a question hardly to be answered; not only in regard of the destruction of *Nimue*, and subversion of the *Assyrian* Kingdome, whereof the *Medes*, vnder *Arbaces*, had the honour who may seeme at that time to have kept the *Assyrians* vnder their subiection, when the rest of the Prouinces were at libertie; but in consideration of the Kings themselves, who reigning afterwards in *Babylon*, and *Ainue*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their Historie is made vncertaine.

I will first therefore deliuer the opinion generally receiued, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the obiections made against it; I will compare together the determination of that worthe man *Ioseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereto, and the iudgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or have followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neyther shall it be needfull to set downe a-part the severall authorities and arguments of Iudrie men adding somewhat of weight or clearnesse one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: which I will doe as briefly as I can, and without feare to be taxed of partialitie, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancie of mine owne, but merely led by those reasons which vpon examination of each part, seemed to me most forcible, though to others they may perhaps appeare weake.

That which, untill of late, hath passed as currant, is this; That *Belofus* was the same King, who, first of the *Assyrians*, entred *Palestina* with an Armie; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annins* his Authours with such as follow them, *Phul Belofus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skilfull Astrologer, subtile, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Assyria*: finally, that he reigned eight and fortie yeeres, and then dying, left the Kirgdom to *Tegles phalsar* his Sonne, in whose Posteritie it continued some few descents, till the house of *Mesodach* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annins* his *Metasthenes* were selfe sent prooffe, could not be gainesaid; for that Authour (such as he is) is peremptorie herein. But, howsoever *Annins* his Authours deferre to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they ascribe. They, who maintaine this Tradition, iustifie it by diuers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authours, and repugnant vnto no Historie at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built) that *Arbaces* and *Belofus* were Partners in the action against *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as like-wile other Capitaines were with governments: but that any third Person was so eminent, as to haue *Assyria* selfe, the chiefe Country of the Empire, bestowed vpon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any Historie. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the *Assyrians* should be committed vnto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not thought meet to trust them in their owne wals and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of *Nimue* by *Arbaces*, and the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policie because thereby the people of that Nation might be kept downe, from aspiring to recover the Souerainetie, which else they would haue thought to belong, as of right, vnto the Seat of the Empire.

Vpon such considerations did the *Romans*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage* and dissolve the Corporation, or Bodie politike, of the Citizens of *Capua*; because those two Townes were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed dangerous

dangerous euen to *Rome* it selfe, that was Miſtreſſe of them both. This being so, how can it be thought that the *Assyrians* in three or foure yeeres had erected their Kingdome a-new, vnder one *Pul*? or what must this *Pul* haue bene (of whose descents, or intermeddling, or indeed of whose very name, wee find no mention in the Warre against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall part of the Empire fell, eyther by generall consent in diuision of the Prouinces, or by his owne power and purchase very soone after? Surely he was none other than *Belofus*; whose neere Neighbourhood gaue him opportunitie (as he was wise enough to play his owne game) both to get *Assyria* to himselfe, and to empeach any other man, that should haue attempted to seize vpon it. The Prouince of *Babylon*, which *Belofus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches, and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a businesse: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his owne hands all the gold and silver that had bene in the Palace of *Nimue*. And questionlesse to restore such a Citie as *Nimue*, was an enterprife fit for none to take in hand, except he had such means as *Belofus* had; which *Pul*, if he were not *Belofus*, is likely to haue wanted.

Besides all this, had *Pul* bene a distinct person from *Belofus*, and Lord of *Assyria*, which lay beyond the Countreys of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not haue bene an easie matter for him, to passe quite through another mans Kingdome with an Armie, seeking bootie aſtate off in *Israel*: the only action by which the name of *Pul* is knowne. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the same whom prophane writers haue called *Belofus*, *Belſet*, and *Belſheſ*, (in like manner as *Iosephus* acknowledgeth, that hee, whom the Scriptures called neuer otherwise than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the Sonne of *Aſſages*, and called of the *Greekes* by another name, that is, *Cyaxares*) then is this scruple vtterly renoued. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border vpon *Syria* and *Palestina*: so that *Belofus*, hauing settled his affaires in *Assyria* towards the East and North, might with good leisure encroach vpon the Countreys that lay on the other side of his Kingdome, to the South and West. He that looks into all particulars, may find euery one circumstance concurring, to proue that *Phul* who invaded *Israel*, was none other than *Belofus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who joyned with *Arbaces*, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was ouerthrowne, did enter into that action, merely for the loue of *Belofus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of maine importance, to those that were to passe ouer *Euphrates* with an Armie into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belofus*, that held good correspondence with them; and whose most fruitfull Prouince, adjoining to their barraine quarters, might yeerely doe them inestimable pleasures; was not only like to haue quick passage through their borders, but their vtmost assistance; yea, it stands with good reason, that they, who loued not *Israel*, should for their owne behoofe haue given him intelligence, of the destruction and ciuill broyles among the tenne Tribes; whereby, as this *Pul* got a thousand salents, so it seems that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heauie Neighbour of *Ieroboam*, recovered their owne, setting vp a new King in *Damasco*, and clearing the Coast of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wildernesse to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garrisons. Neyther was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations diuided by *Euphrates* hold together in so good termes of friendship: it was ancient consanguinitie; the memorie whereof was auailable to the *Syrians*, in the time of *Dauid*, when the *Aramites* beyond the River came ouer willingly, to the succour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belofus* had good reason to looke into those parts; what a King reigning so farr off as *Nimue*, should haue to doe in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to shew.

But concerning this last argument of the businesse which might allure the *Chaldeans* into *Palestina*, it may be doubted, lest it should seeme to haue ill coherence with that which hath bene said of the long *Anarchie* that was in the tenne Tribes.

For if the Crowne of *Israel* were worne by no man in three and twentie yeeres, then is it likely that *Belofus* was eyther vnwilling to stirre, or vnable to take the advantage when it was faile, and first discouered. This might haue compelled thoe, who alone were not strong enough, to seeke after helpe from some Prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of thoe that distinguish *Phul* from *Belofus*, would be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say, that *Belofus* did passe the River of *Euphrates*, as loone as hee found likelihood of making a prosperous journey, then may it seeme that the inter-regnum in *Israel* was not so long as we haue made it: for three and twentie yeeres leisure would haue afforded better opportunitie, which ought not to haue bene lost.

For answere herunto, we are to consider, what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* haue written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they laid hold on a part of the Empire; the other, that they preuailed and grew mightie, betwene the times of *Arbaces* and *Deiotes* the *Medes*. Now, though it be held an error of *Orosius*, where he supposeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldeans*, was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein hee and *Eusebius* doe concur, that the authoritie of *Arbaces* did reſtraine the ambition, which by his abſence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull only of it ſelfe. Now, though ſome haue conjectured that all *Aſſyria* was giuen to *Belofus* (as an ouerplus, beſides the Province of *Babylon*, which was his by plaine bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high deſeruings, yet the opinion more commonly receiued is, that hee did only encroch vpon that Province by little and little, whileſt *Arbaces* liued, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all himſelfe. Seeing therefore, that there paſſed but twelue yeeres betwene the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menabem* his Raigne; maniſt it is, that the conqueſt of *Aſſyria*, and ſettling of that Country, was worke enough to hold *Belofus* occupied, beſides the reſtauration of *Ninive*, which alone was able to take vp all the time remaining of his Raigne, if perhaps he liued to ſee it finiſhed in his owne dayes. So that this argument may rather ſerue to prove that *Phul* and *Belofus* were one perſon; forasmuch as the iourney of *Phul* againſt *Israel* was not made vntill *Belofus* could find leiſure; and the time of aduantage which *Belofus* did let ſlip, argued his buſineſſe in ſome other quarter, namely in that Province of which *Phul* is called King. Briefly, it may bee ſaid, that he who conquered *Aſſyria*, and performed ſomewhat vpon a Countrey ſo farre diſtant as *Paleſtina*, was likely to haue bene, at leaſt, named in ſome Hiſtorie, or, if not himſelfe, yet his Countrey to haue bene ſpoken of for thoſe victories: but we neither heare of *Phul*, in any prophane Authour, neyther doth any Writer, ſacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatſoeuer of the *Aſſyrians*, done in thoſe times; whereas of *Belofus*, and the power of the *Chaldeans*, wee find good Record.

Surely, that great ſlaughter of ſo many thouſand *Aſſyrians*, in the quarrell of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and vnfortunate warre, which ouerwhelmed the whole Countrey, not ending but with the ruine and vtter deſolation of *Ninive*, muſt needs haue ſo weakened the ſtate of *Aſſyria*, that it could not in thirtie yeeres ſpace be able to invade *Paleſtina*, which the ancient Kings, raigning in *Ninive*, had, in all their greatneſſe, forborne to attempt. Yet theſe afflictions, diſabling that Countrey, did helpe to enable *Belofus* to ſubdue it; who hauing once extended his Dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (eſpecially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interpoſition of that Countrey, ſcure of the *Scythians*, and other warlike Nations on that ſide, might very well turne Southward, and trie his fortune in thoſe Kingdomes, whereinto ciuill diſſention of the inhabitants, and the bordering enuie of the *Arabians* and *Arames* about *Damaſcus*, friends and Couſins to the *Chaldeans* and *Mepopotemians*, did inuite him. For theſe, and the other before alledged reaſons, it may be concluded, That what is ſaid of *Phul* in the Scriptures, ought to be vnderſtood of *Belofus*; euen as by the names of *Nebuchad-*

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NECCAR,

NECCAR, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artabastus*, and *Achſuerus*, with the like, are thought, or knowne, to be meant the ſame, whom prophane Hiſtorians, by names better knowne in their own Countreies, haue called *Nabopolassar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Aſſuerus*: eſpecially conſidering, that hereby we ſhall neither contradiſt any thing that hath bene written of olde, nor neede to trouble our ſelues and others with framing new conjectures. This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly receiued.

Now this being once granted; other things, of more importance, will of themſelues eaſily follow. For it is a matter of no great conſequence to know the truth of this point (conſidering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Phul* were *Belofus*, or ſome other man: the whole race of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found thoſe famous Princes, *Nabonaſſar*, *Mardacempadus*, and *Nabopolassar* (ſo famous for the Aſtronomically obſeruations recorded from their times) is the maine ground of this contention. If therefore *Belofus* or *Beleſus* were that *Phul* which invaded *Israel*; if he and his poſteritie raigned both in *Ninive* and in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Phul-ſar*, from whom *Salmaſſar*, *Senacherib*, and *Aſarhaddon* deſcended; then it is maniſt, that we muſt ſeek *Nabonaſſar*, the *Babylonian* King, among theſe Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other then *Salmaſſar*, who is knowne to haue raigned in thoſe yeeres, which *Ptolemy* the Mathematician hath aſſigned vnto *Nabonaſſar*. As for *Merodach*, who ſupplanted *Aſarhaddon*, maniſt it is, that he and his ſucceſſors were of another houſe. This is the ſcope and end of all his diſputation.

But they that maintain the contrarie part, will not be ſatisfied with ſuch conieſtures. They lay hold vpon the conſequence, and by ſhaking that into pieces, hope to ouerthrow all the premiſſes, vpon which it is inferred. For (ſay they) if *Nabonaſſar*, that raigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmaſſar*, or any of thoſe other *Aſſyrian* Kings, then is it maniſt, that the races were diſtinct, and that *Phul* and *Beleſus* were ſeueral Kings. This conſequence is ſo plaine, that it needs no confirmation. To proue that *Nabonaſſar* was a diſtinct perſon from *Salmaſſar*, are brought ſuch arguments as would ſtagger the reſolution of him that had ſworne to hold the contrarie. For firſt, *Nabonaſſar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Aſſyria*. This is proued by his name, which is merely *Chaldean*, whereas *Salmaſar*, the firſt part of *Salmaſſar*'s name, is proper to the *Aſſyrians*. It is likewiſe proued by the Aſtronomically obſeruations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Aſſyrians*, doe ſhew, that *Nabonaſſar*, from whom *Ptolemy* draws that of *Ephraim*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Aſſyrian*. Thirdly, and more ſtrongly, it is confirmed by the ſucceſſor of *Nabonaſſar*, which was *Mardacempadus*, called in his owne language *Mero-dac-ken-pad*, but more briefly in *Eſay* his prophetic, *Merodach*, by the former part of his name; or *Merodach Baladan*, the ſonne of *Baladan*. Now if *Merodach*, the ſonne of *Baladan*, King of *Babel*, then was the ſonne of *Nabonaſſar*, then was *Nabonaſſar* none other then *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmaſſar* King of *Aſſyria*.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of theſe two names, *Nabonaſſar* & *Salmaſſar*, which in *Greek* or *Latine* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmaſſar* carried captive ſome part of the ten Tribes; it may well be granted, that in the Province of *Babylon* *Salmaſſar* had gotten ſomewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it ſelfe. To conclude, *Merodach* began his raigne ouer *Babylon* in the ſixt yeere of *ſeſeckir*, at which time *Salmaſſar* tooke *Samaria*; therefore, if *Salmaſſar* were King of *Babylon*, then muſt we ſay that he and *Merodach*, yea and *Nabonaſſar*, were all one man. Theſe are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Ioſeph Scaliger*; who not contented to follow the common opinion, founded vpon likelihood of conieſtures, hath drawne his proofes from matter of more neceſſary inference.

Touching all that was laid before of *Phul* *Beleſus*, for the prouing that *Phul* and *Beleſus*

Eſay 39.

Belofus were not sundrie Kings; *Ioseph Scaliger* pitties their ignorance, that haue spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painefull men he confesse that they were, who by their diligence might haue wonne the good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning *Annius* his Authors giuen such offence, that men refused thereupon to reade their Bookes and Chronologies. A short answer.

For mine owne part, howeouer I beleue nothing that *Annius* his *Berosus*, *Metaphrastes*, and others of that stamp affirms, in respect of their bare authoritie; yet am I not so squeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good Booke, though I finde the names of one or two of these good fellows alleaged in it: I haue (some-what peraduenture too often) already spoken my minde of *Annius* his Authors: I neuertheless, I may say here againe, that where other Histories are silent, or speake not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere we finde, and serueth to explaine or enlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeede are those honest and painefull men (as *Scaliger* termes them, meaning, if I mistake him not; good silly fellows) who set downe the *Assyrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords also of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Belofus*, and *Salmanassar* for *Nabonassar*, such Writers as a man should be ashamed or vnwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, though disliking him in generally) *Gerard Mercator* is not so slight a Chronologer, that hee should be laughed out of doores, with the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons between *Scaliger* and *Mercator*, they were both of them men notably learned: let vs examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and see whether they be of such force, as cannot either be refuted or auoided. It will easily be granted, that *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*; that hee was not King of *Assyria*, some men doubt whether *Scaliger* reasons be enough to proue. For though *Nabonassar* be a *Chaldean* name, and *Salmanassar* an *Assyrian*; yet what hinders vs from beleueing, that one man in two languages might be called by two feuerall names? That *Astronomie* flourished among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to proue *Nabonassar* either an *Astrologer*, or a *Chaldean*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himselfe calls them, *Prophetas* I know not who, that in their sleepe haue dreamt of *NABONASSAR*, that hee was an *Astrologer*.

Whether *Nabonassar* were an *Astrologer* or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintaine the negative. But as his being Lord ouer the *Chaldeans*, doth not proue him to haue bene learned in their sciences; so doth it not proue him, not to haue bene also King of *Assyria*. The Emperor *Charles* the first, who was borne in *Gant*, and *Philip* his Sonne, King of *Spaine*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men furre more learned in all Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematics, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, then were any that I read of then liuing in *Spaine*, if *Spaine* at that time had any; yet I thinke, Posteritie will not vse this as an argument, to proue that *Spaine* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanassar* or *Nabonassar*, did vse the *Assyrian* Souldiers, and *Babylonian* Schollers: but it seemes, that hee and his posteritie, by giuing them selues wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued; as likewise King *Philip* lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard all the *Netherlands*, by such a course. As for the two vnanswerable arguments, (as *Scaliger* termes them, being me thinks none other than answers to somewhat that is or might be alleaged on the contrarie side) one of them which is drawne from the vnlike found and writing of those names, *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is not likewise of found, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that *Salmanassar* might be Lord of some places in the Prouince of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it selfe: this indeede might be so, and it might be otherwise.

Hitherto

Hitherto there is nothing saue conjecture against conjecture. But in that which is alleaged out of the Prophet *Esaie*, concerning *Merodach* the Sonne of *Babylus*; and in that which is said of this *Merodach*, or *Mardochempidus*, his being the successor of *Nabonassar*, and his beginning to reigne in the sixt yeere of *Itzekia*, I finde matter of more difficultie, than can be answered in bair. I will therefore desire the handling of these objections, vntill I meete with their subject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Itzekia*, wherein *Merodach* lived & was King. Yet that I may not leaue too great a scruple in the minde of the Reader, thus farre will I heretofore him; that how strong soeuer this argument may seeme, *Scaliger* himselfe did liue to retract it, ingenuously confessing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the Sonne of *Nabonassar*, he had bene decieued.

Now therefore let vs consider, in what sort they haue fashioned their storie, who taking *Pul* to be a distinct person from *Belofus* or *Belesus*, haue in like sort, as was necessarie, distinguished their off-spring, making that of *Pul* to faile in *Alarhadion*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I must first confesse mine owne want of Bookes, if perhaps there be many, that haue gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present vnto vs the bodie of this Historie, in one view. Diuers, indeede, there are, whom I haue seene, that since *Ioseph Scaliger* deliuered his opinion, haue written in fauour of some one or other point thereof:

13 But *Serhus Calaisius* himselfe, who hath abridged *Scaliger* his learned Worke, *Le clementine Temporum*, hath not bene carefull to giue vs notice, how long *Belesus*, *Baldan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Palsar*, did reigne, (perhaps because he found it not exprest in *Scaliger*) but is content to set downe *Nabonassar* for the same person with *Nabonassar*, which *Scaliger* himselfe reuoked. In this case: therefore I must lay downe the plot of these deuided Kingdomes, in such sort as I finde it continued by *Augustinus Tormellus*; who onely of all that I haue seene, sets downe the succession, continuance, and acts, of those that reigned in *Assyria* after *Sardanapalus*, distinguishing them from *Belofus*, and his Posteritie, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Tormellus* is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of S. *Paul*, whose Annales were printed the

30 last yeere; he appeares to me a man of curious industrie, sound judgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, willingly) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning those Protestant Writers, by whose Bookes hee hath receiued good information, and enriched his workes by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this businesse he hath openly professed to follow *Scaliger*, whose helpe, without wrong or dishonour to himselfe, hee hath both vsed and acknowledged. For mine owne part, I will not spare to doe right vnto *Tormellus*; but confesse my selfe to haue receiued benefit by his writing; and wish that his Annales had sooner come to light; for that as hee hath much confirmed mee in some things, so would hee haue instructed and emboldened mee, to write more fully and lesse timorously in other things, which now I haue not leisure to reuise. Particularly in that coniecture (which I had faintly deliuered, and yet feared lest it had ouer-hastily passed out of my hand, and bene exposed to other mens contractions) of the foure Kings that invaded the Vallie of *Siddim*, and were slaine by *Abraham*, I finde him aduenturing, as I haue done, to say, that they may probably be thought to haue bene some petty Lords; the contrarie opinion of all Writers notwithstanding. But now let vs consider how he hath ordered these last *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings.

After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbees* being the most mightie, fought to gettall to himselfe, but was opposed by *Belofus*; in which contention, one *Phul*, a powerfull man in *Assyria*, sided with *Belofus*, and they two preuailed so farre, that finally *Arbees* was content to share the Empire with them, making such a diuision thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire, betwene *Octavian*, *Antonine*, and *Lepidus*.

Another coniecture is (for *Tormellus* offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certaintie) that *Arbees* made himselfe Soueraigne Lord of all, and placed the seate of

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of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Belofus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Affryia*. But in short space, that is, in four yeeres, it came to passe, by the iust judgement of God, that *Phul* and *Belofus* rebelled against *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done against *Sardanapalus*, and in stead of being his Viceroies, made themselves absolute Kings. And to this later opinion *Tornellus* himselfe leanes, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Histories. Why he did make and publish the former supposition, resolving to hold the later, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to guesse. Having thus deuised, how *Phul* and *Belofus* might, at the first, attaine to be Kings, hee orders their time, and their successors, in this manner.

Four yeeres after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to raigne, and continues eight and fortie yeeres. *Theglathafasar* (whose name, and the names of other Princes, I write diuersly, according as the Authors whom I haue in hand are pleased to diuersifie them) succeeding vnto *Phul*, raigned three and twentie. *Salmanassar* followed him, and raigned tenne. After him *Senacharib* raigned seuen: and when hee was slaine, *Asarhaddon* his sonne renne yeeres; in whom that Line failed.

The same time that *Phul* tooke vpon him as King of *Affryia*, or not long after, (why not rather afore? for so it had bene more likely) *Belofus* vsurped the Kingdome of *Babylon*, and held it threecore and eight yeeres; at the least threecore and eight yeeres did passe, before *Xabonassar* followed him in the possession.

To *Nabonassar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) hee thinke to be *Baladan*, are assigned fixe and twentie yeeres: then, two and fiftie to *Aerodach*, or *Mardocempadus*: foure and twentie to *Ben Merodach*: and lastly, one and twenty to *Nabalsar*, the father of *Xabuchodonosor*, who is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the originall of these *Affryan* and *Babylonian* Kingdomes, I may truly say, That the conjectures of other men, who giue all to *Belofus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appeare to me more needly resembling the truth. Neither doe I thinke, that *Tornellus* would haue conceived two different wayes, by which *Phul* might haue gotten *Affryia* (for how *Belofus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plaine enough) if either of them alone could haue contented him. He adheres to the later of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Historians. But he perceiued, that to make *Phul* on the suddaine King of *Affryia*; or to giue him so noble a Prouince, as would, of it selfe, inuite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing most vnlutely to haue happened, vnlesse his deserts (whereof wee finde no mention) had bene proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath hee deuised the meanes, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, Why this *Phul*, being one of the three that diuided all betweene them, was vtterly forgotten by all Historians? yea, why this Diuision it selfe, and the ciuile Warres that caused it, were neuer heard of. Questionlesse, the interuerting of some Treasures by *Belofus*, with his Iudgement, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre lesse note. Therefore I doe not see, how one of the two inconueniences can this way be auoided; but that either wee must confesse, the Dominion giuen to *Phul* to haue bene exceeding his merits, or else his merits, and name withall, to haue bene strangely forgotten: either of which is enougt to make vs thinke, that rather the conjecture, inserting such a sequele, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul* and *Belofus* against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Affryans* to recouer such strength in foure yeeres, as might serue to hold out in rebellion: for *Belofus*, it was needlesse to rebell, considering, that *Arbaces* did not seeke to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an ouergreat fauourer of libertie) euen the *Medes*, that were vnder his owne Government, to doe what they listed.

But it is now fit that wee peruse the Catalogue of these Kings: not passing through them all (for some will require a large discourse in their owne titles) but spea-

speaking of their order and time in generall. If it bee so vnlawfull to thinke, that some of *Annius* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well in his) may bee true, especially such, as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparant likelihood, why then is it said, that *Phul* did raigne in *Affryia* eight and fortie yeeres? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true, that painefull and iudicious Writers haue found this number of yeeres, to agree vnto with the course of things in History: yet all of them tooke it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the punishment of *Annius* his forgerie (as questionlesse he is of ten guilty of this crime) that when he tells truth, or probability, hee be not beleened for his owne sake; though for our owne sakes we make vse of his boldnesse, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) wee are vniwilling our selues to be Authors, of new, though not vnprobable conjectures. Herein we shall haue this commoditie, that wee may without blushing alter a little, to helpe our owne opinions, and lay the blame vpon *Annius*, against whom wee shall be sure to finde friends that will take our part.

The reignes of *Theglathafasar* and *Salmanassar* did reach, by *Annius* his measure, to the length of fixe and twentie yeeres the one, and seuentene the other; *Tornellus* hath cut off two from the former, and seuen from the later of them, to fit (as I thinke) his owne computation; vsing the libertie whereof I spake last: for that any Author, saue our good *Metasthenes*, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did raigne, it is more then I haue yet found. To *Senacharib* and *Asarhaddon*, *Tornellus* giues the same length of raigne, which is found in *Metasthenes*. I thinke there are none many, that will arrogate as *Tornellus*: yet could I wish, that he had forborne to condemne the followers of *Annius*, in this business, wherein he himselfe hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must haue done, almost nothing.

The like libertie we finde that he hath vsed in measuring the reignes of the *Chaldeans*; filling vp all the space betweene the end of *Sardanapalus*, and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the threecore and eight yeeres of *Belofus*. In this respect it was, perhaps, that hee thought *Belofus* might haue begunne his raigne somewhat later then *Phul*: for threecore and eight yeeres would seeme a long time for him to hold a Kingdome, that was no yong man when he tooke possession of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by shortning his raigne, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein hee was a priuate man, enough for a long liue? Indeepe, eight and fortie yeeres had bene little lesse, at such time as hee joyned with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twentie yeeres did well deserue that note (which *Tornellus* aduisedly giues) that if his raigne extended not so farre, then the raigne of such as came after him, occupied the middle time, vnto *Nabonassar*.

I neither doe reprehend the boldnesse of *Tornellus*, in conjecturing, nor the modestie of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Calvisius*, in forbearing to set downe as warrantable, such things as depend only vpon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from vs by Antiquitie, must be described in History, as Geographers in their Maps describe those Countries, whereof as yet there is made no true discovery, that is, either by leauing some part blank, or by inserting the Land of Pigmies, Rocks of loadestone, with Head-lands, Bayes, great Rivers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrarie to truth. Yet indeede the ignorance growing from distance of place, allows not such libertie to a Describer, as that which ariseth from the remedlesse obliuion of consuming time. For it is true that the Poet saith;

— *Neg*

Neg. feruidis
Pars inclusa caloribus
Aundi, nec Porce finitimum latus,
Duratq; sole Nives,
Mercatores abigunt: horrida callidi
Vincent aquora Nautae.

Nor Southerne heate, nor Northerne snow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The subject Regions can fence,
And keepe the greedie Marchant thence.
The subtile Shipmen way will find,
Storme neuer so the Seas with winde.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe
serue only to mislead such discouersers as rashly beleuee them; drawing vpon the
publishers, cyther some angry curses, or well deserued scorne; but to keepe their
own credit, they cannot serue alwaies. To which purpose I remember a pretie jest of
Don Pedro de Sarmiento, a worthe Spanis Gentleman, who had bene employed by
his King in planting a Colonie vpon the Streights of Magellan: for when I asked him,
being then my Prisoner, some question about an Island in those Streights, which me
thought, might haue done cyther benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me
merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters wines Island*; saying, That whilest the
fellow drew that Map, his wife sitting by, desired him to put in one Countrey for
her; that she, in imagination, might haue an Island of her owne. But in filling vp
the blankes of old Histories, we need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared,
that time should runne backward, and by restoring the things themselues to know-
ledge, make our conjectures appeare ridiculous: What if some good Copie of an
ancient Author could be found, shewing (if wee haue it not already) the perfect
truth of these vncertainties? would it be more shame to haue beleueed in the meane
while, *Annius* or *Tornilius*, than to haue beleueed nothing? Here I will not say, that
the credit, which we giue to *Annius*, may chance otherwiles to be giuen to one of
those Authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority,
I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Tornilius*, than *Annius*; yet him than them, if his asser-
tion bee more probable, and more agreeable to approved Histories than their con-
jecture, as in this point it seemes to me; it hauing moreouer gotten some credit, by
the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such
opinions, as haue once gotten the credit of being generall, so to deale as *Pacuvius* in
Capua did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senators of the
Citic to death. He lockt the Senators vp within the State-houise, and offered their
liues to the Peoples mercie; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish,
vntill the Commonaltie had both pronounced him wortheie of death, and elected
a better in his place. The condemnation was hastie; for as fast as euery name was
read, all the Towne cryed, Let him dye; but the execution required more leisure;
for in substituting another, some notorious vice of the Person, or baseness of his
condition, or insufficiency of his qualitie, made each new one that was offered, to
be rejected: so that finding the worse and lesse choise, the further and the more
that they fought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lack of better.

§. V.

§. V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.



After this diuision of the *Assyrian* Empire, followes the inslauration of
the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the raigne of the same King *Vezia*,
and in his one and fiftieth yeare. It is, I know, the generall opinion,
that these games were established by *Iphitus*, in the first of *Jachim*; yet
is not that opinion so generall, but that Authors, waighte enough,
haue giuen to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those
things vnto the sacred Historie, which are found in prophane Authors, wee
should not bee too carefull of drawing the *Ilebreues* to those workes of time,
which had no reference to their affaires; it is enough, that setting in due order these
beginnings of accompts, we ioine them to matters of *Israell* and *Iuda*, where occasion
requires.

These *Olympian* games and exercises of actiuitie, were first instituted by *Hercules*,
who measured the length of the race by his owne foot; by which *Pythagoras* found
out the stature and likely strength of *Hercules* his bodie. They tocke name, not
from the Mountaine *Olympus*, but from the Citie *Olympia*, otherwile *Pisa*, neere vi-
to *Elis*; where also *Iupiters* Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Gracians*, and reputed
among the wonders of the World, was knowne by the name of the Temple of *Iupiter*
Olympius. These games were exercised from euery fourth yeare compleat, in the
plaines of *Elis*, a Citie of *Peloponnesus*, neere the Riuer *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many yeares,
till *Iphitus* by aduice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Lycurgus* the
Law-giuer then liuing: from which time they were continued by the *Gracians*, till
the raigne of *Theodosius* the Emperour, according to *Cedrenus*: other thinke that they
were dissolued vnder *Constantine* the Great.

From this institution, *Varro* accompted the *Gracian* times, and their stories, to be
certaine: but reckoned all before either doubtfull, or fabulous: and yet *Plinie* giues
little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the raigne of *Cyrus*, who beganne in
the five and fiftieth Olympiad, as *Eusebius* out of *Diodore*, *Cassior*, *Polybius*, and others
hath gathered, in whose time the seven wise *Gracians* flourished. For *Solon* had
speech with *Croesus*, and *Croesus* was ouerthrowne and taken by *Cyrus*.

Many patient and piercing braines haue laboured to finde out the certaine begin-
ning of these *Olympiads*, namely, to set them in the true yeare of the World, and the
raigne of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first accompt, that is,
of the Worlds yeare, they can hardly jumpe in particulars thereon depending.

Cyrl againk *Lalin*, and *Didymus*, beginne the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of
40 *Osias*, or *Azarias*.

Eusebius, who is contrarie to himselfe in this reckoning, accompts with those that
finde the first *Olympiad* in the beginning of the foure hundredth and sixth yeare after
Troy, yet he telleth vs, that it was in the fiftieth yeare of *Vezia*, which is (as I finde it)
two yeares later.

Eratostratus placeth the first *Olympiad* foure hundred and seven yeares after *Troy*,
reckoning the yeares that passed betwene; to whom *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Dio-
dorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

The distance betwene the destruction of *Troy*, and the first *Olympiad*, is thus
collected by *Eratostratus*. From the taking of *Troy*, to the descent of *Hercules* his Po-
steritie into *Peloponnesus*, were fourescore yeares; thence to the *Ionian* expedition,
three score yeares; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his gouernment
in *Sparta*, one hundred fiftie nine; and thence to the first *Olympiad*, one hundred
and eight yeares. In this account the first yeare of the first *Olympiad* is not in-
cluded.

Ddd

But

But vaine labour it were, to seeke the beginning of the *Olympiads*, by numbring the yeares from the taking of *Troy*, which is of a date farre more vncertaine. Let it suffice, that by knowing the instauration of these games, to haue bene in the foure hundredth and eight yeare current after *Troy*, we may reckon backe to the taking of that Citie, setting that, and other accidents, which haue reference thereto, in their proper times. The certaintie of things following the *Olympiads*, must teach vs how to finde when they began.

To this good vſe, we haue the ensuing yeares, vnto the death of *Alexander the Great*, thus diuided, by the fame *Eratosthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads*, to the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundredth fourescore and seuenteen yeares; 10 from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, eight and fortie yeares; forwards to the victorie of *Lysander*, seuen and twentie; to the battaile of *Leuctra*, thirtie foure; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, siue and thirtie; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelue. The whole summe ariseth to foure hundred fittie and three yeares; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth yeare of *Vezziab*, we haue arguments, grounded vpon that which is certaine, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his raigne, and the death of *Alexander*; as also vpon the Astronomical calculation of sundrie Eclipses of the Sunne, as of that which happened, when 20 *Xerxes* set out of *Sardis* with his Armie to inuade *Greece*; and of diuers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his raigne as King, before hee was Lord of the great Monarchie, began the first yeere of the siue and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that he raigned thirtie yeeres; they who giue him but twentie nine yeeres of raigne (following *Herodotus* rather than *Tully*, *Iustine*, *Eusebius*, and others) beginne a yeere later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* set by all good Writers, in the first yeere of the hundredth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This later note of *Alexanders* death, serues well to leade vs backe to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like obseruations doe. For if we reckon vpwards from the time of *Alexander*, we shall finde all to agree with the yeeres of the *Olympiads*, wherein *Cyrus* 30 beganne his raigne, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to signifie a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the first yeere of the siue and fiftieth *Olympiad*, vnto the end of the *Persian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundredth and twelfth *Olympiad*, we finde two hundred and thirtie yeeres compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchie, which lasted but seuen yeeres, we finde compleat two hundred and seuen yeeres, which was the continuance of the *Persian* Empire.

Now therefore seeing that the first yeere of *Cyrus* his Monarchie (which was the last of the sixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundredth and fortieth yeere from the institution of those games by *Iphitus*) followed the last of the seuentie yeeres, of the captiuitie of *Juda*, and desolation of the Land of *Israel*, manifest it is, that we must reckon backe those seuentie yeeres, and one hundred threescore and ten yeeres more, the last which passed vnder the Kings of *Juda*, to finde the first of these *Olympiads*; which by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Vezziab*, as wee haue already noted.

The Eclipses whereof we made mention, serue well to the same purpose. For examples sake, that which was scene when *Xerxes* mustered his Armie at *Sardis*, in the two hundredth threescore and seuenth yeere of *Nabonassar*, being the last of the threescore and fourteenth *Olympiad*; leades vs backe vnto the beginning of *Xerxes*, 50 and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we haue a faire way through the threescore and ten yeeres, vnto the destruction of *Ierusalem* and so vpwards through the raignes of the last Kings of *Juda*, to the one and fiftieth yeere of *Vezziab*.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these *Olympiads* beganne.

To

To tell the great solemnitie of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all *Greece* they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say, that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as Running, Wrestling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they onely contend for the Maltre in those feates, whereof there was good vſe, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of exercises, that serued onely for ostentation. Thither also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable victorie, to make triall of their skill. Yea the very Cryers, which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them 10 should get the honour, of hauing plaied the best part.

The *Eleans* were Presidents of those Games; whose iustice, in pronouncing without partialitie, who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards giuen to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palme, or Olive, without any other commoditie following, than the reputation. Indeepe there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when *Diogenes* had scene his three Sonnes crowned for their severall victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere*, *DIAGORAS*, *non enim in celum ascensus es*; that is, *DIE*, *DIAGORAS*, *For thou shalt not clime up to heauen*: as if there could bee no greater happinesse on earth, than what alreadie had befallen him. In the like sense *Horace* 20 speaks of these Victors, calling them,

Quos Elaea domum reducit
Palma caelestis.

Horat. Carm. l. 4.
Ode 2.

Such as like heavenly weights doe come
With an Eleian Garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or the songs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had wonne these *Olympian* prizes; but euen graue Historians 30 thought it a matter worthie of their noting. Such was (as *Tullie* counts it) the vanity of the *Greekes*, that they esteemed it almost as great an honor, to haue wonne the victorie at Running or Wrestling in those games, as to haue triumphed in *Rome* for some famous victorie, or conquest of a Prouince.

That these *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the Moone, and vpon the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Hecatombion*, which doth answere to our *Iune*; and what meanes they vsed to make the Moneth begin with the new Moone, that the fifteenth day might be the full; I haue shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now returne vnto the Kings of *Juda*, and leaue the merrie *Greekes* at their games, whom I shall meeete in more serious employments, when the *Persian* quarrells draw 40 the bodie of this Historie into the coasts of *Ionia* and *Hellefont*.

p. VI.

Of IOTHAM and his Contemporaries.

IOTHAM the Sonne of *Vezziab*, when hee was siue and twentie yeeres old, and in the second of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, was anointed King in *Ierusalem*, his Father yet liuing. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple, of threescore cubits vpright, and therefore called *Ophel*: besides diuers Cities in the Hills of *Juda*, and in the Forrests, Towers, and Palaces: heinforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundredth talents, and of Wheate and Barly two thousand measures: hee raigned fixe and twentie yeeres: of whom *Iosephus* giues this testimonie: *Eiusmodi vero* 50 *Principi*

Tull. de Div. l. 1.
Iul. l. 1.
Euseb. de Prop.
Evang. l. 1. c. 3.
Or. de dem. E.
Nag. 43. c. 2.

Tull. de Div. p. 1.
Euseb.

2 Kings 15: 33.

Princeps hic fuit, et nullum in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo pie colerit, hominibus suis adeo iuste prefecerit, ut bene ipsam tantæ sibi curæ esse passus sit, & tamopere anxierit, ut videretur regnum hostibus quidem minime contemnendum, domesticis autem eius incolis atque civibus felix, faustum & fortunatum sua virtute effecit; This was such a Prince, as a man could finde no kinde of vertue wanting in him: hee worshipped God so religiously, hee governed his men so righteously, hee was so provident for the Citie, and did so greatly amplify it, that by his vertue and prowess hee made his whole Kingdome not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Servants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous and happy.

This is all that I finde of *Iotham*: his raigne was not long, but as happy in all 10 things, as he himselfe was deuout and vertuous.

Auchomenes about this time succeeded *Phelisteus* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected Magistrates, which gouerned from yeere to yeere. And yet *Pausanias* in his second Booke, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, That *Corinth* was gouerned by Kings of the race of the *Basidae*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who droue them out.

Tiglathpalsar, or *Tiglathpelezer*, the sonne of *Phul*, the second of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* that was of this new race, about this time invaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murdered his Master *Pekaiab*) was King thereof. In which Expedition hee tooke most of the Cities of *Nephthali* and *Galile*, with those of *Gilead*, ouer *Jordan*, and 20 carried the inhabitants captiue. This *Tiglath* reigned fise and twentie yeeres, according to *Metasthenes*. But *Krentschmuis* findes, that with his sonne *Salmansar* hee reigned yet two yeeres longer: which yeeres I would not ascribe to the sonne, because the *Ages* of *Nabonsar* begins with his single raigne, but reckon them to *Tiglathpalsar* himselfe, who therewith reigned seuen and twentie yeeres:

Eschylus, the sonne of *Agamemnon*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athenes*, ruled fise and twentie yeeres. *Alcmenes* gouerned *Sparta*: after whom, the *Elate* changed, according to *Eufebius*: but therein surely *Eufebius* is mistaken. For *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others, witnesse the contrarie. *Pausanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and reigned threecore 30 yeeres, and out-liued the *Athenian* *Warre*: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the sonne of *Nicanor*, his royall companion.

At this time liued *Nahum* the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire, and of the Citie of *Ninive*; which succeeded (saith *Iosephus*) a hundred and fiftene yeeres after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Soranus* and *Medius* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

§. VII.

49

Of *Achaz* and his Contemporaries.

As, or *Achaz*, succeeded vnto *Iotham* in the seuenteenth yeere of *Pekah*, the sonne of *Remalia*: the same being also the last yeere of his fathers raigne, who began in the second of the same *Pekah*, and reigned sixteene, but not complete yeeres. This *Achaz* was an Idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. Hee made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his sonne for sacrifice before the Idoll *Moloch*, or *Saturne*, which was represented by a man-like brazen bodie, bearing the head of a Calfe, set vp not farre from *Jerusalem*, in a Valley 50 shadowed with Woods, called *Gehinnom*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is vied for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the carkasse of this Idoll, and as the fire encreased, so the sacrificers, with a noyse of Cymbals and other Instruments, filled the ayre, to the ends the pitifull cries of the children might

2. King 16. 1.
2. Chron. 28.

might not be heard: which vnnatural, cruell, and deuillish Oblation, *Jeremie* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which *S. Hierome* vpon the tenth of *Mattheu* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leuiticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible sinne was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomie*, it is called an abomination which God hateth. That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Iudea*, diuers Authors witnesse; as *Virgil* in the second of his *Æneids*, — *Sanguine placitis, &c.* and *Silius*, — *Posere cade Deos*. *Saturne* is said to haue brought this custome into *Italie*, besides the calling of many soules into the Riuer of *Tyber*, in stead of which, *Hercules* commanded, that the 10 waxen Images of men should be throwne in and drowned. The Deuill also taught the *Carthaginians* this kinde of butcherie, in so much, that when their Citie was besieged, and in distresse, the Priest made them beleeue, that because they had spared their owne children, and had bought and brought vp others to bee offered, that therefore *Saturne* had stirred vp, and strengthened their Enemies against them: whereupon they presently cauled two hundred of the noblest youths of their Citie to be slaine, and offered to *Saturne* or *Satan*, to appeale him: who besides these fore-named Nations had instructed the *Rhoians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Messene* of *Galatia*, with the *Massagets*, and others, in these seruices: Further, as if hee were not content to destroy the soules of many Nations in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, 20 (as *Acosta* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought by the Deuill vnder this fearefull seruitude, in which hee holdeth the *Floridians* and *Virginians* at this day.

For the wickednesse of this King *Achaz*, God stirred vp *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and *Pekah* the Sonne of *Remialiah*, King of *Israel* against him, who invaded *Iudea*, and besieged *Ierusalem*, but entred it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, possit himselfe of *Elab* by the Red Sea, and cast the *Iewes* out of it, and *Pekah* laughtered in one day an hundred and twentie thousand *Iudeans*, of the ablest of the Kingdome, at which time *Masfiah*, the Sonne of *Achaz* was also slaine by *Ziebhri*, with *Acriram* the Gouernour of his house: and *Eleanath* 30 the second person vnto the King. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women and children, the *Israelites* led away to *Samaria*: but by the counsell of the Prophet *Obed*, they were returned and deliuered backe againe.

As *Israel* and *Aram* vexed *Iudea* on the North; so the *Edomites* and the *Philistines*, who euermore attended the ruine of *Iudea*, entred vpon them from the South; and tooke *Bethsencer*, *Ailon*, *Gadara*, *Scho*, *Tinnah*, and *Gemso*, slew many people, and carried away many prisoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* saw himselfe enuironed on all sides, and that his Idolls and dead gods gaue him no comfort, hee sent to the *Assyrian* *Tiglathpilsar*, to desire some aide from him against the *Israelites* and *Aramites*, presenting him with the siluer and gold both of the Temple, and Kings 40 House.

Tiglathpilsar wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that rose in *Palestina*. His Father hauing lately made himselfe from a Provinciall Lieutenant, King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, had a little before led him the way in to *Iudea*, invited by *Menahem*, King of *Israel*. Wherefore now the Sonne willingly harkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the aduantage. As for *Belshazzar* himselfe, he was content to assigne some other time for going through with this enterprife: because (as I haue said before) he was not firmly settled at home, and the *Syrian* Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet strong both in men and fame. But *Tiglath*, hauing now, with the treasures of *Jerusalem*, prepared his Armie, first invaded the Terri- 50 torie of *Damascus*, wanne the Citie, and killed *Rezin*, the last of the race of the *Adads*, who beganne with *Dauid*, and ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damascus* *Achaz* met *Tiglath*, and taking thence a patterne of the Altar, sent it to *Friah* the Priest, commanding the like to be made at *Jerusalem*, whereon at his returne hee burnt Sacrifice to the Gods of the *Syrians*. In the meane while *Tiglath* possit all *Basam*, and the rest beyond

2. 7. 19. 31.

Euseb. de Prep.
Euang. 1. 6.
Dion. 1. 5.
Diod. 1. 30.

Acosta de Hist.
nat. & mor. Ind.

2. Chron. 28. 6.

2. Chron. 28.

2. King 16.

beyond Jordan, which belonged to the Tribe of *Ruben*, *Gad*, and *Manasse*. And then passing the Riuer, he mastered the Cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the Kingdom of *Israel*, and made them his Vassalls. And notwithstanding that he was invited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the spoile of *Israel*, he posselt himselfe of the greater part of *Juda*, and as it seemeth, enforced *Achaz* to pay him Tribute. For in the second of Kings, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechias*, that he revolted from *Assur*, or rebelled against him, and therefore was invaded by *Senacherib*. After *Achaz* had beheld and borne these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth yeere of his reigne hee died: but was not buried in the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Juda*.

With *Achaz* liued *Medius*, the third Prince in *Media*, who gouerned fortie yeeres, 10
saith *Eusebius*: *Diodorus* and *Ctesias* finde *Anticarmus* in stead of this *Medius*, to haue bene *Sosarmus* his Succellour, to whom they giue fiftie yeeres.

Tiglath Pileser held the Kingdome of *Assyria*, all the reigne of *Achaz*: yet so, that *Salmanassar* his Sonne may seeme to haue reigned with him some part of the time. 20
For we finde that *Achaz* did send vnto the Kings of *Assyria* to helpe him. The *Gene* more saies, that these Kings of *Assur* were *Tiglath Pileser*, and those Kings that were vnder his Dominion. But that hee or his Father had hitherto made such conquests, as might giue him the Lordship ouer other Kings, I doe neither finde any Historie, nor circumstance that proueth. Wherefore I thinke that these Kings of *Assur*, were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanassar* his Sonne, who reigned with his Father, as 20 hath bene said before: though how long hee reigned with his Father, it bee hard to define.

At this time beganne the *Ephori* in *Lacedemon*, a hundred and thirtie yeeres after *Plutarchus* saith. *Lycorgus*, according to *Plutarch*. *Eusebius* makes their beginning farre later, namely, in the fiftenth *Olympiad*. Of these *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the first; *Theopompus* and *Polydorus*, being then joynt Kings. These *Ephori*, chosen euery yeere, were controllers, as well of their Senators as of their Kings, nothing being done without their aduice and consent. For (saith *Cicero*) they were opposed against their Kings, as the *Roman* Tribunes against the Consuls. In the time of *Achaz* died *Eschylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* euery since the fiftith yeere of *Pezzia*. *Alcemenon* the thirteenth of the *Medon* 30 *tide*, or *Gouernours* of the *Athenians* (so called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) succeeded his Father *Eschylus*, and was the last of these *Gouernours*: he ruled only two yeeres. For the *Athenians* changed first from Kings (after *Codrus*) to *Gouernours* for life; which ending in this *Alcemenon*, they erected a Magistrate, whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kind of *Barghomaister*, or *Gouernor* of their City for ten yeeres.

This alteration *Pausanias* in his fourth Booke beginnes, in the first yeere of the eight *Olympiad*. *Eusebius* and *Halicanassus* in the first of the seventh *Olympiad*: at which time indeed, *Carpus* the first of these, began his ten yeeres rule.

The Kingdome of the *Latines* gouerned about three hundred yeere by the *Syllij*, of the race of *Aeneas*, tooke end the same *Achaz* time: the foundation of *Rome*, being 40 laied by *Romulus* and *Remus* in the eight yeere of the same King. *Codemon* builds it the eleuenth of *Achaz*, *Bucholzer* in the eighth, as I thinke he should, others somewhat later, and in the reigne of *Ezechias*. *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others, square the time of the foundation to the third yeere of the sixth *Olympiad*. But *Halicanassus*, *Solinus* *Antiochenus*, *Clemens* *Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, to the first yeere of the seventh: who seeme not only to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to haue kept herein the best account.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Antiquities of *Italy*, and foundation of *Rome* in the time of *Achaz*.

§. I.

Of the old inhabitants, and of the name of *Italy*.



ND here to speake of the more ancient times of *Italy*, and what Nations posselt it before the arriual of *Aeneas*, the place may seeme to inuite vs: the rather because much fabulous matter hath bene mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. *Italy* before the fall of *Troy*, was knowne to the *Greekes* by diuers names: as first *Hesperia*, then *Ausonia*, the one name arising of the Seate, the other of the *Ausones*, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotri*: whom *Halicanassus* thinks to haue bene the first, that brought a Colonie of *Arcadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italy* of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* speaks thus.

Esse locis Hesperiam Graij cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebae:
Oenotry celare viri, nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ductis de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which *Greekes* *Hesperia* name,
Ancient, and strong, of much fertilitie.
Oenotrians held it, but we heare by fame,
That by late ages of Posteritie,
Tis from a Captaines name called *Italy*.

Who this Captaine or King may haue bene, it is very vncertaine. For *Virgil* 40 speaks no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long vpon the whole Countrey, and worne out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to finde out the original of this name, and the first planters of this noble Countrey, *Remenius* hath made a very painful search, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds vpon that of *Halicanassus*, who speaks of a Colonie which the *Eleans* did leade into *Italy*, before the name of *Italy* was giuen to it: Secondly, vpon that of *Iustinus*, who saith, that *Brundisium* 100 was a Colonie of the *Aetolians*: Thirdly, vpon that of *Strabo*, who affirms the same of *Temesa* or *Tempsa*, a Citie of the *Brutij* in *Italy*: Lastly, vpon the authoritie of *Plinius*, who shewes that the *Italians* did inhabite onely one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was deriued ouer all. Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Aetolians*, who (as hee shewes) had one original, from them hee brings the name of *Italy*. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Aetolia*, saue that the first Letter is cast away, which in the *Greeke* 150 words

words is common, and the letter (o) is changed into (a) which change is found in the name of *Æthalia* an Island neere *Italie*, peopled by the *Ætholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolie* Dialect, of which Dialect (being almost proper to the *Ætolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach. Hereunto appertaines that of *Iulian* the Apostata, who called the *Greekes*, cousins of the *Latines*. Also the common original of the *Greeke* and *Latines* from *Iauan*; and the Fable of *Ianus*, whose Image had two faces, looking East and West, as *Greece* and *Italie* lay, and was stamped on Coyns, with a Ship on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Iauan*, 10 father of the *Greekes* and *Latines*: who sayling ouer the *Ionian* Sea, that lyes betwene *Ætolia* and the Westerne parts of *Greece* and *Italie*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reynecius* thinks, that the names of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, and thereto applies that of *Berosus*, who called *Cethim*, *Italus*; though it may seeme strengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whilst he abode in *Italie* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproued. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moses*; and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Rittim*, then was he the sonne of *Iauan*, and nephew of *Iapheth*, the eldest sonne of *Noah*: which antiquity farre exceeds the name of *Italie*, that began after the departure of *Hercules*: 20 out of the Countrey, not long before the Warre of *Troy*.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speaks of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus* his marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italie*; but calleth *Electra* and her sister *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the Mountaine *Atlas* in *Africa*, naming *Italm* among the Kings of the *Aborigines*; which he would not haue done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* bene one person.

As for the authoritie of *Berosus* in this case, wee neede the lesse to regard it, for that *Reynecius* himselfe, whose conjectures are more to be valued then the dreames wherewith *Annius* hath filled *Berosus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italie* began long after *Atlas*, it appears by the Verses of *Virgil* last rehearfed, wherein hee would not haue said, ——— *Nunc fama minores* 30 *Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem*, had that name bene heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Countrey. But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few yeeres before the Warre of *Troy*, had left in *Italie* a Colonie of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the same Nation with the *Ætolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pausanias* teach) then the name of *Italie* began: and seeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldnesse to say, that *Italus* was Commander of these *Eleans*. For though I remember not, that I haue read of any such *Greeke* as was named *Italus*; yet the name of *Ætolus*, written in *Greeke* *Ætolus*, was very famous both among the *Ætolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being sonne of a 40 King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Ætolian* Kingdome. Neither is it more hard to deuise the name of *Italus* from *Ætolus*, then *Italia* from *Ætolia*. So may *Virgil*'s authoritie stand well with the collections of *Reynecius*; the name of *Italie* being taken both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

¶ II. 50

¶ II.

Of the Aborigines, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium.

IN *Italie* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were most famous; the *Hetrurians* hauing held the greatest part of it vnder their subiection; and the *Latines* by the vertue and felicitie of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, subduing all *Italie*, and in few ages whatsoever Nation was knowne in Europe: together with all the Westerne parts of *Asia*, and 10 North of *Africa*.

The Region called *Latium*, was first inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnassensis*, *Varro*, and *Reynecius* (following them) thinke to haue bene *Acadians*: and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other significations that are trained) imports as much as originall, or native of the place, which they possessed: which title the *Acadians* are knowne in vaunting manner to haue alwaies vsurped, fetching their antiquitie from beyond the Moone; because indeede, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* enforced to forsake their seates so oft as other *Greekes* were, who dwelt without that halfe Island, neither had the *Acadians* so vnure a dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because their Countrey was lesse fruitfull in land, 20 mountainous, and hard of access, and they themselves as in such places commonly are found) very warlikemen. Some of these therefore hauing occupied a great part of *Latium*, and held it long, did according to the *Acadian* manner, stile themselves *Aborigines*, in that language, which either their new Seate, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might bee that the *Acadians* who dwelt somewhat farre from Sea, and are alwaies noted as vnapt men to proue good Mariners, should haue bene Authors of new discoueries, were a question not easie to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfullnesse of children, in which those ages abounded, inforced the superfluous companie to seeke another seat, and that some 30 expeditions of the *Acadians*, as especially that of *Euaender*, into the same parts of *Italie*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigines*, were the *Pelagians*, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gaue name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long since dead, for lack of good records. Neither was their glorie such in *Italie*, as could long sustaine the name of their owne Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Ausones*, *Aurunci*, *Rutuli*, and other people, did in ages following disturb the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* was brought to some ciuilitie; and he therefore canonized as a god.

This *Saturne* S. *Angustine* calleth *Stereos* or *Sterculius*, others terme him *Stercutius*, and say, that hee taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* tooke his name of *Saturne*, because he did later, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, it is a questionlesse fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanitie to thinke that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fled from another; so in the truth of Historie, it is well knowne, that no King reigning in those parts was so mightie, that it should be hard to finde one Countrey or another, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuit. And yet, as most fables and poetical fictions, were occasioned by some ancient truth, which 40 either by ambiguity of speech or some allusion, they did mainly and darkly expresse (for so they fained a passage ouer a Riuer in Hell, because death is a passage to another life, and because this passage is hatefull, lamentable, and painefull, therefore they named the Riuer *Styx* of Hate, *Cocytus* of Lamentation, and *Acheron* of Pain: so also because men are stonie-hearted, and because the *Greeke* *Λαοι* people, and *Λαοι* stones, are neere in sound, therefore they fained in the time of *Dionysius* stones conuerted into men, as at other times men into stones) in like manner it may 50 be

See lib. 1. cap. 6.
Sui. & seq.

At 7. 33.
At 45. 15.

be, that the originall of *Saturnus* hiding himselfe, was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisest of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Aëtis*; whence also *Elyas* of the true God saies, *Tu Deus abscondens te*. For it can not be in vaine, that the word *Saturnus* should also haue this very signification, if it bee deriued (as some thinke) from the Hebrew *Satur*, which is to hide: Howbeit I denie not, but that the originall of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

Reynecius doth conjecture that the *Ceteans*, who descended of *Cethim*, the Sonne of *Iauan*, were the men who gaue the name to *Latium*. For these *Ceteans* are remembered by *Homer* as aiders of the *Troians* in their Warre. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them subjects to the Crowne of *Troy*. Hereupon *Reynecius* gathers, that their abode was in *Asia* viz. in *agro Elaticeo*; in the *Elatian* Territories, which agreeeth with *Strabo*. Of a Citie which the *Æolians* held in *Asia*, called *Elaa*, or *Elate*, *Pausanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidamis*, or (according to the Greeke writing) *Cidanis*, which name last rehearsed hath a very neere sound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the Greeke Letter (*ϑ*) hauing (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (*th*) differing only in the strength or weakenesse of vtterance, which is found betwene many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these *Ceteans* being descended of *Cethim*, *Cittim*, or *Kittim*, the Sonne of *Iauan*, who was Progenitor of the *Greekes*, might very well take a denomination from the Citie, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Elatier*, or *Elaties*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Aradians*, *Phocians*, *Æolians*, and *Elaens*, who all were of the *Æolique* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountaine *Elaus*, the Hauen *Elaus*, the people *Elaus*, the Citie *Elaus*, *Elate*, and *Elateia*, of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elatini*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now wheteas both the *Ceteans* and *Aradians*, had their originall from *Cethim*, it is nothing vnlikely, that agreeing in language and similitude of names, they might neuertheless differ in sound and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (deriuing the *Sabines* from him) giue the name of *Sabinus*: in the like manner might he whom the *Aradians* would call *Elaus* (of which name they had a Prince that founded the Citie *Elateia*) bee named of the *Ceteans* *Latinius*. *Reynecius* pursuing this likelihood, thinks, that when *Euryphilus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, being the Sonne of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat vpon *Anga*, the Daughter of *Aleu* King of *Aradia*, was slaine by *Achilles* in the *Troian* Warre: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Euryphilus*, conduct the *Ceteans*, who (fearing what euill might befall themselves by the *Greekes*, if the affaires of *Troy* should goe ill) passed into that part of *Italie*, where the *Aradians* were planted by *Oenotrus*. And *Reynecius* farther thinks, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian* *Aradians*, by the memorie of his Grand-mother *Anga*, an *Aradian* Ladie, was well contented to take an *Aradian* name, and to be called *Elaus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*: That this name of *Elaus* may haue been taken or imposed by the *Aradians*, it is the more easie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Aphides*, the other of *Elaus*, who were Sonnes of *Arca* King of *Aradia*, which gaue name to the Countrie. and betwene these two Families the succession in that Kingdome did passe, almost interchangeably for many ages, till at the end of the *Troian* warre it fell into the hand of *Hippobolus* of the race of *Elaus*, in whose Posteritie it continued vntill the last. Again, the name *Latinus*, hauing a deriuatiue sound, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of *Reynecius*, which if he made ouer-boldly, yet others may follow it with the lesse re-prooffe, considering that it is not easie to finde either an apparent truth, or faire probability among these disagreeing Authors, which haue written the originals of *Latium*.

¶ III.

¶ III.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines vntill *Æneas* his coming.

THe Kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arrival of *Æneas*, were, *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus*, and *Latinius*. Of *Saturnus* there is nothing remembered, saue what is mentioned alreadie, and many fables of the *Greekes*, which whether they be applicable to this man, it is for him to judge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturnus* of the *Greekes*, called by them *Κρονος*, or some other, stiled *Saturnus* by the *Abrigines*. For the age wherein hee liued, may very well admit him to haue bene the same: but the names of *Stercor*, and *Stercorius* (for it may be, this name was not borrowed from the skill which hee taught the people, but rather the soile which they laied on their grounds, had that appellation from him) doe rather make him seeme some other man.

Of *Picus* it is said, that he was a good Horse-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Pie, may well seeme (as it is interpreted) to haue growne from the skill which he had in sooth-saying, or diuination, by the flight and chattering of Fowles. *Faunus*, the Sonne of *Picus*, reigned after his Father. Hee gaue to *Eumolpus* the *Aradian* (who hauing slaine by mischance his Father *Echemus* King of *Aradia*, fled into *Italie*) the waste grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Catua*, the sister of *Faunus*, was also his Wife, as all Historians agree; shee was held a Prophetesse, and highly commended for her chastitie; which praise in her must needs haue bene much blemished by her marriage, if shee being meercely incestuous.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus* had by his sister any child, neither doe we reade of any other Wife which he had, saue only that *Purphylus* giues vnto him *Latinius* as his Sonne, by a Nymph, called *Marica*.

But who this *Marica* was it is not found, saue onely that her abode was about the Riuer *Liris* neere *Minturne*.

Of the name *Latinius*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted foure: one, the Sonne of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Vlysses* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice onely of the second, of whom hee saith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the Citie, were from his surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reynecius*, the difference consisting almost in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus*, the Sonne of *Hercules*, whereas *Reynecius* makes him his Nephew, by a sonne of the same name. This *Latinius* hauing obtained the succession in that Kingdome after *Faunus*, did promise his only Daughter and Heire *Launia*, to *Turnus* the sonne of *Venilia*, who was sister to *Amata* *Latinius* his Wife.

But when *Æneas* arrived in those parts with fiftene ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might bee imbarcked according to the rate which *Thucydides* allowes to the *Vessells* then vsed, about one thousand & two hundred men: then *Latinius* finding that it would stand best with his assurance, to make alliance with the *Troian*, and moued with the great reputation of *Æneas*, which himselfe had heard of in the Warre of *Troy*, gaue his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*, who incensed herewith, fought to auenge himselfe by warre: which was soone ended with his owne death.

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinius*, it is very certaine, that were shee an *Italian*, shee could not haue borne a Daughter marriageable at the arrival of *Æneas*; vntill we should wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather giue the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italie*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Sonne, who serued in the last yeere of the *Troian* Warre. But *Reynecius* holds her an *Asiatique*, and thinks withall, that *Launia* was

borne

*Egeid of en
calls the title
of the heathen
dos Stercorius:
and hence it
may be that in
the Euangelist
was reade for
Belzebub, Bel-
phul, which is
interpreted
Dominus Ster-
corius: and it
may be that
after that *Sat-
urnus* became
the name of
an idol, ipepla-
sed God that
in a like sense
this name *Ster-
corius* should
ricke vnto
him.
Aetid. 7.

Suidas in the
word *Latini*.

borne before *Telephus* came into *Italie*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarinaſſeus* call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seeme by *Varro*; who calleth her *Palatia*: which name very well might bee deriued from the Greeke name *Pallas*, *Amata*, which signifieth beloued, or deare, was the name by which the High Priest called euery Virgin, whom hee tooke to serue as a Nunne of *Vesta*; wherefore it is the more easily to be thought a surname, howsoever *Virgil* discourse of her and *Pentia* her sister.

Lavinia, the daughter of *Latinus*, being giuen in marriage to *Aeneas*, the Kingdome of *Latium*, or the greater part of that Countrie, was established in that race: wherein it continued vntill it was ouer-growne by the might and greatnesse of the *Romans*. 10

§. 1111.

Of *AENEAS*, and of the Kings and Governours of *Alba*.



AENEAS himselfe being of the royall blood of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: hee was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Troians*. By his wife *Cressa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, hee had a sonne called *Ascanius*; whose surname was *Iulus*, hauing before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) bene furnished *Ius*. But when *Aeneas* was dead, his wife *Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great with child by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the Woods, where she was deliuered of a sonne, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and surname *Posthumus*, because hee was borne after his fathers Funerall. This flight of *Lavinia* was so euill taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her returne, entreated her honourably, and vsing her as a Queene, did foster her young sonne, his halfe-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place; *Ascanius* leauing to his mother in law the Citie *Lavinium*, which *Aeneas* had built, and called after his new wiues name, founded the Citie *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his raigne was, according to some, eight and twentie yeeres: *Virgil* giues him thirtie; others five and thirtie, and eight and thirtie. After his decesse, there arose contention betweene *Sylvius*, the sonne of *Aeneas*, and *Iulus* the sonne of *Ascanius*, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the sonne of *Lavinia*, *Iulus* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leauing the Kingdome to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose posteritie were afterward called *Sylvij*.

The raigne of the *Alban Kings*, with the continuance of each mans raigne, I finde thus set downe.

1. <i>Sylvius Posthumus</i> .	29
2. <i>Sylvius Aeneas</i> .	31
3. <i>Sylvius Latinus</i> .	50
4. <i>Sylvius Alba</i> .	39
5. <i>Sylvius Atis</i> .	26
6. <i>Sylvius Capys</i> .	28
7. <i>Sylvius Capetus</i> .	13
8. <i>Sylvius Tiberinus</i> .	8
9. <i>Sylvius Agrippa</i> .	41
10. <i>Sylvius Aladivus</i> .	19
11. <i>Sylvius Auentinus</i> .	37
12. <i>Sylvius Procas</i> .	23
13. <i>Sylvius Amulius</i> .	44
<i>Sylvius Numitor</i> .	

Ilia, called also *Rhea* and *Sylvia*.
Romulus. *Remus*.

The

The most of these Kings liued in peace, and did little or nothing worthe of remembrance.

Latinus founded many Townes in the borders of *Latium*: who standing much vpon the honour of their originall, grew thereby to be called *Prisci Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* some thinke that the Riuer *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* giues it that denomination of another called *Tiberis*, before the coming of *Aeneas* into *Italie*. The Mountaine *Auentinus* had name (as many write) from *Auentinus* King of the *Albanes*, who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Iulus*, the brother of *Auentinus*, is named by *Enchirius* as father of another *Iulius*, and grandfather of *Iulius Proculus*; who leauing *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*. *Numitor*, the elder sonne of *Procas*, was decried of the Kingdome by his brother *Amulius*; by whom also his sonne, *Agellus* was slaine, and *Ilia* his daughter made a Nunne of *Vesta*, that thereby the issue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But she conceived two sonnes, eyther by her vnkle *Amulius*, as some thinke; or by *Mars*, as the Poets saie; or perhaps by some man of warre. Both the children their vnkle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quicke, according to the Law; which so ordained, when the Vestall Virgins brake their chastitie. Whether it was so, that the mother was pardoned at the entreatie of *Antio*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preferred, who afterward reuenged the crueltie of their vnkle, with the slaughter of him and all his, and restored *Numitor* their grandfather to the Kingdome: wherein how long hee reigned, I find not, neyther is it greatly materiall to know; for as much as the Estates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were presently eclipsed by the swift increase of *Rome*; vpon which the computation of Time following (as farre as concerns the things of *Italie*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the Kingdome of *Alba* ceased; for *Numitor* left no male issue, *Romulus* chose rather to lue in *Rome*; and of the Line of *Sylvius* none else remained. So the *Albanes* were gouerned by Magistrates; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Cains Clutius*, who in the dayes of *Tullus Hostilius*, King of the *Romans*, making Warre vpon *Rome*, dyed in the Campe; and *Metius Sufsetius*, the successor of *Clutius*, who surrendred the Estate of *Alba* vnto the *Romans*, hauing committed the hazard of both Signories to the successe of three men of each side, who decided the quarrell by Combat in which, the three brethren *Horatij*, the Champions of the *Romans*, preuailed against the *Curatij*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hostilius* with the *Albane* forces against the *Vientes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the battaile, hoping thereby to leaue the *Romans* to such an ouerthrow, as might make them weak enough for the *Albanes* to deale with *Tullus*, who notwithstanding this falsehoode, obtained the victorie, did reward *Metius* with a cruell death, causing him to be ryed to two Chariots, and so torne in pieces. Then was *Alba* destroyed and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patritians*; among which were the *Iulij*: of whom *C. Iulius Caesar* being descended, not onely gloried in his ancient, royall, and forgotten pedigree, in full assembly of the *Romans*, then gouerned by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare industrie, valour, and iudgement, obtained the Soueraignie of the *Roman* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himselfe and his posteritie; whereby the name of *Aeneas*, and honour of the *Troian* and *Alban* Race, was so reuiued, that seldom, if cuer, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of glorie.

Ecc

§. V.

p. V.

of the beginning of Rome, and of ROMULVS birth and death.



Rome, which deuoured the *Alban* Kingdome, I may here best shew the beginnings, which (though somewhat vncertaine) depend much vpon the birth and education of *Romulus*; the grand-child of *Nunnius*; the last that reigned in *Alba*. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations betwene *Euphrates* and the *Ocean* were broken in peeces by the yron teeth of this fourth Beast, it is not to bee described in one place, hauing bene the worke of many Ages; whereof I now doe handle onely the first, as incident vnto the discourse preceding. *Q. Fabius Piccor*, *Portius Cato*, *Calpurnius Piso*, *Sempronius*, and others, seeke to deriue the *Romans* from *Ianus*; but *Herodotus*, *Marcellus*, and many others of equall credit, giue the *Gracians* for their ancestors; and as *Sirach* reporteth in his fifth Booke; *CAECILIUS rerum Romanorum scriptor eo argumentis colligit, Romanum à Græciæ esse conditum, quod Romani Græco ritu, antiquo instituto HERCULEM sacrum faciunt, matrem quoque EVANDRI venerantur Romanum*; *CAECILIUS* (saith he) a *Romane Historiographer*, doth by this argument gather, that *Rome* was built by the *Greekes*, because the *Romanes*, after *Greekish* fashion, by ancient Or dinance doe sacrifice to *HERCULES*: the *Romanes* also worship the mother of *EVANDER*.

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* remembers many founders of that Citie: as *Romulus* the sonne of *Visseus* and *Circæ*; *Romus* the sonne of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* sent thither from *Troy*; or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latines*, who draue the *Tuscan* out of that Countrey, built it. *Solinus* bestowes the honour of building *Rome* vpon *Euaner*, saying: That it was beforetimes called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* giues the denomination to *Aspasia* Ladie, brought thither by the *Gracians*: others say, That it was anciently called *Febria*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*; witnesse *Saint Augustine* in his third Booke de *Ciuitate Dei*. But *Liuius* will haue it to be the worke of *Romulus*, euen from the foundation: of whom and his 30 confors *Lucretius* to a *Roman* Citizen vaunting of their originall, answered in these Verbes:

*Attamen ut longe repetas, longeq; reuoluas
Maiorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.*

Yet though thou fetch thy pedigree so farre;
Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepherd was, or else, that Ile forbear.
meaning eyther a Shepherd, or a Theefe.

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his education and preseruatiō, it is said, That he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* was suppoled to be his father; that he was nursd by a Wolfe, found and taken away by *Fausula*, a Shepheards wife. The same vnnaturall nursing had *Cyrus*, the same incredible fostering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as *Plutarch* sayth, it is like enough that *Amulius* came couered with armour to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child: and therein it seemeth to mee that hee might haue two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heire of his elder brother, from whom he injuriously held the Kingdome; the other to satisfie his appetite, because shee was faire and goodly. For seee being made a Nunne of the Goddesse *Vesta*, it was death in her, by the Law, to breake her chastitie. I also find in *Fauschus* his *Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Merowé*, King of the *Franks*, was begotten by a Monster of the Sea: but *Fauschus* sayes, Let them beleene it that list; *il le croira qui voudra*:
also

also of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are poetical inuentions: but to answer these imaginations in generall, it is true, that in those times; when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were Kings, or passions of the minde, or as there were of vices and vertues; then did many women greatly borne, couer such slips as they made, by pretelling to bee forced by more then humane power: so did *Oenone* confesse to *Paris*, that shee had bene rauished by *Apollo*. And *Anchises* boasted that hee had knowne *Venus*. But *Ihea* was made with child by some man of Warre, or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the God of battell, according to the sense of the time, *Oenone* was overcome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to *Apollo*. The Mother of *Meauée* might fancie a Sea Captaine to be gotten with yong by such a one: as the Daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*, *Aeneas* was a bastard and begotten vpon some faire Harlot, called for her beautie *Venus*, and was therefore the child of lust, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nursd by a Wolfe, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*, for the *Curtelans* in those dayes were called Wolfes, *quæ nunc* (sayth *HALICARNASSAEVS*) *honestiori vocabulo amica appellantur*; Which are now by an honest name called friends. It is also written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken vp into heauen, or rather out of the world by his Father *Mars*, in a great storme of thunder, and lightning: so was it said that *Aeneas* vanished away by the *Riuer Numicus*: but thereof *Liuius* also speaketh modestly; for he reherbeth the other opinion, that the storme was the furie of the Senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking vp; and many Authours agree, that there was an vnnaturall darkness, both at his birth and at his death, and that hee might bee slaine by thunder or lightning, it is not vnlikely. For the Emperour *Anastolus* was slaine with lightning, so was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* slaine with a thunder-bolt: so *Carus* the Emperour (who succeeded *Probus*) whilst he lodged with his Armie vpon the *Riuer Tigris*, was there slaine with lightning. But a *Mars* of the same kinde might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of warre, and by violence destroyed. And that he dyed by violence (which definie followed most of the *Roman* Emperours) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*: who was but the seuenth King after him: who when hee had murdered his Father-in-law, commanded that hee should not bee buried, for (saith he) *Romulus* himselfe dyed and was not buried. But let *Halicarnassæus* end this dispute; whose words are these: They (saith he) who draw nereest to the truth, say that he was slaine by his owne Citizens; and that his crueltie in punishments of offenders, together with his arrogancie, were the cause of his slaughter. For it is reported, that both when his mother was vanished, whether by some man, or by a God, the whole body of the Sunne was eclipsed, and all the earth couered with darkness like vnto night, and that the same did happen at his death.

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whose life historieth by *Plutarch*, doth containe (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few myles which had soone bene forgotten, if the *Roman* greatnesse built vpon that foundation, had not giuen it memorie in all ages following, euen vnto this day. A valiant man hee was, very strong of bodie, patient of traueil, and temperate in dyet, as forbeareing the vse of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, and neglect reuenge of the death of *Tatius*, his companion in the Kingdome, that he himselfe might bee Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He reigned euen and thirtie yecres: first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death single, till he was slaine, as is already shewed: after which time the Soueraigntie fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him vnknowne, and more Priest-like than King-like: wherein *Rome* it selfe in her later times hath somewhat resembled this King. For hauing long bene sole Gouvernesse till *Constantinople* shared with her: afterwards, when as the *Greeke* Emperour was cruell by forraigne enemies, and the *Latines* dispoyle of Imperiall power, the fell into the subjection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheepe-hooke to the

Sword, & therewith victorious to excessive magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being driven from luxurie to defensive armes, and therein hauing bin vnfortunate, at length betakes her selfe againe to the Croisers staffe.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place by occasion of the Storie of the times of King *Ahaz*, during whose raigne in *Iurie*, the foundations of this famous Citie were laied.

CHAP. XXV.

Of EZEKIA, and his Contemporaries.

§. I.

Of the beginning of EZECHIAS, and of the agreeing of PTOLOMIAS, NABONASSAR, NABOPOLASSAR and MARDOCEN-PADVS, with the historie of the Bible.



THE first yeere of *Ahaz* his Raigne was confounded with the last of his father *Iotham*, so was the later end of his sixtene yeeres taken vp in the three first of *Ezekias* his Sonne. This appears by the Raigne of *Hosea*, ouer *Israel*, which beganne in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Ahaz* his foureteenth. But the third of *Hosea* was the first of *Ezekia*, so it followes, that *Ezekia* beganne to raigne in his Fathers foureteenth yeere. Like enough it is, that the third yeere of *Hosea*, the same being the fourteenth of *Ahaz*, was almost spent when *Ezekia* beganne, and so the fifteenth yeere of *Ahaz* may haue beene concurrent, for the most part, with the first of *Ezekia*.

By supposing that *Hosea* beganne his Kingdome, when the twelfth yeere of *Ahaz* was almost compleat, some would find the means how to disioyne the first of *Ezekia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one yeere later, of which yeere, *Ahaz* may perhaps haue liued not many dayes. But seeing that the foureteenth and fifteenth yeeres of *Ezekia*, may not be removed out of their places; it is vaine labour to alter the first yeere.

In the foureteenth of *EZEKIA*, *SENACHERIS* invading *Juda*, and the Countries adioyning, lost his Armie by a miraculous stroke from Heauen, fled home, and was slaine. The yeere following it was that God added fifteene yeeres to the life of *Ezekia*, when he had already reigned fouretee of his nine and twentie: and the same yeere was that miracle scene of the Sunnes going backe; of which wonder (as I heare) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for skill in Astronomy, hath by calculation found the very day which answered vnto the twentie fifth of *April*, in the *Iulian* yeere, being then *Thursday*. I haue not seene any workes of *Scultet*; but surely to find a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessarie that he produce some record of obseruation made at such a time. Howsoeuer it bee, the fifteenth yeere of *Ezekia* is agreed vpon; and therefore wee may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is vsuall in the like cases, that *AHAZ* slept with his Fathers, and *EZEKIA* his Sonne reigned in his stead, it doth no more proue that *Ezekia* reigned not with his Father, than the like saying doth inferre the like at the death of *Iehosaphat*,

saphat, and succession of *Iehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Sonne to raigne whilest his Father liued, we haue already said enough.

Of this godly King *Ezekias*, we finde, that his very beginning returned his deuotion and zeale. For whether it were so, that his vnfortunate and vngracious Father (who had out-worne his reputation) gaue way to his Sonnes proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather thinke) the first yeere and first month of his raigne, wherein *Ezekias* opened the doores of the Temple, were to be vnderstood as the beginning of his sole gouernement; we plainly finde it to haue beene his first worke, that he opened the doores of the house of the Lord.

which *Ahaz* had shut vp, cleansed the Citie and Kingdome of the Idols, restored the Priests to their offices, and elites, commanded the Sacrifices to bee offered which had beene for many yeeres neglected, and brake downe the brazen Serpent of *Moses*, because the people burnt incense before it, and he called it *Achubstan*, which signifieth a lump of brass. He did also celebrate the Passe-ouer with great magnificence, inuiting thereunto the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes: many there were, even out of those Tribes, that came vnto *Ierusalem*, to this feast. But the generall multitude of *Israel* did laugh the Messengers of *Ezekia* to scorn.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memorials of their deliuerance out of the *Egyptian* seruitude, fell into a new seruitude, out of which they neuer were deliuered. For in the fourth of *Ezekia* his raigne, *Salmanassar* the Sonne of *Tiglath*, the Sonne of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hosea* King of *Israel* had practised with *Soc* King of *Egypt* against him, invaded *Israel*, besieged *Samarita*, and in the third yeere (after the Inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Assyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobia* and his Sonne of the same name, with *Anna* his Wife, were sent to *Antioch*, in whose Seates and Places the *Assyrians* sent strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Israelites*, as those of *Cutha*, *Ana*, *Hamab*, and *Sphenaim*, besides *Babylonians*: whose Places and Nations I haue formerly described in the Treatise of the Holy Land.

These later *Assyrian* Kings, and the *Persians*, which followed them, are the first, of whom wee finde mention made both in Prophane and Sacred bookes. These therefore serue most aptly to ioyn the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets haue written otherwise than fabulously) with the Ages following that were better knowne, and described in course of Historie. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Persians*, we finde in the Bible the same names by which other Authors haue recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmanassar*, with other *Assyrian*, *Chaldean* Kings, diuersitie of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe speake of *Salmanassar*, King of *Assur*, who reigned in the time of *Ahaz*, and *Ezekia*, Kings of *Iuda*, and of *Hosea* King of *Israel*, whom he carried into captiuitie: and whereas *Ptolomie* makes mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he liued; it is very pertinent to shew, that *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same man. The like reason also requirereth, that it bee shewed of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that hee was the same, whom *Ptolomie* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Bucholers* hath well collected sufficient prooffe from the exact calculations of sundrie good Mathematicians. For by them it appears, that betwene *Nabonassar* and the birth of *Christ*, there passed seuen hundred fortie and sixe yeeres: at which distance of time the raigne of *Salmanassar* was. One great prooffe hereof is this, which the same *Bucholers* is alleageth out of *Erasmus Reinholdus*, in the *Prutenick* Tables. *Mardocempadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolomie*, speaking of three Eclipses of the Moone, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who sent Embassadors to *Ezekia*, King of *Juda*. So that if wee reckon backwards to the difference of time, betwene *Merodach* and *Salmanassar*, we shall finde it the same which is betwene *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonassar*.

Nabonassar. Likewise *Euclides* doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of *Samarita*, to the deuastation of *Ierusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nabuchadnessar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirtie and three yeeres: the selfe same distance of time is found in *Ptolome*, betwene *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For, whereas *Ptolome* seemes to differ from this account, making *Nabonassar* more ancient by an hundred and fortie yeeres, than the destruction of *Ierusalem*, wee are to vnderstand that he took *Samarita* in the eighth yeere of his raigne; so that the seuen foregoing yeeres added to these one hundred thirtie and three, make the accounts of the Scriptures fall euery way with that of *Ptolome*. *Ptolome*'s computation is, that from the first of *Nabonassar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed one hundred twentie and seuen yeeres. Now it wee adde to these one hundred twentie seuen, the thirteene ensuing of *Nabuchadnessar*'s yeeres, before the Citie and Temple were destroyed, we haue the summe of one hundred and fortie yeeres. In so plaine a case more proofes are needlesse, though many are brought, of which this may serue for all, that *Ptolome* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar*, one hundred twentie and two yeeres, after the first of *Nabonassar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the content of all Mathematicians: which in account of times I hold more sure than the authority of any Historie; and therefore I thinke it follie to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematicall obseruations doe so thoroughly concur.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest vnanswered, whereby he proueth *Babylon* the Father of *Meroch*, to haue bene this *Nabonassar*, I will not spare to loose a word or two in giuing the Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next obseruations of the heauenly Bodies, which *Ptolome* recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the raigne of *Mardocempadus*; the second yeere of whose raigne is, according to *Ptolome*, concurrent in part with the twentie seuen of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which hee calculates, being in the second yeere of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twentie seuen yeeres, seuentene daies, and eleuen houres: the account from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high-noon the first day of the *Egyptian* moneth *Thoth*, then answering to the twentie sixt of *February*; and this Eclipse being fiftie minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; so that the difference of time betwene the two Kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolome*, according to the *Egyptian* yeeres. But how does this proue, that *Mardocempadus* or *Meroch*, was the Sonne of *Nabonassar*? yea, how doth it proue, that he was his next Successor, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to satisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himselfe did afterwards beleue *Mardocempadus* to haue bene rather the Nephew, than the Sonne of *Babylon*, or *Nabonassar*. For if he might be either the Nephew, or the Sonne, hee might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our Countrey-man *Lydiate* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Tornilius*, who follows *Scaliger* herein, and *Seruius Calpurnius*, who hath drawne into forme of Chronologie, that learned worke, *De Emendatione Temporum*, doe hold vp the same assertion, confounding *Babylon* with *Nabonassar*: I haue taken the paines to search, as farre as my leisure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might proue the Kindred or succession of these two. Yet cannot I finde in the *Atheniensis* (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or aduers to *Scaliger*; and other good authorities, I know none, in this business) any sentence more neerely prouing the succession of *Meroch* to *Nabonassar*, than the place now last rehearsed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was Father to the other, than (that I may vse a like example) the as neere succession of *William the Conqueror*, to haue bene Sonne, or Grand-child to *Edward the Confessor*. This considered, wee may safely goe on with our account from *Nabonassar*, taking him for *Salmanassar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be

Prob. Chron.
4. 6. 22.

be driuen from our booke, when they finde something in it, agreeing with *Annius*, forasmuch as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in *Babylon*, and *Assyria*, in those very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolome* are assigned to *Belesus*, *Nabonassar*, and *Mardocempadus*; and the rest: no good Historie naming any others, that reigned there in those ages, and all Astronomicall obseruations, fully concurring, with the yeeres that are attributed to these, or numbred from them.

§. II.

Of the danger and deliuerance of *India* from *Sennacherib*.



When *Salmanassar* was dead, and his sonne *Sennacherib* in possession of the Empire, in the fourteenth yeere of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him such Tribute as was agreed on at such time as *T-glath*, the Grandfather of *Sennacherib*, and Father of *Salmanassar*, inuited by *Assur*, invaded *Rezen* King of *Omansus*, and deliuered him from the dangerous Warre which *Israel* had undertaken against him. This Tribute and acknowledgement when *Ezechias* denied, *Sennacherib*, hauing as it seemes a purpose to invade *Egypt*, sent one part of his Armie to lie before *Ierusalem*. Now though *Ezechias* (fearing this powerfull Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirtie hundred talents of siluer, and thirty talents of gold: wherewith he presented *Sennacherib*, now set downe before *Lachis* in *India*, yet vnder the colour of better assurance, & to force the King of *India* to deliuer hostages, the *Assyrian* enuironed *Ierusalem* with a grosse Armie, and hauing his Sword in his hand, thought it the fittest time to write his owne conditions.

Ezechias directed his three greatest Countellers, to parlie with *Rabfacer*, ouer the Wall; and to receiue his demands: who vsed three principall arguments to perswade the people to yeeld themselves to his Master *Sennacherib*. For though the Chancellor, Steward, and Secretarie, sent by *Ezechias*, desired *Rabfacer* to speake vnto them in the *Syrian* tongue, and not in the *Hebrew*, yet hee with a more loud voice directed his speech to the multitude in their owne language. And for the first, hee made them know, That if they continued obstinate, and adhered to their King, that they would, in a short time, be enforced to eate their owne dung, and drinke their owne vrine: Secondly, hee altogether disabled the King of *Egypt*, from whom the *Indians* hoped for succour; and compared him to a broken staffe, on which who-so-ever leaneeth, pierceth his owne hand: Thirdly, that the gods who should helpe them, *Ezechias* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brazen Serpent, which had bene preferred ouer since *Moses* time: and withall hee bade them remember the gods of other Nations: whom, notwithstanding any power of theirs, his Master had conquered and throwne downe; and for God himselfe, in whom they trusted, hee perswaded them by no meanes to relie on him; for he would deceiue them. But finding the people silent (for so the King had commanded them) after a while, when he had vnderstood that the King of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerfull Armie, hee himselfe left the *Assyrian* forces in charge to others, and fought *Sennacherib* at *Lachis* in *India*, either to informe him of their resolution in *Ierusalem*, or to confere with him concerning the Armie of *Tharaca* the *Arabian*. Soone vpon this there came letters from *Sennacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom he partly aduised, and partly threatened to submit himselfe: vnto the same blasphemous outrage against the all-powerfull God, as before. But *Ezechias* sending those Countellers to the Prophet *Ezra*, which had lately bene sent to *Rabfacer*, recieued from him comfort, and assurance, that this Heathen Idolater should not preuaile; against whom the King also besought aide from Almighty God, repeating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of *Sennacherib*'s letter, before the

2. King. 18. 31.

2. King. 18. 31.

Altar

2. Kings 19.

Altar of God in the Temple, confessing this part thereof to be true. *That the King of Assyria had destroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had set fire on their gods, for they were no Gods, but the work of mans hands, even wood and stone, &c.*

Herod. 2. p. 69.

The reason that moued *Sennacherib* to desire to possesse himself in haste of *Ierusalem*, was, that he might thereinto haue retreated his Armie, which was departed, as it seemeth, from the siege of *Pelusium* in *Aegypt*, for feare of *Tarbaca*: and though the Scriptures are silent of that enterprize (which in these bookes of the Kings, and of the *Chronicles* or *Paralipomenon*, I speake but of the affaires of the *Iewes* in effect) yet the ancient *Berosus*, and out of him *Iosephus*, and *S. Hierome*, together with *Herodotus*, remember it as followeth. *Herodotus* calleth *Sennacherib* King of *Arabia* and *Affyria*: which he might justly doe, because *Tiglath* his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from *Pekab* King of *Israel*: as *Gilead* ouer *Jordan*, and the rest of *Arabia* *Petræ* as adjoining: the same *Herodotus* also maketh *Sethon* King of *Aegypt*, to be *Palaus* Priest, and reporteth that the reason of *Sennacheribs* returne from *Pelusium* in *Aegypt*, which hee also belied, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in funder the Bow-strings of his Archers, and spoiled the rest of their weapons of that kinde, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Tarbaca*, remembered by *Iosephus* and *Berosus*, was the more urgent. *S. Hierome* vpon the seuen and thirrie of *Ezay*, out of the same *Berosus*, as also in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Iosephus* citeth somewhat otherwise than his words 20 lie, reports *Sennacherib* retreat in these words. *Pugnasse autem SENACHERIB Regem Assyriorum contra Aegyptios, & obsidisse Pelusium, iung. extructis aggeribus, arbi- cpendis, venisse TARACHAN Regem Aethiopia in auxilium, & una nocte iuxta Ierusalem, centum octoginta quing. milia exercitus Assyri pestilentia corruisse narrat HERODOTUS: & plenissime Berosus Chaldaice scriptor Historie, quorum fides de proprijs libris petenda est; That SENACHERIB King of the Assyrians fought against the Aegyptians, and besieged Pelusium, and that when his Mounts were built for taking of the Cite, TARACHAS King of the Aethiopsians came to helpe them, and that in one night, neere Ierusalem, one hundred eighty five thousand of the Assyrian Armie perished by pestilence; of these things (saith *HIEROME*) * *HERODOTUS* reports: and more at large 30 *BEROSUS* a writer of Chaldean Stories, whose credit it is to be taken from their owne bookes. Out of *Ezay* it is gathered, that this destruction of the Assyrian Armie was in this manner: *Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of Hosts with thunder and shaking, and a great noise, a whirle-winde and a tempest, and a flame of devouring fire. But Iosephus* hath it more largely out of the same *Berosus*, an authoritie (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted, *SENNACHERIBVS autem ab Aegyptiaco bello reuertens, ostendit ibi exercitum, quem sub RABASACIS Imperio reliquerat peste diuinitus immixta deletum, primâ nocte posteaquam Vrhem oppugnare ceperat, absumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis, centum octoginta quing. milibus Militum, quacumque terris, & de reliquis copijs sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regiam quae NINUS dicitur. Pbi paulo post per insidias Senatorum, & filijs suis, ADRAAMELECHI, & SELENNARI, vitam amisit: occisus in ipso Templo quod dicitur ARASCI, quem praecipuo cultu dignabatur: quibus ob pacidum a popularibus pulsus & in Armeniam fugientibus, ASARACOLDAS minor filium in Regnum successit; SENACHERIB (saith *IOSEPHVS*) returning from the Aegyptian warre, foundethere his Armie, which he had left vnder the command of *RABASAC*, destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that he had begunne to assault the Towne: one hundred fourescore and five thousand of the Soldiers being consumed with their Chieftaines and Coronells. With which destruction being terrified, and withall afraid what might become of the rest of his Armie, hee made great marches into his Kingdome, to his Royall Cite, which is called *Ninus*, where 50 flouery after by the treason of two of the eldest of his Sonnes, *ADRAAMELECH* and *SELENNAR* or *SHAREZER*, he lost his life in the Temple dedicated to *ARASAC*, or *NESROCH*: whom he especially worshipped. These his sonnes being for their parricide chased away by the people, and flying into *Armenia*, *ASARACOLDAS* his younger sonne succe-**

Ioseph. 2. c. 6.

Her. Euseb. 1.

* To wit in part, for *Herodotus* mentioneth nothing, neither of *Tarbaca*, nor of *Ierusalem*, nor of the Armie there.
Euseb. 19. 6.

Ioseph. 2. c. 6.

Selemnar otherwise *Sharezer*, who slew him, as he was praying to *Nisre* his god.
2. Kings 19.

2. Kings 19. 37.

Ioseph. 1. c. 4. §. 2.

ded in the Kingdome. Who in the beginning of his raigne sent new troups out of *Affyria* and *Samaria*, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his grandfather *Salmansar*. What this *Nesre* was, it is vncertaine: *Hierome* in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certaine, that *Petius Vranus* was worshipped by the *Affyrians*; and so was *Iupiter Belus*, as *Dion*, *Eusebius*, and *Cyrrillus* witness. Many fancies there are, what cause his sonne had to murder him; but the most likely is, that he had formerly dis-inherited those two, and conferred the Empire on *Asarhaddon*. *Tobit* tells vs, That it was fiftie five dayes after *Sennacheribs* returne, ere he was murdered by his sonnes; during which time he slew great numbers of the *Israhelites* in *Ninewe*, till the most iust God turned the Sword against his owne breast.

§. III.

Of *EZEKIAS* his sickness and recoverie; and of the *Babylonian* King that congratulated him.



Fer this marvellous deliuerie, *Ezekias* sickened, and was told by *Isaiah*, that he must die: but after hee had besought God with teares for his deliuerie, *Isaiah*, as hee was going from him, returned againe, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recoverie after three dayes, and a prolongation of his life for fiftene yeeres. But *Ezekias* somewhat doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth a signe to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Isaiah*, the shadow of the Sunne cast it selfe the contrarie way, and went backe tenne degrees, vpon the Dyall of *Achaz*. The cause that moued *Ezekias* to lament (saith Saint *Hierome*) was, because he had as yet no sonne, and then in despair that the *Messias* should come out of the house of *Dauid*, or at least of his Seede. His disease seemeth to be the Pestilence, by the medicine giuen him by the Prophet, to wit, a masse of Figges, layed to the Botch or Sore.

This wonder when the Wife-men of *Chaldea* had told to *Merodach*, King of *Babylon*, the first of that house, he sent to *Ezekias*, to be informed of the cause: at which time *Ezekias* shewed him all the Treasure hee had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was repurchased by the Prophet *Isaiah*, who told him; 19. *The dayes are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and whatauer thy fathers haue layed up in store to this day, shall be carried into Babel; nothing shall bee left, saith the Lord. It may seeme strange, how Ezekias should haue got any treasure worth the shewing: for Sennacherib had robbed him of all, the yeere before. But the spoile of the same Sennacherib his Campe repayed all with aduantage, and made Ezekias richer vpon the suddaine then euer he had bene: which vnspected wealth was a strong temptation 40 to boasting. After this time Ezekias had rest, and spending without noyse that addition which God had made vnto his life, he died, hauing reigned nine and twentie yeeres. One onely offense he warre he made, which was against the *Philistines* with good successe. Among his other acts (shortly remembered in *Ecclesiasticus*) hee 41. §. 3. deuiled to bring water to *Ierusalem*.*

In two respects they say that hee offended God: the one, that hee rejoyced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemy; the other, that hee too much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moued *Ezekias* (speaking humanely) to entertaine the Embassadors of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, was, because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recoverie of his health; as also in that *Merodach* had weakened the house of *Sennacherib* in *Babylon*, v- 50 surped that State himselfe, in the last yeere of that King, and held it by strong hand against this sonne *Asarhaddon*; who was not onely simple, but impaired in strength by

by the molestation of his brothers. This advantage *Meroдах* espied, and remembering, that their ancestor *Phul Belochus* had set his owne master *Sardanapalus* besides the cushion, thought it as lawfull for himselfe to take the opportunitie which this Kings weaknesse did offer, as it had bene for *Belochus* to make vse of the others wicke-nesse: and so, finding himselfe beloved of the *Babylonians*, and sufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazard, and preuailed. The assertion of this historie is made by the same arguments that were vsed in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here againe rehearse. So of this new Race, which cut a-funder the Line of *Ninus*, there were only five Kings.

<i>Phul Belochus.</i>	48.	} who reigned	} yeeres.
<i>Tiglath Phlassar.</i>	27.		
<i>Salmanassar.</i>	10.		
<i>Senacherib.</i>	7.		
<i>Assarhaddon.</i>	10.		

But forasmuch as the last yeere of *Salmanassar* was also the first of *Senacherib* his sonne, we reckon the time, wherein the house of *Phul* held the *Assyrian* Kingdome, to haue bene an hundred and one yeeres, of which, the last fve and twentie were spent with *Ezekia*, vnder *Salmanassar*, *Senacherib*, and *Assarhaddon*.

§. IIII.

The Kings that were in *Media* during the raigne of *Ezekia*: Of the difference found betweene Iudrie Authors, in rehearsing the *Median* Kings.

Other contemporaries of *Ezekia*: of *CANDAVLES*, *GYGES*, and the Kings descended from *HERCVLES*.

IN the time of *Ezekia*, *Medius*, and after him *Cardicus*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were so, that varietie of names, by which these Kings were called in severall Histories, hath caused them to seeme more than indeede they were; or whether the sonnes reigning with the fathers, haue caused not onely the names of Kings, but the length of Time, wherein they gouerned *Media*, to exceede the due proportion: or whether the Copies themselves, of *Ctesias* and *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, haue bene faultie, as neither of these two Authors is ouer-highly commended of trustinesse: so it is, that the names, number, and length of raigne, are all very diuersly reported of these *Median* Kings, that followed *Arbaces*: Therefore it neede not seeme strange, that I reckon *Medius* and *Cardicus* as contemporaries with *Ezekia*. For to reconcile so great a difference, as is found in those Writers that varie from *Eusebius*, is more than I dare vndertake. I will onely here set downe the roll of Kings that reigned in *Media*, accordingly as Iudrie Authors haue deliuered it.

Annius his *Metasthenes* orders them and their raignes thus:

<i>Arbaces.</i>	28.	} who reigned	} yeeres.
<i>Atandanes.</i>	50.		
<i>Sofarmon.</i>	30.		
<i>Articarmin.</i>	50.		
<i>Arbianes.</i>	22.		
<i>Articus.</i>	40.		
<i>Atimes.</i>	22.		
<i>Asybarus</i> , with his sonne <i>Apanda.</i>	20.		
<i>Apandalone.</i>	30.		
<i>Darius</i> with <i>Cyrus.</i>	36.		

Diodorus

Diodorus Siculus following *Ctesias* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metasthenes* follow *Diodore*, with some litte variation, that he might not seeme a borrower) placeth them thus.

<i>Arbaces.</i>	28.	} who reigned	} yeeres.
<i>Atandanes.</i>	50.		
<i>Sofarmon.</i>	30.		
<i>Aticus.</i>	50.		
<i>Arbianes.</i>	22.		
<i>Articus.</i>	40.		
<i>Artynes.</i>	22.		
<i>Artabanus.</i>	40.		

Asybara. } the continuance of these two he doth not mention.
Asyages.

Mercator hath laboured with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with *Eusebius*. But forasmuch as it seemes to mee an impossible matter, to attaine vnto the truth of these forgotten times, by conjectures founded vpon *Ctesias* and *Metasthenes*, I will lay the burthen vpon *Eusebius*, who liued in an age better furnished than ours, with bookes of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two Kings (whom I haue reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medius* and *Cardicus*, are found in *Eusebius*: for whether *Cardicus* were *Diodorus* his *Arbianes*, I will not stay to search. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Eusebius*, reigned in this order.

<i>Arbaces.</i>	28.	} reigned	} yeeres.
<i>Sofarmon.</i>	30.		
<i>Medius.</i>	40.		
<i>Cardicus.</i>	15.		
<i>Deioes.</i>	54.		
<i>Phraortes.</i>	24.		
<i>Cyaxares.</i>	32.		
<i>Asyages.</i>	38.		

These names, and this course of succession I retaine; but adde vnto these, *Cyaxares* the sonne of *Asyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and sometimes follow *Herodotus*, in setting downe the length of a Kings raigne, otherwise than *Eusebius* hath it: of which variations, I will render my reasons in due place.

The twentie nine yeeres of *Ezekia* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the foure first that were chosen *Gouernours of Athens* for ten yeeres; that is, of *Charopis*, *Alcimedus*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the first of these I heare nothing, save that *Rome* was built in his first yeere; of which perhaps himselfe did not heare. Of the second and third I finde only the names. The fourth made himselfe knowne by a strange example of iustice, or rather of crueltye, that hee shewed vpon his owne Daughter. For hee finding that shee had offended in vnchastitie, caused her to be lockt vp with an Horfe, giuing to neither of them any foode: so the Horfe, constrained by hunger, deuoured the vnhappy Woman.

In *Rome*, the first King, and Founder of that Citie *Romulus*, did raigne both before, and somewhat after *Ezekia*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules* the last King, ruled in the same age.

This

This Region was first called *Moonia*. *Lydae* the sonne of *Arys* reigning in it, gave the name of *Lydia*, if wee beleuee such authoritie as wee finde. This Kingdome was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred vpon *Argon*, who came of *Alceus* the sonne of *Hercules*, by *Iardana*, a bond-woman. The race of these *Heraclidae* continued reigning fiftie fyeueeres (in which two and twentie Generations passed) the sonne continually succceding the father. *Candaules* the sonne of *Mysus* was the last of his race, who doated so much vpon the beautie of his owne Wife, that hee could not bee content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges*, the sonne of *Dasyllus*, to behold her naked bodie; and placed the vnwilling man secretly in her chamber, where he might see her preparing to bed-ward. This was not so closely carried, but that the Queene perceived *Gyges* at his going forth, and vnderstanding the matter, tooke it in such high disdain, that she forced him the next day to requite the Kings follie with treason. So *Gyges*, being brought againe into the same chamber by the Queene, slew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdome of *Lydia*. He reigned thirtie eight yeeres, beginning in the last of *Ezekia*, one yeere before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his sonne *Ardys* reigned nine and fortie yeeres; then *Sadyattes*, twelue; *Halyattes*, fiftie seuen; and finally *Craesus*, the sonne of *Halyattes*, fourteene yeeres: who lost the Kingdome, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Persia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the *Lydian* Kings, whom *Craesus* his Progenitor dispossessed, are deduced from *Hercules*, so of the same *Hercules* there sprang many other Kings, which gouerned severall Countries very long; as in *Asia*, the *Mylians*; in *Greece*, the *Lacedamonians*, *Messeniens*, *Rhodiens*, *Corinthians*, and *Argiues*; and from the *Argiues*, the *Macedonians*; as likewise from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracusan*s: besides many great and famous, though priuate,

Families.

But of the *Heraclidae* that reigned in *Lydia*, I haue not troubled my selfe to take notice in the times of their severall reignes: for little is found of them, beside the bare names, and the follie of this last

King *Candaules*.
(*)

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in *Egypt*, betwene the deliuerance of *ISRAEL* from thence, and the raigne of *EZEKIA* in *Juda*, when *Egypt* and *Juda* made a league against the *Affrians*.

§. I.

That many names of *Egyptian* Kings, found in Historie, are like to haue belonged only to *Viceroyes*. An example proving this out of *WILLIAM* of *Tyre* his Historie of the holy Warre.



HE emulation and quarrells arising in these times, betwene the mightie Kingdomes of *Egypt* and *Affria*, doe require our paines, in collecting the most memorable things in *Egypt*, and setting downe briefly the state of that Countie, which had continued long a flourishing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Affria* for the Mastery. Of *Cham* the sonne of *Noah*, who first planted that Countie, and of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings, that reigned there, vntill the *Israelites* were thence deliuered, more hath bene said a readie than

I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to faile in such coniectures. That which I haue deliuered, in speaking mine opinion of the *Egyptian Dynasties*, must here againe helpe me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are said to haue reigned in *Egypt*, were none other than *Viceroyes* or *Stewards*, such as *Ioseph* was, and such as were the *Soldanes* in later ages. Therefore, I will not onely forbear to seeke after those, whom *Hierodotus* and *Diodorus* haue reckoned vp, from the mouthes of *Egyptian* Priests, deliuering them by number, without rehearsing their names; but will leaue the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names only are found; the yeares of their reignes, and other circumstances, proving them to haue bene Kings in deede, being not recorded.

But that I may not seeme before hand, to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I list; it were not amisse, to giue vnto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason, and truth of Historie doth afford. First therefore, wee ought not to beleuee those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests haue reckoned vp, to magnifie their Antiquities. For wee know, that from *Abraham*, our Saviour *Christ* was remoued onely fortie two descents, which makes it euident, that in farre shorter time, namely before the *Persian* Empire, there could not haue passed away twice as many successions in *Egypt*: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expresse, haue reigned longer than fortie yeeres. It followes that we should square the number of the *Egyptian* Kings in some euen proportion, to those which did beare rule in other Countries; As for the rest, whose names we finde scattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to reade the nineteenths booke of the holy warre written by *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, may easily perswade himselfe, that it is not hard to find names enow, of such as might be thought to haue reigned in *Egypt*, being none other than

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then Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here insert, as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose for the pleasure and information of such, as will not trouble themselves with turning over many Authors.

When *Elhadeth* the Caliph ruled in *Ægypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerful and a subtle man, made himselfe *Soldan*, by force and cunning, chaling away *Sanar* an *Arabian*, who was *Soldan* before and after him. This *Dargan* mislived matter of quarrell to *Amalricke* King of *Jerusalem*; and sustained, with little losse, an insuasion, which *Amalricke* made vpon *Ægypt*. Hereupon hee grew so insolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former *Soldan* hoped to make his partic good against him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter *Ægypt*. Briefly, *Sanar* such to *Noradine*, King of *Damasco*, for aide, who sends an Army of his *Turkes*, vnder the command of *Syrac*, against the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The Victorie was *Dargans*; but hee enjoyed it not: for in few daies after, hee was slaine by treason, whereby *Sanar* did reconer his Dignitie: which to establish, he slew all the Kindred and Friends of *Dargan*, that he could finde in the great Citie of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the Caliph *Elhadeth* gave little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them liued, and had the administration of the Kingdom, whilst he might haue the profit of it, and enjoy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would thinke) doe neerely touch the Caliph himselfe. *Syrac* with his *Turkes*, whom *Sanar* hath gotten to come into *Ægypt*, will not now be entreated there to leave him, and quietly goe their way home. They seize vpon the Towne of *Belbeis*, which they fortifie, and there attend the arriual of more companie from *Damasco*, for the conquest of all *Ægypt*. The *Soldan* perceiues their intent, and findes himselfe not strong enough to expell them; much lesse to repell the *Turkish* Armie, that was likely to second them. He therefore sends Messengers to King *Amalricke* of *Jerusalem*, whom with large promises, he gets to bring him aide, and so drives out the *Turkes*. Of all this trouble, the great Caliph heares nothing, or not so much, as should make him looke to the playing of his owne game.

A greater mischief ariseth, concerning the Caliph *Elhadeth* particularly, in his owne Title. *Syrac*, Captaine of the *Turkes* that had bene in *Ægypt*, goes to the Caliph of *Baldach* (who was opposit to him of *Ægypt*, each of them claiming as heire to *Adanomet*, that false prophet, the Soueraignetie ouer all that were of the *Saracen* Law) and tells him the weakenesse of the *Ægyptian*, with his owne abilitie of doing seruice in those parts, offering his best means for the extirpation of the Schismaticall Caliph, and the reduction of all *Ægypt*, with the Western parts, vnder the subiection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and ioyfully entertained; all the Easterne Provinces are vp in Armes; and *Syrac*, with a mightie power, defendeth into *Ægypt*. The noise of this great expedition so affrighteth King *Amalricke*, that with all his forces he hasteth into *Ægypt*: well knowing how neerely it concerned him and his Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, to keep the *Saracens* from ioyning all vnder one head. *Sanar* the *Soldan* perceiuing the faithfull care of the *Christians* his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himselfe in giuing them all manner of content, as it becometh him: for by their admirable valour, he finally draue the enemies out of the Countrey. But this victorie was not so soone gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concerns our present purpose) that of so desperate danger, the Caliph, as yet, seemes to know nothing. May we not thinke him to haue bene King in title only, who meddled so little in the Government? The *Soldan*, finding that the *Christians* (without whose helpe, all was lost) could not well stay, so long as his necessities required, makes large offers to King *Amalricke*, vpon condition, that he should abide by it. He promitteth a great Tribute (William of Tyre calls it a Tribute; the *Saracens*, perhaps, called it a Pension) which the Kings of *Jerusalem* should receiue out of *Ægypt*, for this beuoeufull assistance. But the *Christians* vnderstanding that the *Soldan* (how much soeuer he tooke vpon him) was subiect to an higher Lord, would make no bargain of such importance, with any other than the

the Caliph himselfe. Hereupon *High Earle of Cesarea*, and a Knight of the Templars, are sent vnto *Elhadeth*, to ratifie the covenants. Now shall we see the greatness of the Caliph and his estate.

These Embassadors were conueighed by the *Soldan* to *Cairo*; where arriuing at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troupes of Souldiers. The first entrance was through darke Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Æthiopian*, which with all diligence, did reuerence vnto the *Soldan*, as he passed along. Through these streights the Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of such beautie and riches, that they could not retaine the grauitie of Embassadors, but were enforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they law goodly marble Pillars, gilded Beames, all wrought ouer with embossed works, curious pauements, fish-ponds of marble with cleare waters, and many sorts of strange Birds, vnkown in these parts of the world, as comming perhaps from the East Indies, which then were vndiscovered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the Caliph his Eunuches conueighed them into other Courts within these; as farre exceeding the former, as the former did surpass ordinary houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearse, how, the further they entred, the more high state they found, and cause of maruaile; suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrought these things, was neuer held a vaine Author. Finally they were brought into the Caliph's owne lodgings, which were yet more stately, and better guarded, where entering the presence, the *Soldan* hauing twice prostrated himselfe, did the third time cast off his Sword, that he ware about his neck, and throw himselfe on the ground, before the curtaine, behinde which the Caliph sat. Presently the traueiser, wrought with Gold and pearles was opened, and the Caliph himselfe discovered, sitting with great Maiestie on a throne of gold, hauing very few of his most inward seruants and Eunuches about him. When the *Soldan* had humbly kissed his Masters feet, he briefly told the cause of his comming, the danger wherein the land stood, and the offers that he had made vnto King *Amalricke*, desiring the Caliph himselfe to ratifie them, in presence of the Embassadors. The Caliph answered, That he would thoroughly performe all which was promised. But this contented not the Embassadors: They would haue him to giue his hand vpon the bargain; which the *Ægyptians*, that stood by, thought an impudent request. Yet his greatnes condescended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the *Soldan*, to reach out his hand. When the Earle of *Cesarea* saw that the Caliph gaue his hand, neither willingly nor bare, hee told him roundly thus much in effect. *Sir, Truth* seeks no holes to hide it selfe; Princes, that will hold covenant, must deale openly, nakedly, and sincerely: Giue vs therefore your bare hand, if you meane that we shall trust you, for we will make no bargaines with your Glove. Much adoe there was about this: for it seemed against the Maiestie of such a Prince to yeelde so farre. But, when it would none other wise be, with a smiling cheare (though to the great griefe of his seruants) hee vouchsafed to let the Earle take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the covenants word by word, as the Earle spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the Embassadors, with such rewards as testified his Greatnesse.

In this Caliph and his *Sultan*, we may discern the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his Viceroy: we see a Prince of great estate, sitting in his Palace, and not vexing himself with the great preparations made against him, which terrifie his neighbour Countries: we see his Viceroy, in the meane season, vying all Royal power, making warre and peace; entertaining, and expelling Armies of strangers; yea making the Land of *Ægypt* tributarie to a foraine Prince. What greater authoritie was giuen to *Ioseph*, when *Pharaoh* said vnto him, *Thou shalt be ouer mine house, and at thy word shall almy people be armed, only in the Kings Throne will I be about thee, Behold, I haue set thee ouer all the Land of Ægypt?*

I doe not commend this forme of Government; neither can I approoue the coniecture of mine Author, where hee thinks, that the *Ægyptians*, euer since

Iosephus time, haue felt the burden of that seruitude, which hee brought vpon them, when he bought them, and their Lands, for *Pharaoh*, Herein I finde his iudgement good; that he affirms this manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customes, practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we finde, that euen the *Ptolomies* (excepting *Ptolemaeus Lagi*, and his sonne *Philadelphus*, founder and establisher of that race) were giuen, all of them, wholly to please their owne appetites, leauing the charge of the Kingdome to Women, Eunuchs, and other minilliers of their desires. The pleasures which that Countrey afforded, were indeede sufficient to inuite the Kings thereof vnto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherein the *Egyptians* held their Princes, gaue them securitie, whereby they might the better trust their officers, with so ample Commission. But of this matter, I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to haue shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroyes governing *Egypt*, is set downe by *Moses*, and that a liuely example of the same is found in *William of Tyre*; who liued in the same age; was, in few yeeres after, Chancellour of the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*; and had full discourse with *Hugh Earle of Casarea*, touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains, that wee bee not carried away with a vaine opinion, to beleeue that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Egyptians* haue honored with that stile; but rest contented with a Catalogue of such, as we finde by circumstance, likely to haue reigned in that Countrey; after whom it followes that we should make enquire.

¶ II.

Of *ACHERRES*; whether he were *VCHOREVS* that was the eighth from *OSYMANDYAS*, Of *OSYMANDYAS* and his Tombe.

IN this businesse I hold it vaine to be too curious. For who can hope to 30
attaine to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius*, from both of them; and late Writers, that haue sought to gather the truth out of these and others, finde no one with whom they can agree? In this case *Annus* would doe good seruice, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to be beholding to him, when others doe either say nothing, or that which may iustly bee suspected. I will therefore hold my selfe contented, with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Orus*, and those antiquities remoued so farre out of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, it shall suffice, that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius*, haue not bene silent, and that *Reineccius* hath taken paines, to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or found scattering in others.

From the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, vnto the raigne of *Thooris* (who is generally taken to be the same that the *Greeks* call *Proetus*) there is little or no disagreement about the *Egyptian* Kings. Wherefore I set downe the same which are found in *Eusebius*, and giue to euery one the same length of raigne.

Acherres was the first of these, who succeeded vnto *Chenchres*, that perished in the Red Sea. This King cemes to *Reineccius* to be the same whom *Diodorus* calls *Vchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great King, named *Osymandyas*, from whom *Vchoreus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timus* (as *Reineccius* coniectures) was the great *Osymandyas*; or else that this *Acherres* was *Vchoreus*: for the distance betwene them was more then eight generations. *Mercator* iudgeth *Osymandyas* to haue bene the husband of *Aencheres*, *Orus* the second his Daughter; thinking that *Manetho*

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(cited by *Iosephus*) doth omit his name, and insert his wifes, into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wifes right. As for *Vchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to finde him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdorus*, not to signifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that *Greece* word else doth) the eighth, but to be an *Egyptian* name, belonging also to *Vchoreus*, who might haue had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vex my braines in the vnprofitable search of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Osymandyas*, was wrought vpon his monument; the most thereof in figures, which I thinke the *Egyptians* did fabulously expound. For whereas there was pourtraied a great Armie 10
with the siege of a Towne, the captiuitie of the People, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the *Egyptians* said to denote the conquest of *Babylonia* made by that King: which how likely it was, let others iudge. I hold this goodly peece of worke, which *Diodore* so particularly describes, to haue bene erected for a common place of buriall, to the ancient Kings and Queenes of *Egypt*, and to their Viceroyes; whilst yet they were not so ambitious, as euery one to haue his owne particular monument, struing therein to exceed all others. This appears by the many statues, therein placed, by the Warres, the iudgement Seate, the receiuing of Tribute, the offering Sacrifice to God, the account of Reuenues, and plentie of all Cattails and Foode; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the 20
seuerall Offices of a Governour. On the Tombe of *Osymandyas* was this inscription. *I am OSYMANDYAS King of Kings; If any desire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceede some of my workes.* Let them, that hope to exceede his workes, labour to know what he was. But since by those wordes, *Or where I lie*, it should seeme that hee lay not there interred, wee may lawfully suspect that it was *Ioseph*, whose body was preferred among the *Hebrewes*, to be buried in the Land of *Canaan*, and this empty Monument might King *Orus*, who out-liued him, erect in honor of his high deserts, among the royall Sepulchers. To which purpose, the plentie of Cattail, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name *Osymandyas* doth not hinder this coniecture; seeing *Ioseph* had one new name giuen to 30
him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dreame, and might, vpon further occasions, haue another, to his encrease of honor. As for that stile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerbeg*, as the *Turkish* *Bassas* are called, that is, Great about the Great.

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls outright, betwene the times of *Ioseph* and *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whose Viceroy *Ioseph* was) yet will I hereby seeke, neither to fortifie mine owne coniecture, as touching *Ioseph*, nor to inferre any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Vchoreus*. For it might well bee, that *Memphis* was built by some such King as was *Gehoor*, Lieutenant vnto the *Calph* *Elcain*, who hauing to his Masters 40
vfe, conquered *Egypt*, and many other Countries, did build, not farre from old *Memphis*, the great Citie of *Cairo* (corruptly so pronounced) naming it *El Cabira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Mistressse, though he himselfe were a *Dalmatian* slave.

*Iohn Leo III.
Africa. l. 1. c. 13.*

§. III.

Of *Cherres*, *Armeus*, *Rameses*, and *Amenophis*. Of *Myris*,
and the Lake that beares his name.



When *Acherres* had reigned eight yeeres, *Cherres* succeeded, and held the Kingdome fifteene yeeres: then reigned *Armeus* five yeeres, and after him *Rameses*, thre score and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Rameses* is that Historie understood by *Eusebius*, which is common among the *Greekes*, vnder the names of *Danaus* and *Egyptus*. For it is said that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Egypt* by his Brother, fled into *Greece*, where he obtained the Kingdome of *Argos*: that he had fiftie Daughters, whom vpon seeming reconciliation, hee gaue in marriage to his Brothers fiftie Sonnes, but commanded euery one of them to kill her husband the first night: that onely *Hypermetra*, one of his Daughters, did saue her husband *Lyncus*, and suffered him to escape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloudie sisters, when they died, were enioyed this foolish punishment in Hell, to fill a leaking Vessell with water.

The raigne of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus*, was *Danaus*; and *Rameses*, *Egyptus*; is more then *Reinecius* beleues: hee rather takes 20 *Armeus* to haue bene *Myris*, or *Meris*, who caused the great lake to be made which beares his name. For my owne part, as I can easily beleue, that he which fled out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, was a man of such qualitie as the *Soldan* *Sanar*, of whom we spake before; so doe I not finde how in so short a raigne, as five yeeres, a worke of that labour could be finished, which was required vnto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monuments therein; whereof his owne Sepulchre and his wiues being some part, it is manifest that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whose age is vncertaine, and of whose raignes we haue no assurance, I may truly say, that their great workes are not enough to proue them of the house of *Pharaoh*, seeing that greater deedes or more absolute, then were those of *Ioseph*, who 30 bought all the people of *Egypt* as bond-men, and all their Land for bread; of *Gehor*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Countrie Tributarie; were performed by none of them.

It shall therefore be enough to set downe the length of their raignes, whom we finde to haue followed one another in order of succession: but in rehearsing the great acts which were performed, I will not stand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris* is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thousand six hundred furlongs in compass, and fiftie fadomes deepe. It serued to recue the waters of *Nilus*, when the owser-flow, being too great, was harmefull to the Countrie; and to supply the defect, by letting out the waters of the Lake, when the Ri- 40 uer did not rise high enough. In opening the sluices of this Lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were spent fiftie talents; but the Lake it selfe defraied that cost; seeing the tribute imposed vpon Fish taken therein, was euery day one talent, which *Myris* gaue to his Wife to buy sweet ointments, and other ornaments for her bodie. In the middell of it was left an Iland, wherein were the Sepulchers of *Myris* and his Wife, and ouer each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fiftie paces high; hauing on the tops their statues, sitting in Thrones. I finde not the description of this Lake in Maps, answerable to the report of Historians: yet it is very great. The yeeres of *Armeus* are by *Manetho* diuided, by inserting one 50 *Armeus* (whom *Eusebius* omits) that should haue reigned one yeere and odde months of the time; but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After *Rameses*, his sonne *Amenophis* held the Kingdome fortie yeeres. Some giue him only nineteene yeeres; and *Mercator* thinks him to haue bene the King

King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I haue already spoken in the first Booke.

§. IIIL.

Of the Kings that raigned in the Dynastie of the *Larthes*.



ETHIOSIS, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fiftie five yeeres. To him are ascribed the famous acts of that ancient *Sesoftris*. But the state of the World was not such in these times, that so great an expedition, as the old *Sesoftris* made, could haue bene either easily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he passed, had it now bene performed, as any man will perceiue, if hee looke vpon my Chronologicall Table, and consider who liued with this *Zethus*. With this King beganne the Dynastie of the *Larthes*; which *Reinecius* conjectures to haue had the same signification, wherein the old Kings of *Heturria* were called *Lartes*, (the *Heturrians* being issued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Egypt*) and to haue signified as much as *Imperator* or *Generall*. The Warres in which these Kings were Generalls, 20 I take to haue bene against the *Ethiopians*: for sure I am, that they troubled not the Countrie of *Palaestina*, that lay next vnto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they trauielled ouer the desert sands, on the other hand; to seeke matter of conquest, in the poore Countries of *Africa*. But these Generalls (if the *Larthes* were such) were not many. Five only had that title; and the last of these tooke it, perhaps, as hereditarie from the first; in such sort as the *Roman* Emperors were proud for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the most vsurtable conditions of *Helicabalu*, made his Successors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the Dynasties (as appears by this particular) tooke name from the Kings, that the Kings also did administer the gouernment themselves; and that therefore I am deceived in ascribing so much vnto the Vicerotes. But it is to be considered, that what is said of these *Larthes*, depends only vpon conjecture, and that the authoritie of the Regents, or Vicerotes, might bee great enough, though some few Kings tooke the conduct of Armies into their owne hands. For so we finde in *John Leo*, that the *Soldan* of *Egypt* (after such time as the 30 *Soldan* *Saladine*, murdering the Caliph, got the Soueraignetie to himselfe) had vnder him a Viceroy, stiled *Eddagadare*, who had authoritie to place, or displace, any Magistrates, or Officers; and that this mans Familie was almost as great, as the *Soldans* owne. Yet was there also the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord Generall of the *Soldans* forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might as he thought good, spend of the *Soldans* Treasure. So might the Office of the Vicerotes continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of Generalls vpon them, did somewhat abridge the greatnesse of that second place. As for the names of the Dynasties, it skils not whence they were drawne; whether from their Countrie, as those of the *Thebans* and *Disopolitans*, or from some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time, as many thinke; that the seuenteenth Dynastie was called of the Sheep-heards, because *Ioseph* gouerned in part thereof; or from the Kings themselves that reigned, as this was laid to be of the *Larthes* or Generalls. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Larthes* or Generall, yet was it not without Kings, 50 forasmuch as *Faphres*, and *Sesaf*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let vs now returne to the businesse which we left.

Ramfes was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethos*, thre score and sixe yeeres. He is mistaken for that second *Sesoftris*, of whom I haue spoken in the first Booke. I finde nothing worth rehearfall of this *Ramfes*, or of *Amenophis*, and *Annenemes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned fortie, the later sixe and twentie yeeres.

yeeres. Wherefore it may well bee, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by these as hereditarie.

Thorus, the last of the *Larbes*, reigned only seven yeeres; yet is hee thought to have bene that *Proteus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, saying, T hat hee tooke *Helen* from *Paris*, and after the sack of *Troy*, restored her to *Menelaus*. I neede say no more in refutation of this, then that the time of *Thorus* his reigne, lasted not so long as from the Rape of *Helen* to her restitution.

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by some) together with *Thon*, and others, mentioned by *Greece* Writers in this businesse, or in other such matters, may seeme to be vnder-Officers: for such only are like to haue had their residence about *Pharos*, and the Sea-coast, where *Menelaus* arrived.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helen*, it is said, T hat he could foretell things to come, and that hee could change himselfe into all shapes: whereby is signified his craftie head, for which he is growne into a Prouerbe. The Poets fained him a Sea-God, and keeper of *Neptunes* Scale-fishes, for belike he was some vnder-Officer to the Admirall, having charge of the Fishing about the Ile of *Pharos*, as was said before.

Remphes, the Sonne of *Proteus*, is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as also by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramsimus*, and tells a long tale, fit to please children, of his couetousnesse, and how his treasure-houfe was robbed by a cunning Theefe, that at last married his Daughter. But of this man may beleeue what he list. How long this King reigned I know not, nor thinke that either hee, or his Father, did reigne at all.

§. V.

Of *Egyptian Kings* whose names are found scattering in sundrie Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of *Egypt*, according to *CEDRENNVS*. OF *VAPHPRES* and *SEFAC*.

Many other names of *Egyptian Kings*, are found scattered heere and there; as *Tonepher Jobit*, of whom *Suidas* deliueis only the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepes*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, who perhaps was the same that by *Suidas* is called *Senyes*, or *Euenes*, noted by occasion of a great Phisicion that liued vnder him; *Banchyrus*, recorded by the same *Suidas*, for his great iustice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters; as that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gaue name to the Ile of *Thule*, which some take to be *Iceland*; and that he consulted with the Deuill, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, desiring to know, who before him had bene, or after him should be so mightie as himselfe. The answer or confession of the Deuill was remarkable; which I finde Englished in the translation of *Plessis* his worke, Of the trueneesse of *Christian Religion*. The *Greece* Verses are somewhat otherwise, and more imperfect in those Copies that I haue of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the sense is all one; which is this:

First God, and next *THE WORD*, and then *THE SPIRIT*,
Which three be *ONE*, and joyne in *ONE* all three;
Whose force is endless. Get thee hence fraile wight,
The Man of Life vnknowne excelleth thee.

I should haue thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found somewhat more in *Suidas*, than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the forme of inuocation which *Thulis* vsed, and that clause, of his giuing name to the *Iland*: though in this last point I hold *Suidas* to be decciued; as also *Cedrenus* is, or (at least) seemes

to

to me, in giuing to this King such profound antiquitie of raigne. Indeece the very name of that Booke, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Genesis*, is alone enough to breede suspition of some imposture: but the Frictly stuffe that hee alledgeth out of it, is such as would serue to discredit himselfe, were it not otherwife apparant, that he was a man both deuout, and of good judgement, in matters that fell within his compasse. I will here set downe the List of olde *Egyptian Kings* deliuered by him, and leaue the censure to others.

The first King of *Egypt* that he sets downe, is *Mizraim*, the sonne of *Cham*. After him hee findes many of a new race, deriuing their pedigree thus: *Nimrod*, the sonne of *Chus*, was also called *Oriou*; and further, tooke vpon him the name of the Planet *Saturne*, had to wife *Semiramis*, who was of his owne Linage, and by her three sonnes; *Picus*, surnamed *Iupiter*, *Belus* and *Ninus*. *Picus* chaling his father out of *Assyria* into *Italie*, reigned in his stead thirtie yeeres, and then gaue vp that Kingdome to *Inno*, his sister and wife, and to *Belus* his sonne: after which *Belus*, who reigned only two yeeres, *Ninus* had the Kingdome, and married his owne mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italie*, to visite his olde father *Saturne*; *Saturne* forthwith resigned the Kingdome to him. *Picus Iupiter* reigned in *Italie* threecore and two yeeres, had threecore and tenne Wiues or Concubines, and about as many children: finally died, and lyes buried in the Ile of *Crete*. The principall of *Iupiter* sonnes were *Fannus*, *Perseus*, and *Apello*. *Fannus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercurie*: hee reigned in *Italie*, after his father, siue and thirtie yeeres: and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into *Egypt*, with abundance of Treasure; where, after the death of *Mizraim*, hee got the Kingdome, and held it nine and thirtie yeeres. After *Mercurie*, *Vulcan* reigned in *Egypt* foure yeeres and a halfe. Then *Sol*, the sonne of *Vulcan*, reigned twentie yeeres and a halfe. There followed in order *Solus*, *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Thules*, of whom we spake before: the length of their severall raignes is not set downe. After *Thules*, was the great *Sesoftris* King twentie yeeres. His successor was *Phraao*, called *Narecho*, that held the Crowne fiftie yeeres, with which there passed from him the surname of *Phraao*, to a very long posteritie.

These reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to set downe as I finde them: let their credit rest vpon the Author.

Others yet we finde, that are said to haue reigned in *Egypt*, without any certaine note, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vaine curiositie, in the search made after these already rehearsed, then of negligence, in omitting such as might haue bene added.

Vapbres, the father in law to *Salomon*, and *Sefac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*; leade vs againe into faire way, but not laire. The name of *Vapbres* is not found in the Scriptures; but wee are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius* for it.

These giue vs not the length of his raigne; but we know, that he liued in the times of *Dauid* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an Armie, tooke *Gezar* from the *Cananites*, and gaue it to his daughter, *Salomons* wife: though for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sefac* his sonne did fauour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept so many Wiues and Concubines, besides this *Egyptian* Princeesse. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath bene written that I finde of *Sefac*, excepting the length of his raigne, which must haue bene fixe and twentie yeeres, if he were that *Smenais* with whom *Eusebius* beginnes the one and twentieth Dynastie.

Now forasmuch as it would serue to no great purpose, that wee knew the length of *Sefac* his raigne, and of others that followed him, vnlesse therewithall we knew the beginning of *Sefac*, vpon which the rest haue dependance; this course I take. From the fourth yeere of *Iehosikim*, King of *Iuda*, in which *Phraao Neco* was slaine, I reckon vpwards the yeeres of the same *Neco*, and of his predecessors, vnto the beginning of *Sefac*: by which accompt, the first yeere of *Sefac* is found, concurrent with

Cham. Strab. l. 1.
Euseb. de Prep.
Euang. 3. c. 4.

1. King. 3. c. 16.
11. c. 13, 19,
&c.

with the twentieth of *Salamons* raigne, and the twentieth sixt of *Sesac* with the fift of *Rehobam*: wherein *Sesac* spoyled the Temple, and died, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer, then *Iosab* the *Israelite* and *Craſſus* the *Romane* did; who, after him, spoyled the Temple of *Ierusalem*.

To fill vp the time betwene *Sesac* and *Neſo*, I haue rather taken those Kings that I find in the *Greece* Historians, than them which are in *Ensebius* his Catalogue. For of these that are deliuered by *Ensebius*, wee finde no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere, save onely of *Bocchoris*, who is remembered by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appeare to haue bene a King. Herunto I may adde, that the ſucceſſion is often interrupted in *Ensebius* by *Aethiopians*, which got the Kingdome often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appeares by the Prophet *Eſay*, that the Councillors of *Pharao* did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, inſomuch, that they said of *Pharao*, *I am the Sonne of the Wiſe, I am the Sonne of the ancient King*. But that which overthrowes the reckoning of *Ensebius*, is, the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the Kings of *Juda*. For though it please him well to ſee how the raignes of *Iosias* and *Neſo* meete by his computation, yet this indeede marres all; the raigne of *Iosias* being misplaced. This error growes from his omitting, to compare the raignes of the Kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion, *Ioram*, King of *Israel*, is made to raigne three yeeres after *Ahazias* of *Juda*; *Samaritis* is taken by *Salmanaſſar* before *Hezekias* was King: and in a word, all, or most of the Kings, haue their beginnings placed in ſome other yeere of their collaterals than the Scriptures haue determined.

§. VI.

Of *CHEMMIS*, *CHEOPS*, *CEPHEAENE*, and other Kings recited by *HERODOTUS* and *DIDORUS SICVLVS*, which raigned betwene the times of *REHOAM* and *EZEKIA*.

Following therefore the *Greece* Historians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chembis*, first in the ranke of those that were Kings after *Sesac*. Hee raigned fiftie yeeres, and built the greatest of the three *Pyramides*, which was accounted one of this worlds Wonders. The *Pyramis* hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottom vpwards narrower and narrower to the topp. This of *Chemmis* being foure-square, had a Base of ſeuenaers every way, and was aboue fixe akers high. It was of a very hard and durable Stone, which had lasted, when *Diodore* saw it, about a thousand yeeres, without complaining of any iniurie that it had ſuffered by weather in so long ſpace. From the raigne of *Chemmis*, vnto the age of *Augustus Caesar*, wherein *Diodore* lived, are indeede a thousand yeeres; which giues the better likelihood vnto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other *Pyramides*, late Writers tell us, that they haue ſcene them yet ſtanding.

After *Chemmis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephreus* his brother; but doubtfully, and inclining rather to the opinion, that his ſonne *Chabreus* ſucceeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might bee *Chabreus*) and *Cephreus* after him. These are said to haue bene brethren; but the length of their raignes may argue the later to haue bene ſonne to the former: for *Cheops* raigned fiftie yeeres; *Cephreus* fiftie fixe. These were, as *Chemmis* had bene, builders of *Pyramides*, whereby they purchaſed great hatred of their people, who already had over-laboured themselves in erecting the first. These *Pyramides* were ordained to be Tombs, for those that raised them;

but

but the malice of the *Aegyptians* is said to haue caſt out their bodies; and to haue called their Monuments by the name of an *Heardſman*, that kept his Beasts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honour, and entitling a poore fellow to their workes, was held to be the calling out of their bodies; otherwise, it is hard to conceiue, how it might bee, that they, who had not power to auoid the like ſlauerie, laid vpon them by the younger brother, or ſonne, should haue power or leisure to take ſuch reuenge vpon his Predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale deuifed againſt *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father, wanting money, did prostitute her, and that ſhee, getting of euery man that accompanied her, one ſtone, did build with them a fourth *Pyramis*, that stood in the middle of the other three. Belike ſhee was an insolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery, for her ſake, longer a while than they thought to haue done, in raising a Monument, with the ſuperfluitie of her Fathers prouisions.

Myserinus, the ſonne of *Cephreus*, raigned after his Father fixe yeeres. He would haue built as his foregoers did, but preuented by death, finiſhed not what hee had begunne. The people thought him a good King, for that he did ſet open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephreus* had kept ſhut. But an Oracle threatened him with a ſhort life of fixe yeeres only, becauſe of this his deuotion; For (ſaid the Oracle) *Aegypt* should haue bene afflicted an hundred and fiftie yeeres, which thy Predecessors knew and performed for their parts, but thou haſt releaſed it, therefore ſhalt thou live but fixe yeeres. It is very ſtrange, that the Gods should be offended with a King for his peticie; or that they should decree to make a Countreie impious, when the people were deſirous to ſerue them; or that they hauing ſo decreed, it should lie in the power of a King, to alter deſtinie, and make the ordinance of the Gods to faile in taking full effect. But these were *Aegyptian* Gods. The true God was, doubtleſſe, more offended with the reſtitution of ſuch Idolatrie, than with the interruption. And who knowes, whether *Chemmis* did not learne ſomewhat at *Ierusalem*, in the laſt yeere of his Father *Sesac*, that made him perceiue, and deliuer to those that followed him, the vanitie of his *Aegyptian* ſuperſtition? Sure it is that his raigne, and the raignes of *Cheops*, and *Cephreus*, were more long and more happie, than that of *Myserinus*, who, to delude the Oracle, reuelled away both daies and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, hee had changed his nights into daies, and ſo doubled the time appointed: a ſeruiſe more pleaſing to the Deuill, than the reſtitution of Idolatrie durſt then ſeeme, when it could ſpeede no better. I finde in *Reineccius* fiftie yeeres assigned to this King; which I verily beleeue to haue bene ſome error of the print, though I finde it not corrected among other ſuch over-ſights: for I know no Author that giues him ſo many yeeres, and *Reineccius* himſelfe takes notice of the Oracle, that threatened *Myserinus* with a ſhort life, as is before ſhewed.

Bocchoris is placed next vnto *Myserinus*, by *Diodore*, who ſpeakes no more of him than this, that he was a ſtrong man of body, and excelling his Predecessors in wit. He is ſpoken of by diuers Authors, as one that loved iuſtice; and may be taken for that *Banchyrus*, whom *Suidas* commendeth in that kinde; *Ensebius* reckons foure and fortie yeeres of his raigne.

After *Bocchoris*, one *Sabacus* an *Aethiopian* followes, in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certaine ages after him. *Herodotus*, quite omitting *Bocchoris*, hath *Aſchis*; who made a ſharpe law (as it was then held) againſt bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors diſpoſition, till the debt were paid. This *Aſchis* made a *Pyramis* of brick, more coſtly and faire, in his owne judgement, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Beſides this *Aſchis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anſis*, a blinde man, before the *Aethiopian*. The raignes of these two are perhaps thoſe many ages, which the *Aegyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted betwene *Bocchoris* and him that followed them. But all this could make but fixe yeeres; and ſo long doth *Funſius*, ſo long doth *Reineccius* hold, that theſe two Kings, betwene them both, did gouerne. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it vnpro-

bable,

bable, that the reignes of two Kings should have bene so loone spent; he may doe it by taking some yeeres from *Setbon* or *Plammeticus*, and adding them to either of these. To adde vnto these, without subtracting from some other, would breed a manifest inconuenience: forasmuch as part of *Sesac* his reigne, multi haue bene in the first of REIIOBONAN; as also the last of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, and the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine owne part I like it better to allow fixe yeeres only to these two Kings, than to looke the witnesse of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speake of *Sennacherib* his warre: at which time *Setbon* was King of *Aegypt*. I will not therefore adde yeeres vnto these obscure names; for by adding vnto these men three yeeres, wee shall thrust the beginning of *Setbon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his *Aegyptian* Kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great enuie, to leave both *Aycheus* and *Amyris* out of the roll; which were easily done, by placing *Sesac* lower, and extending his life yet fixe yeeres further, or more, (if the like abridgement shall be required of *Plammeticus* his reigne) into the yeeres of *Rehoboam*.

Of *Sabacus* the *Aethiopian*, who tooke the Kingdome from *Amyris*, it is agreed by the most, that he reigned fittie yeeres. He was a mercifull Prince, not punishing all capitall offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour vpon malefactors; by whose toyle he both got much wealth into his owne hands, letting out to their seruice to hire, and performed many workes, of more vse than pompe, to the singular benefit of the Countrey. *Zonaras* calls this King *Sua*; the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hosea*, the last King of *Israel*, made a League with him against *Salmanassar*, little to his good: for the *Aegyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserue the *Israelite* from destruction.

It seemes, that the encroaching power of the *Assyrian*, grew terrible to *Aegypt* about these times; the victories of *Tiglati Pileassar*, and *Salmanassar*, haue eaten so farre into *Syria*, in the reignes of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his daies (for his reigne beganne in the fourth of *Menahem*) that *Phul* himselfe did make the first entrance into *Palestina*. This caused *So* to animate the halfe subdued *30* people, against their Conquerours; but the helpe which he and his Successor gaue them was so faint, that *Sennacherib* Embassador compared the *Aegyptian* succour to a broken staffe of Reede. Such indeede had *Hosea* found it, and such *Ezekie* might haue found it, had hee not bene supported by the stronger staffe of Him, that rules all Nations with a rod of yron. It appeares by the words of *Rabshake*, that the opinion was great in *Iuda*, of the *Aegyptian* forces, for *Charets* and *Horse-men*; but this power, whatsoeuer it was, grew needtull, within a little while, for the defence of *Aegypt* it selfe, which *So* left vnto *Setbon* his successor, hauing now fulfilled the fittie yeeres of his reigne. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* haue both one tale, from the relation of *Aegyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this King, saying, that he 40 left the Countrey, and willingly retired into *Ethiopia*, because it was often signified vnto him in his dreames, by the God which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his reigne should be neither long nor prosperous, vnlesse he flew all the Priests in *Aegypt*; which rather than to doe, he resigned his Kingdome. Surely, these *Aegyptian* gods were of a strange qualitie, that so ill rewarded their Seruants, and invited Kings to doe them wrong. Well might the *Aegyptians* (as they likewise did) worship Dogs as gods, when their chiefe gods had the propertie of Dogs, which loue their Masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests should haue faimed this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I thinke that it might be some deuice of the fearefull old man, who seeing his Realme in danger of an inuasion, sought an honest excuse for his departure out of it, and with drawing himselfe into *Ethiopia*, where he had bene bred in his youth. What if one should say, that the *Ethiopia* into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirhakah* the King (perhaps at the instigation of this man) raised an Armie against *Sennacherib*, when hee meant

meant to inuade *Aegypt*, within two or three yeeres after? But I will not trouble my selfe with such enquire. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sabacus*, was not indeede an *Ethiopian* (for in his time liued the Prophet *Esay*, who mentioneth the antiquitie of *Pharaohs* house) but onely so surnamed for his education, and because issuing from thence, he got the Kingdome from *Amyris*, who was his oppolite. The quiet and milde forme of his Gouvernement; his holding the Kingdome so long without an Armie; and many other circumstances argue no lesse. But whether finally hee betooke to a priuate life, or whether hee fore-went his Life and Kingdome at once, being now very old, it is time that we leaue him, and speake of *Setbon* his next Successor, who is omitted by *Ezodorus*, but remembered by *Herodotus*, by a sure token of his hauing bene King.

¶ VII.

Of *Setbon* who reigned with *Ezekia*, and sided with him against *Sennacherib*.

The first yeere of *Setbons* reigne falls into the twelfth of *Ezekia*, which was the fift of *Sennacherib*. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdomes of *Assyria* and *Aegypt*, being then engaged in a Warre, the issue whereof was to determine, whether of them should rule or serue. The *Assyrian* had the better men of warre; the *Aegyptian* better prouision of necessaries: the *Assyrian*, more Subjects; the *Aegyptian*, more Friends; and among the new conquered halfe Subjects of *Assur*, many that were *Aegyptian* in heart, though *Assyrian* in outward shew.

Of this last sort were *Ezekias*, and his people; who, knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*, to protect them against his owne great Enemy, preferred the friendship of so neere and mightie a Neighbour, before the seruice of a terrible, yet farre removed King. But herein was great difference, betweene *Ezekias* and his Subjects: For the good King, fixing his especial confidence in God, held that course of policie, which hee thought most likely to turne to the benefit of his Countrey: the multitude of *Iuda*, looking into the faire hopes which this *Aegyptian* league promised, were puffed vp with vaine conceits, thinking that all was safe, and that now they should not neede to feare any more of those iniuries, which they had suffered by the *Assyrians*; and so became forgetfull of God, taking counsaile but not of him. The Prophet *Esay* complained much of this presumption; giuing the people of *Iuda* to vnderstand, That the *Aegyptians* were men, and not God, and their Horses flesh, and not 40 Spirit; that God himselfe should defend *Israel* vpon repentance, and that *Assyria* should fall by the sword, but not of man. As for the *Aegyptians* (saide the Prophet) they are vaine, and they shall helpe in vaine, their strength is to sit still.

According to the Prophets words it came to passe. For in the treatie of Confederacie that was held at *Zaan*, all manner of contentment and assurance was giuen to the *Iewes*, by *Setbon*, or his Agents, who filled them with such reports, of Horses and Charets, that they did not looke (as *Esay* saith) vnto the holy one of *Israel*, nor seeke vnto the Lord. But he yet is wise.

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Armie, and awakened them out of these dreames; for *Setbon* their good Neighbour, as neere as hee was, did seeme farre off, so being vnreadie, when his helpe was most needfull. It may seeme that he purposed, rather to make *Palestina* than *Aegypt* the stage, whereon this great Warre should be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Assyrians* and *Iewes*, weakening one another, should yeeld vnto him a faire aduantage ouer both. Yet he fought with mortie; for he sent Horses and Camels laden with treasure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom

Ggg

E/oy

E/gy 30.6.

E/gy calleth a people that cannot profit. These Arabians did not profit indeede; for (besides that it seemes by the same place of E/gy, that the rich treasures miscarried, and fell into the enemies hands before any helpe appeared from *Tibacca*,) all the strong Cities of *Iuda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Ierusalem* it selfe, which were in sore distresse, till the sword of God, and not of Man, defeated the *Assyrian*, who did goe, for feare, to his Tower, that is, he fled to *Ninene*, where he was slaine.

E/gy 31.9.

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purposed against *Egypt*, where the men of warre, being offended with *Seton* their King, who had taken away their allowance, refused to beare armes in defence of him and their Country; that *Seton* being *Vulcan* Priest, bemoaned himselfe to his god, who by dreame promised to send him helpers; that hereupon *Seton*, with such as would follow him, which were crafts-men, shop-keepers; and the like) marched towards *Pelafum*, and that a great multitude of field-mice entering the Campe of *Sennacherib* by night, did so gnaw the bowes quivers, and straps of his mens armour, that they were faine the next day to flie away in all haste, finding themselves disarmed. In memorie hereof (saith *Herodotus*) the statue of this King is set up in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Moule in his hand, with this inscription: Let him, that b. *bois me*, serve Go. l. Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* Priests, wherein how firre they swarued from the truth, being desirous to magnifie their owne King, it may easily be perceived. It seemes that this Image of *Seton* was fallen downe, an I the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or else perhaps, the Priests did forbear to tell it him (which caused him to omit it) for that the Nation of the *Jewes* was then well knowne to the world, whereof euery child could haue told, how much falshood had beene mingled with the truth.

We finde this historie agreeable to the Scriptures, thus farre forth; That *Sennacherib* King of the *Assyrians*, and *Arabians*, (so *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrian* or peraduenture some borderers vpon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) liued in this age, made Warre vpon *Egypt*, and was miraculously driuen home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleasure that *Vulcan* did vnto his Priest; happy it was (if *Seton* were a Priest) that he took his god now in so good a mood. For within three or foure yeeres before this, all the Priests in *Egypt* should haue beene slaine, if a merciful King had not spared their liues, as it were halfe against the gods will. Therefore this last good turne was not enough to serue as an example, that might stirre vp the *Egyptians* to pietie, seeing that their deuotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I thinke, that this Image did represent *Sennacherib* himselfe, and that the Moule in his hand, signified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expresseing things) the shamefull issue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Armie, by meanes which came no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, shewed vpon this vngodly King, was indeede a very good motiue to pietie. But the clemencie, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chiefe Temple in that Towne where this Image was erected) might giue occasion to such a fable; the Deuill helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the Deuill, I hold it very likely, that *Seton*, finding himselfe in danger, did call vpon his gods; that is, vpon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom hee had most deuotion. But so had other of his Predecessors done in the like neede: yet which of them had obtained succour by the like miracle? Surely the *Jewes* (euen such of them as most were giuen to Idolatrie) would haue beene alarmed of the confidence which they reposed, in the Charets of *Egypt*, because they were many, and in the Horse-men, because they were very strong; had it bene told them, that *Seton*, in stead of sending those Horse-men and Charets, was beseeching *Vulcan*, to send him and them good luck, or else (for these also were *Egyptian* gods) addressing his praiers to some Onyon or Cat. Howsoeuer it was, doubt-
lesse

E/gy 31.1.

lesse the prophetic of *E/gy* tooke effect, which said, *They shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor helpe, nor doe them good, but shall bee a shame and also a reproch*. Such is commonly the issue of humane wilddome, when resting secure vpon prouision that it selfe hath made, it will no longer seeme to stand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Seton* to haue beene set downe by *Eusebius*, vnder the name of *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian*; and therefore the twentie yeeres which are giuen to *Tarachus*, they allow to the Raigne of *Seton*. These haue well obserued, that *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Countrey, or at least an enemy to *Sennacherib*, in the war last spoken of the *Ethiopians* (as they are englished) ouer which hee reigned, being indeede *Chusites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they suppose aright, that *Eusebius* hath mistaken one King for another. But whereas they thinke, that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaka*, is placed in the roome of *Seton*, and therefore giue to *Seton* the twentie yeeres of *Tarachus*, I hold them to haue erred on the other hand. For this *Ethiopian* (as he is called) began his Raigne ouer *Egypt*, by *Eusebius* his accompt, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezekia*, in the first yeere of *Manasses* King of *Iuda*. Therefore he, or his yeeres, haue no reference to *Seton*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Seton* reigned; *Eusebius* peremptorily, citing no Author, nor alleging reason for it, sets him downe thirtie three yeeres; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not carefull to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded vnto my selfe at the first, for measuring the Raignes of these *Egyptian* Kings. The yeeres which passed from the first of *Rehoboam*, vnto the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, I so diuide among the *Egyptians*, that giuing to euery one the proportion allowed vnto him by the Author in whom hee is found, the rest is to be conferred vpon him whose length of Raigne is vncertaine; that is, vpon this *Seton*. By this accompt I find the thirtie three yeeres, that are set downe by *Eusebius*, to agree very neerely, if not precisely, with the time of *Seton*'s Raigne; therefore I conformance my owne reckoning to his, though I could be content to haue it one yeere lesse. The reason of this computation I

shall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Pasamiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the course of this Historie will shortly bring me, the *Egyptian* affaires growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Iuda*, to which is meete that I re-
turne.

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CHAP. XXVII.

Of MANASSE and his Contemporaries.

p. I.

The wickednesse of MANASSES. His imprisonment, Repentance, and Death.



MANASSE, the Sonne of Ezekias, forgetting the pietie of his Father, and the prosperitie which followed him, serup, repaired, adorned, and furnished, all the Altars, Temples, and high Places, in which the Deuill was by the Heathen worshipped. Besides, hee himselfe esteemed the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, with all the hoste of Heauen, as gods, and worshipped them: and of all his acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his Sonnes for a Sacrifice to the Deuill Moloch, or Melchor, in the Valley of Hinnon, or Benhennon: wherein was kindled the

fire of Sacrifice to the Deuills.

He also gaue himselfe to all kinde of Witchcraft and Sorcerie, accompanied and maintained those that had familiar Spirits, and all sorts of Enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent blood, as Ierusalem was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reuerent Prophet Eiaj (who was also of the Kings race, and as the Iewes affirm, the Father in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet neere vnto the Fountaine of Siloe to be sawne in sunder, with a wooden saw, in the eightieih yere of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monstrous then hath been heard of. The Scriptures indeede are silent hercof yet the same is confirmed by Euphrasius, Isidore, Eusebius, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. Therefore the Lord brought vpon them the Captiuitie of the Host of the Kings of ASHUR, which tooke MANASSE, and put him in fetters, and bound him in chaines, and carried him to Babel: Whereafter he had lien twentie yere as a captiue, and dispoiled of all honour and hope; yet to his heartie repentance and continuall praiere, the God of infinite mercie had respect, and moued the Assyrians heart to deliuer him.

It is also likely that Merodach, because he loued his father Ezechias, was the easilier perswaded to restore Manasse to his libertie and estate. After which, and when hee was againe established, remembering the miseries which followed his wickednesse, and Gods great mercies toward him, he changed forme, detested his former foolish and deuillish Idolatry, and cast downe the Idols of his owne erection, prepared the Altar of God, and sacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Ierusalem: and dyed after the long raigne of fiftie five yeeares. Glycas and Suidas report, that Manasse was held in a cace of yron by the Assyrians: and therein fedde with bread of branne and water, which men may belecue as it shall please their fancies.

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f. II.

p. II.

Of troubles in Egypt following the death of SETHON. Theraigne of PSAMMETICVS.

That the wickednesse of King Manasse was the cause of the euill, which fell vpon his Kingdome and Person, any Christian must needs beleue: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things, in those parts of the World, such, at that time, as would haue inuited any Prince (and did perhaps inuite Merodach, who fulfilled Gods pleasure, vpon respect borne to his owne ends) delirious of enlarging his Empire, to make attempt vpon Iuda. For the Kingdome of Egypt, which was become the pillar, whercon the state of Iuda leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with ciuill disension, and after two yeeres, ill amended by a diuision of the gouernment betweene twelue Princes. After some good agreement betweene these, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himselfe absolute King of all. This Inter-regnum, or meere Anarchie, that was in Egypt, with the diuision of the Kingdome following it, is placed by Diodore, who omitteth Sethon, betweene the raignes of Sabacus, and Psammeticus: but Herodotus doth set the Aristocratie, or twelue Gouernours, immediately before Psammeticus, who was one of them, and after Sethon.

The occasion of this disension seemes to haue bene the vncertaintie of title to that Kingdome (for that the Crowne of Egypt passed by succession of blood, I haue often shewed) which ended, for a while, by the partition of all among twelue, though things were not settled, vntill one had obtained the Souerainetie.

These twelue Rulers gouerned fiftene yeeres, in good seeming agreement, which to preserve, they made strait couenants and alliances one with another, being jealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drinke offering, in Vulcanus Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whilest this vnite lasted, they joyned together in raising a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built neere vnto the Lake of Maris, a worke so admirable, that (as Herodotus, who beheld it, affirms) no words could giue it commendation, answerable to the stateliness of the worke it selfe. I will not here set downe that vnperfect description, which Herodotus makes of it, but thinke enough to say, that he prefers it farre before the Pyramides, one of which (as he saith) excelled the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, or any of the fairest workes in Greece. Diodorus reports this Labyrinth to haue bene the worke of Maris, or Menides, a King which liued five generations before Proteus, that is, before the Warre of Troy, and from this Labyrinth (saith hee) Dedalus tooke the pattern of that which hee made for Minos in Crete. Who this Maris, or Menides was, I cannot tell. Reineccius takes him to haue bene Annemenes, which raigned immediately before Thuris. But this agrees not with Diodore: for Dedalus and Minos were both dead long before Annemenes was King. Belike Reineccius, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of Amethon, Chareman, and others, that are found in Iosephus, touching Amemphis and his children, to the storie of Amasis, &c. Alcifanes the Ethiopian, mentioned by Diodore, held it consequent, after he had conjectured Manethon Amemphis, to be Diodorus his Amasis; that Sethon should be Alcifanes, and that Annemenes should be Maris. If in this case I might intrude

30 a conjecture; the times which wee now handle, are those, about which Reineccius hath erred in making search; Amasis was Amasis, Alcifanes was Sabacus; and Maris was one of these twelue Princes, to whom Herodotus giues the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For Alcifanes the Ethiopian deposed Amasis; Sabacus the Ethiopian deposed Amasis; Alcifanes gouerned well, and was milde in punishing offenders;

Ggg 3

Isa. 44. 17.
Cicero de nat. d.
Glycas pag. 275.
Tertulian de res.

1. ch. 10. 33. 11.

16. cont. App. 11.

offendors; so likewise was *Sabacus*; *Marus* the next King after *Achises* built this Labyrinth; and the next (sauiing *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as hauiing not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the same worke, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to heare the truth, as liuing neerer to the Age wherein it was performed. The varietie of names, and difference of times, wherein *Diodore* beleueed the Priests, might bee a part of the *Aegyptian* vanitie, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their Kings, and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelue great Halls, Parlours, and other circumstances remembered by *Herodotus*, in speaking of this Temple, doe helpe to proue, that it was the worke of these twelue Princes. But I hasten to their end.

At a solemne feast in *Falens* Temple, when they were to make their drinke-offerings, the Priest, forgetting himselfe, brought forth no more than eleuen Cups. Hereupon *Psammetichus*, who standing last, had not a Cup, tooke off his brazen Helmet, and therewith supplied the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him vpon set purpose, or ill intent, they forbore to kill him, but, being jealous of their estate, they banished him into the marish Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the euent, is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I beleue to haue beene none other: In the rest *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, saying, that *Psammetichus* hyed Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whose aide he vanquished his Companions, and made himselfe sole King.

The yeeres of his raigne, according to *Herodotus*, were fiftie foure; according to *Eusebius*, fortie foure; *Mercator*, to reconcile these two, giues fortie foure yeeres to his single raigne, and ten to his rulings, joyntly with the Princes before spoken of. Indeede, he that was admitted, being a man growne (for hee cannot in reason be supposed to haue beene then a yong fellow) into the number of the twelue Gouernours, must be thought to haue liued vnto extreme old age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threecore and nine yeeres. I therefore yeeld rather to *Eusebius*; but will not aduenture to cut five yeeres from the *Ariftoerati*, though peraduenture *Psammetichus* was not at first one of the twelue, but succeeded (either by election, or as next of blood) into the place of some Prince that dyed, and was ten yeeres companion in that gouernement.

Another scruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The yeeres of these *Aegyptians*, as we finde them set downe, are more by one, than serue to fill vp the time, betwene the fift of *Rehoboam*, and the fourth of *Iehoiakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one yeere from *Sethon*'s raigne; that was of vncertaine length; or else (which I had rather doe; because *Eusebius* may haue followed better authority than I know, or than himselfe altogether, ingiuing to *Sethon* a time so neerely agreeing with the truth) we must confound the last yeere of one raigne, with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are set downe in Chronological tables, raigned precisely so many yeeres as are ascribed vnto them, without any fractions: it is enough to thinke, that the surplussage of one mans time, supplied the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the last yeere of those fiftene, wherein the twelue Princes ruled, with the first of *Psammetichus*; who surely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himselfe Lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in *Aegypt*, who entertained any strait amitie with the *Greekes*; that hee retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom hee gaue large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his *Aegyptian* Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his Armie, whilst his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honorable place) in an expedition that he made into *Syria*. Vpon this disgrace it is said, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, forsooke their naturall Countrie

Countrie of *Aegypt*, and went into *Ethiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be reuoked by kinde Mellages, nor by the King himselfe, who ouer-tooke them on the way; but when hee told them of their Countrie, their Wines, and Children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a Countrie, and that nature had enabled them to get other wines and children.

It is also reported of him, That he caused two Infants to be brought vp in such sort, as they might not heare any word spoken; by which meanes, he hoped to find out, what Nation or Language was most ancient; so far as much as it seemed likely, that nature would reach the children to speake that language, which men spake at the first. The issue hereof was, that the children cried, *Becous*, *Becus*, which word being found to signifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, serued greatly to magnifie the *Phrygian* antiquitie. *Goropius Becanus* makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his *Low-Lutch*; in which the word *Becker*, signifies (as Baker in English) a maker of bread. He that will turne ouer any part of *Goropius* his works, may finde enough of this kinde, to perswade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarchs spake none other tongue than the *Low-Lutch*, before the confusion of languages at *Babel*; the name it selfe of *Babel*, being also *Dutch* and giuen by occasion of this confusion; for that there they beganne to babble, and talke, one knew not what.

But I will not inuill vpon all that is written of *Psammetichus*. The most regardable of his acts was the siege of *Azotus* in *Palästina*, about which he spent nine and twentie yeeres. Neuer haue wee heard (saith *Herodotus*) that any Citie endured so long a siege as this; yet *Psammetichus* carried it at the last. This Towne of *Azotus* had become worne by *Tartan*, a Captaine of *Senacherib*, and was now, as it seemeth, reiceued, but in vaine, by the *Babylonians*, which made it hold out so well.

¶ III.

What reference these *Aegyptian* matters might haue to the imprisonment and enlargement of *MANASSES*. In what part of his raigne *MANASSES* was taken prisoner.

Were it certainly knowne, in what yeere of his raigne *Manasse* was taken prisoner, and how long it was before hee obtained libertie; I thinke wee should finde these *Aegyptian* troubles to haue beene no small occasion, both of his captiuitie and enlargement: God so disposing of humane actions, that euen they, who intended only their owne businesse, fulfilled onely his high pleasure. For either the ciuill warres in *Aegypt* that followed vpon the death of *Sethon*; or the renting of the Kingdome, as it were, into twelue peeces; or the warre betwene *Psammetichus* and his Colleagues; or the expedition of *Psammetichus* into *Syria*, and the siege of *Azotus*, might minister vnto the *Babylonians*, either such cause of hope, to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts; or such necessitie of sending an Armie into those parts, to defend his owne, as would greatly tempt him, to make sure worke with the King of *Juda*. The same occasions sufficed also, to procure the deliuerie of *Manasse*, after he was taken. For hee was taken (as *Ieseph* hath it) by subtiltie, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, winne his Countrie, but only waite it. So that the *Iewes*, hauing learned wit, by the ill successe of their folly, in redeeming *Achanaz*, were like to be more circumspect, in making their bargain vpon such another accident: and the *Babylonians* (to whom the *Aegyptian* matters presented more weighty arguments of hope and feare, than the little Kingdome of *Juda* could afford, had no reason, to spend his forces, in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficultie as a greater, whereby hee should compell his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement;

ment; when by quitting his present advantage over the *Jews*, hee might make his way the fairer into *Aegypt*.

Now concerning the yeere of *Manasses* his raigne, wherein hee was taken prisoner; or concerning his captiuitie it selfe, how long it lasted, the Scriptures are silent, and *Iosephus* giues no information. Yet I finde cited by *Tornellus* three opinions, the one of *Bellarmino*, who thinks that *Manasses* was taken in the fifteenth yeere of his raigne; the other of the Author of the greater *Hebrew Chronologie*, who affirms, that it was in his twentie seuenth yeere; the third, of *Rabbi Kimbi* vpon *Ezekiel*, who saith, that he was fortie yeeres an Idolater, and liued fifteene yeeres after his repentance. The first of these conjectures is vpheld by *Tornellus*, who rejects the second, as more vnprobable, and condemnes the third as most false. Yet the reasons alleged by *Tornellus* in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such as may rather proue him to fauour the *Cardinall*, as farre as he may, (for where need requires, hee doth freely dissent from him) than to haue vsed his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before hee gaue his judgement. Two arguments he brings to maintaine the opinion of *Bellarmino*: the one, that *Ammon* the Sonne of *Manasses*, is said by *Iosephus*, to haue followed the workes of his Fathers youth; the other, that had *Manasses* growne old in his finnes, it is not like that he should haue continued, as hee did, in his amendment vnto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason, why the finnes of *Manasses* might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them *workes of his youth*, which appeared when he was twelue yeeres old; though it were granted that hee continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimbi*) vntill he was but fifteene yeeres from death. Touching the second; howsoeuer it be a fearefull thing, to cast off vnto the last those good motions vnto repentance, which we know not whether euer God will offer vnto vs againe; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the finnes, which are not forsaken before the age of two and fiftie yeeres, shall bee punished with finall impenitencie. But against these two collections of *Tornellus*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not vnlike, That *Manasses* continued longer in this wickednesse, than *Bellarmino* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimbi* hath affirmed. In the second Booke of Kings, the euill which *Manasses* did, is remembred at large, and his repentance vtterly omitted; so that his amendment may seeme to haue taken vp no great part of his life, the storie of him being thus concluded, in the one and twentieth Chapter. Concerning the rest of the acts of *MANASSES*, and all that hee did, and his sinne that hee sinned, are they not written in the booke of the *Chronicles of the Kings of Iuda*? The other place is in the foure and twentieth Chapter of the same Booke, where in rehearsing the calamities with which that Nation was punished in the time of *Iehoiakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manasse*, it is said; Surely by the commandment of the Lord came this vpon *Iuda*, that hee might put them out of his sight, for the finnes of *MANASSE*, according to all that hee did, and for the innocent blood that hee shed (for hee filled *Ierusalem* with innocent blood) therefore the Lord would not pardon it. Who so considers well these places, may finde small cause to pronounce it most false, That the repentance and amendment of *Manasses* was no earlier then fifteene yeeres before his death; or most probable, That when he was twenty seuen yeeres old, he repented, and becoming a new man, liued in the feare of God fortie yeeres after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth can not be discouered. It sufficeth to say, that two yeeres of ciuill dissension in *Aegypt*, fourteen or fifteene yeeres following, wherein that Kingdome was weakened, by partition of the Soueraignetie: the warre of *Psammis* against his Associates: and foure and twentie yeeres, of the nine and twentie, wherein the siege of *Azotus* continued, being all within the time of *Manasses*, did leaue no one part of his raigne (after the first fiftie yeeres) free from the danger of being oppressed by the *Babylonian*, whose men of warre had continuall occasions of visiting his Countre. All which I will adde hereto is this; that the fifteenth of *Manasses*

a.Kings 21. 17.

a.Kings 24. 1.

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Manasses, was the last yeere of *Setben* in *Aegypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his raigne, or (accounting from the death of *Asorhaddon*) the twentieth: The feuen and twentieth of *Manasses* was the tenth of the twelue Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twentie third of *Psammis*, and the fift of *Nabulassar*, the sonne of *Merodach* in *Babylon*: but which of these was the yeere of his imprisonment, or whether any other, I forbear to shew mine opinion, lett I should thereby seeme to draw all matters ouer violently to mine owne computation.

This was the last great maistrice that the *Babylonians* had of the Kingdome of *Iuda*. For though *Achaz* promised Tribute to *Sennacherib*, yet *Ezechias* neuer payed it. True it is, that hee hoped to stay *Sennacherib*s enterprise against him, by presenting him with three hundred talents of silver, and thirtie of gold, besides the plate which couered the doores and pillars of the Temple.

But *Manasses* being pressed with greater necessitie, could refuse no tolerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impose vpon him; among which it seemes, that this was one, (which was indeede a point of seruitude) that hee might not hold peace with the *Aegyptians*, whilst they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appears not only by his fortifying with men of warre all the strong Cities of *Iuda* after his returne (which was rather against *Psammis*, whose partie hee had forsaken, than against the *Babylonian*, with whom hee had thenceforth no more controuersie) but likewise by that opposition, which *Iosias* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in fauour of *Nabulassar*, which had bene against all reason and policie, if it had not bene his dutie by covenant. Of this I will speake more in conuenient place.

†. IIII.

Of the first and second *Messenian* Warres, which were in the reignes of *EZEKIA*, and *MANASSES* Kings of *Iuda*.

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Now concerning such actions as were performed abroad in the world, about these times of *Manasses*, the most remarkable were the *Messenian* Warres; which happening in this age, and being the greatest action performed in *Greece*, betweene the *Troian* and *Perisian* Warres, deserue not to be passed ouer with silence.

The first *Messenian* Warre beganne and ended in the daies of *Ezekias* the second in the raigne of *Manasses*: but to auoide the trouble of interrupting our Historie, I haue thought it best, to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is needlesse, than to say, that the posteritie of *Heracles*, diuing the issue of *Pelops*, and the *Achaean*s, out of their seats, diuided their lands betweene themselves, and erected the Kingdomes of *Lacedaemon*, *Argos*, *Messene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of Kindred, and fought one anothers ruine with bloudie Warres; whereof these *Messenian* were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the *Messenian* Warre, are scarce worth remembrance; they were so sleight. Ambition was the true cause of it; wherewith the *Lacedaemonians* were so transported, that any thing serued them as a colour, to accomplish their greedie desires. Yet other matter was alleged; namely, that one *Polycharis* a *Messenian* had slaine many *Lacedaemonians*, for which the Magistrates of *Sparta* desiring to haue him yielded into their hands, could not obtaine it. The *Messenians* on the other side, excused *Polycharis*, for that he was growne frantick, through injuries receiued from *Eusepius* a *Lacedaemonian*. This *Eusepius* had bargained to giue pasture to the Cattell of *Polycharis*, and was therefore to receiue part of the increase: but

but not contented with the gaine appointed, hee sold the Cattaille, and Slaues that kept them, to Merchants, which done, he came with a faire tale to his friend, saying, that they were stolen. Whilst the lye was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaues that had escaped from the Merchants, came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedemonians* being thus deprehended, confessed all, and promised large amends; which to recieve, he carried the Sonne of *Polypheus* home with him; but hauing him at home, hee villanously slew him. Wherefore, the *Lacedemonians* hauing refused, after long sute made by the wretched Father, to doe him right against this Theefe and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrell, out of those things, which hee did in that madnesse, whereinto they themselves had cast him. So said the *Messinians* 10
 253, & further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand vnto the judgement of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the generall Counsaile of *Greece*, or to any other faire course. But the *Lacedemonians*, who had a great desire to occupy the faire Countrie of *Messene*, that lay close by them, were not content with such allegations. They thought it enough, to haue come shew for their doings, which the better to colour, they reckoned vp many old injuries, and so without sending any defiance, secretly tooke an oath, to hold warre with *Messene*, till they had maitered it: which done, they seized vpon *Amphias*, a frontier Towne of that Prouince, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercie, very few escaping.

Hereupon the *Messinians* tooke Armes, and were met by the Enemy. A furious 20
 battaile was fought betwene them, which ended not vntill darke night, with vncertaine victorie. The *Messinians* did strongly encampe themselves; The *Lacedemonians*, vnable to force their Campe, returned home. This Warre beganne in the second yere of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the first of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, hauing lasted twentie yeeres. The two enemy Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces; the *Lacedemonians* waisting the inland parts of *Messene*; and the *Messinians*, the Sea-coast of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends, on both sides, were called in to helpe. The *Arcadians*, *Argines*, and *Sicyonians*, tooke part with *Messene*; the *Spartans* had, besides many Subjects of their owne, aide from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a second, third, and fourth battaile 30
 were fought, with as great obstinacie as the first; saying that, in the fourth battaile, the *Lacedemonians* were enforced to turne their backs; in the other fights, the victorie was stil vncertaine, though in one of them the *Messinians* lost *Enphias* their King, in whose stead they chose *Ariflodemus*.

Many yeeres were spent ere all this bloud was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of monie to entertaine Souldiers, caused the Warre to linger. And for the same reasons, did the *Messinians* forsake all their inland Townes, excepting *Ithome*, which was a mountaine with a Towne vpon it, able to endure more, than the enemies were likely to doe. But, as some Authors tell vs, the *Lacedemonians* were so obstinate, in this Warre, because of their vow, that hauing absented themselves ten 40
 yeeres from *Sparta*, their wives sent them word, that their Citie would grow vnpopled, by reason that no children had bene borne them in all that time: Whereupon they sent back all their ablest yong men, promiscuously to accompanie the yong women, who got so many of them with child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Diodorus* refers the begetting of these *Parthenians* to a former time. But in proceffe of this *Messinian* Warre, when the Deuill in an Oracle had aduised the *Messinians* to sacrifice a Virgin of the stock of 50
 * *Aegyptus*, that so they might be victorious against the *Lacedemonians*; the lot falling vpon the Daughter of one *Lyciscus*, *Epibolus* the Priest, willing to saue her, said, there was only a fostered child, and not borne of the wife of *Lyciscus*: which answer giuing delay to the execution of the Maide, *Lyciscus* secretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Ariflodemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his owne Daughter: but a yong Noble man, being in loue with the Maide, when otherwise he could not preuaile, said openly that shee was no Virgin, but that he had de-
 floured

Strabo, l. c.
 Oris. l. c. 21.

Diod. l. x.
 * Thus *Aegyptus*
 was the yong-
 est Sonne of
Crotopus by
Meroe, the
 daughter of
Crotopus King of
Arcadia: of
 which *Crotopus*
 the chiefe nobi-
 lities of the
Messinians was
 propagated.

floured her, and got her with child: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped vp his innocent Daughters belly, to disproue the Louers slander: at the graue of which Daughter of his, afterward falling, by other superstitions, into despaire of preuailing against the *Lacedemonians*, he slew himselfe, to the great hurt of his Countrey, which hee loued most dearly. For after his death the *Messinians* lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craued peace; which they obtained vnder most rigorous conditions. Halfe the yeerely fruits of their Land they were bound to lend vnto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wiues, to make solemne lamentations, at the death of euery *Spartan* King; they 10
 were also sworne to liue in true subiection to the *Lacedemonians*; and part of their Territorie was taken from them, which was giuen to the *Aginers*; and such as had followed the *Spartans* in this Warre.

This peace being made vpon so vncuen termes, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirtie yeeres it continued (the *Messinians* not finding how to help themselves) and then brake out into a new and more furious Warre, than the former. The able yong men, that were growne vp in the roome of those *Messinians*, whom the former Warre had consumed, beganne to consider their owne strength and multitude, thinking themselves equall to the *Lacedemonians*, and therefore scorning to serue such Masters, as had against all right, oppressed their Fathers. The chiefe 20
 of these was *Ariflomenes*, a noble Gentleman, of the house of *Aegyptus*; who perceiving the vniforme desires of his Countrey-men, aduentured to become their Leader. Hetherefore founding the affections of the *Argines*, and *Arcadians*, which hee found thoroughly answerable to his purpose, began open warre vpon the State of *Lacedamon*. This was in the fourth yere of the three and twentieth *Olympiad*; when the *Lacedemonians*, hasted to quench the fire before it should grow too hot, with such forces as they could raise of their own, without troubling their friends, meaning to deale with their Enemies, ere any succour were lent them. So a strong battaile was fought betwene them, and a doubtfull; sane that the *Messinians* were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, 30
 to thinke them their equals. Particularly, the valour of *Ariflomenes* appeared such in this fight, that his people would haue made him their King: but he, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one yeere another battaile was fought, whereunto each part came better provided. The *Lacedemonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and some other friends to helpe: the *Messinians* had the *Argines*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This also was a long and bloudie fight; but *Ariflomenes* did so behaue himselfe, that finally hee made the Enemies runne for their liues. Of such importance was this victory, that the *Lacedemonians* beganne to bethinke themselves, of making some good agreement. But one *Tyrtas* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, reenforced their Spirits with his Verses. After this, *Ariflomenes* tooke by surpris a Towne in *Laconia* and vanquished in fight *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*, who did set vpon him, in hope to haue recovered the bootie.

But all these victories of *Ariflomenes* perished, in the losse of one battaile, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or surely the profit, fell vnto the *Lacedemonians*, through the treason of *Ariflorates*, King of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the *Messinians* exposed to a cruell butcherie. The losse was so great, that together with *Andania* their principal Citie, all the towns in *Messene*, standing too farr from the Sea, were abandoned, for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not bee 50
 safe abroad, was conueied, into a place of safety. Here the *Lacedemonians* found a tedious worke, that held them eleuen yeeres. For besides that *Era* it selfe was a strong peece, *Ariflomenes* with three hundred stout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindered their attendance on the siege. Hee wasted all the fields of *Messene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking

king away Corne, Wine, Catraile, and all provisions, necessarie for his owne people; the Slaues and houthold stuffe he changed into monie, suffering the owners to redeeme them. To remedie this mischiefe the *Lacedemonians* made an Edict, that neither *Messene*, nor the adjoyning parts of their owne Countrie, should be tilld or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among priuate men, that were almost vndone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrtaeus* appeased this vproare with pleasing Songs. But *Arifomenes* grew so bold, that he not only ranged ouer all the fields, but aduentured vpon the Townes, surpris'd, and sackt *Amphylæ*, and finally caus'd the enemies to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing these and other seruices, thrice *Arifomenes* was taken prisoner; yet still hee escaped. One escape of his deferues to bee remembered, as a thing very strange and maruailous. Hee had with too much courage aduentured to set vpon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken vp senselesse, and carried away prisoner, with fiftie of his Companions. There was a deepe naturall Caeinto which the *Spartans* vled to cast head-long, such as were condemned to die for the greatest offences. To this punishment were *Arifomenes* and his companions adjudged. All the rest of these poore men dyed with their falls; *Arifomenes* (howtoeuer it came to passe) tooke no harme. Yet was it harme enough to be imprisond in a deepe Dungeon, among dead carcasses, where he was like to perill through hunger and stench. But after a while hee perceiued by some small glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the toppe) a Foxe that was gnawing vpon a dead bodie. Hereupon hee be thought himselfe, that this beast must needs know some way, to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold vpon it, and catching it by the taile with one hand, saued himselfe from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coate into the mouth of it. So letting it creepe whither it would, hee followed, holding it as his guide, vntill the way was too strait for him; and then dismissed it. The Foxe being loose, ranne through an hole, at which came in a little light; and there did *Arifomenes* delue so long with his nailes, that at last he clawed out his passage. When some fugitiues of *Messene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Arifomenes* was returned home, their tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was reuiued. But when the *Corinthian* forces, that came to helpe the *Lacedemonians* in the siege of *Era*, were cut in peeces, their Captaines slaine, and their Campe taken; then was it easily beleued, that *Arifomenes* was aliue indeede.

Thus eleuen yeeres passed whilst the enemies houering about *Era*, saw no likelihood of getting it; and *Arifomenes* with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slaue, that had fled from *Sparta*, betraied the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdnesse the wife of a *Messenian*, and was entertained by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainie-winter-night, that the husband came home vnlooked for, whilst the Adulterer was within. The Woman hidde her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him, by what good fortune he was returned so soone. He told her, that the storme of foule weather was such, as had made all his fellowes leaue their Stations, and that himselfe had done as the rest did; as for *Arifomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not looke abroad; neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would stirre, in such a darke-rainie-night, as this was. The slaue that heard these tidings, rose vp secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedemonian* Campe with the newes. There hee found *Emperamus* his Master, commanding in the Kings absence. To him hee vttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Armie into the Towne. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarme was presently taken; and the extreme darke-nesse, together with the noise of winde and raine, hindred all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruell fight; one part being incited, by neere hope of ending

ending a long worke; the other enraged by meere desperation. The great aduantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompensed partly by the assistance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of seruitude had taught contempt of death) gaue to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrownesse of the streets and other passages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the *Messenians* were in continuall toile; their enemies fought in course, refreshing themselves with meat and sleepe, and then returning supplied the places of their wearie fellowes, with fresh Companies. *Arifomenes* therefore, perceiving that his men for want of reliefe were no longer able to hold out, (as hauing bene three daies, and three nights, vexed with all miseries, of labour, watchings, fighting, hunger, and thirst, besides continuall raine and cold) gathered together all the weaker sort, whom he compassed round with armed men, and so attempted to breake out through the midst of the enemies. *Emperamus* Generall of the *Lacedemonians* was glad of this; and to further their departure, caus'd his Souldiers to giue an open way, leauing a faire passage to these desperate madmen. So they issued forth, and arrived safe in *Acadia*, where they were most louingly entertained.

Vpon the first bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Acadians* had prepared themselves to the rescue: but *Arifocrates* their false hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Arifomenes* had plac'd his followers in safetie, he chose out five hundred the lustiest of his men, with whom hee resolu'd to march in all secret haile vnto *Sparta*, hoping to find the Towne secure, and ill manured, the people being runne forth to the spoile of *Messene*. In this enterprise, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedemonians* would be glad to recouer their owne, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred *Acadians* that offer'd to ioyne with him; but *Arifocrates* marred all, by sending speedie aduertisement hereof, to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Epistle which *Anaxander* sent backe to *Arifocrates*, was intercepted, by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falsehood, which being published in open assembly, the *Acadians* stoned him to death, and casting forth his body vnburied, erected a monument of his treacherie, with a note: That the Periurer cannot deceiue God.

Of *Arifomenes* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people to the charge of his sonne *Gorgus* and other sufficient Governours, who should plant them in some new seat abroad, hee resolu'd himselfe to make abode in those parts, hoping to finde the *Lacedemonians* worke at home. His daughters hee bestowed honourably in marriage. One of them *Demagetus*, who raiged in the Ile of *Rhodes*, tooke to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marrie the daughter of the best man in *Greece*. Finally *Arifomenes* went with his daughters to *Rhodes*, whence hee purposed to haue traualled vnto *Ardis* the Son of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*: but death preuented him at *Rhodes*, where hee was honourably buried.

The *Messenians* were inuited by *Anaxilas* (whose great Grandfather was a *Messenian* and went into *Italy* after the former war) being Lord of the *Rhegiens* in *Italy*, to take his part against the *Zanclean*s in *Sicilie*, on the other side of the Straights. They did so; and winning the Towne of *Zancle*, called it *Messene*, which name it keeps to this day.

This second *Messenian* warre ended in the first yeere of the twentie eight Olympiade. Long after which time, the rest of that Nation, who staying at home seru'd the *Lacedemonians*, found means to rebel; but were soone vanquished, and being driuen to forsake *Peloponnesus*, they went into *Acarnania*; whence likewise, after few ages they were expelled by the *Lacedemonians*, and then followed their ancient Countymen into *Italy* and *Sicilie*; some of them went into *Africa*, where they chose vnto themselves a seat.

It is verie strange, that during two hundred and foure score yeeres, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient culmomes, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and loue of their forsaken Countrey, with a desire to returne vnto it. In the third yeere of the hundred and second Olympiad, that great *Eparinondas*, hauing tamed the pride of the *Lacedamonians*, reuoked the *Messenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponnesus*. There did *Eparinondas* restore vnto them their old possession, and helpe them in building a faire Citie; which, by the name of the Prouince, was called *Messene*, and was held by them euer after, in despite of the *Lacedamonians*, of whom they neuer from thenceforth flood in feare.

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p. V.

Of the Kings that were in *Lydia* and *Media*, while *MANASSES* reigned, whether *DEIOCES* the *Mede* were that *ARPHAXAD* which is mentioned in the Booke of *IUDITH*. Of the historie of *IUDITH*.



ARDIS King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are spoken of by *Pausanias*, as reigning shortly after the *Messenian* warre, *Ardis* succeeding vnto his father *Gyger*, beganne his raigne of nine and fortie yeeres, in the second of the fine and twentieth Olympiad. He followed the steppes of his father, who encroaching vpon the *Ionians* in *Asia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like manner *Ardis* wanne *Priene*, and assailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his raigne, the *Chimmerians*, being expelled out of their owne Countrey by the *Scythians*, ouerranne a great part of *Asia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grand-child, by whom they were driuen out. They had not onely broken into *Lydia*, but wanne the Citie of *Sardes*; though the Cattle or Citadell thereof was defended against them, and held still for King *Ardis*; whose long raigne was vnabie, by reason of this great storme, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King vntill the third yeere of the nine and twentieth Olympiad, which was fixe yeeres after the *Messenian* warre ended; the same being the last yeere of *Manasses* his raigne ouer *Juda*.

Deioces the father of this *Phraortes*, was King of *Media*, three and fiftie of these fixe and fiftie yeeres in which *Manasses* reigned. This *Deioces* was the first that ruled the *Medes* in a strict forme, commanding more absolutely than his predecessors had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had giuen to the people so much licence, as caused euery one to desire the wholesome securitie of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioces* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; he tooke vnto him a Guard for defence of his person; he seldom gaue presence, which also when he did, it was with such austerity, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly vpheld the Maieitie, which his Predecessours had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his Royall Office, he did vprightly and seuerely administer iustice, keeping secret spies to informe him of all that was done in the Kingdome. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching vpon others; but studied how to gouerne wel his own. The difference found between this King, and such as were before him, seemes to haue bred that opinion which *Herodotus* deliueris, that *Deioces* was the first who reigned in *Media*.

Herod. lib. 1.

This

This was he that built the great City of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he should be that King *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the storie of *Iudith*, as also *Ben Merodach*, by the same account, should bee *Nabuchodonosor* the *Assyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was slaine, and *Holophernes* sent to worke wonders, vpon *Phudad* and *Lad*, and I know not what other Countreies. For I reckon the last yeere of *Deioces* to haue bene the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwise, some earlier in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the raigne of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

In fitting this Booke of *Iudith* to a certaine time, there hath much labour bene spent with ill successe. The raignes of *Cambyses*, *Darius*, *Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, haue bene sought into; but afford no great matter of likelihood: and now of late, the times, foregoing the destruction of *Ierusalem*, haue bene thought vpon, and this age that we haue in hand, chosen by *Bellarmine*, as agreeing best with the storie; though others herein cannot (I speake of such as faine would) agree with him. Whilst *Cambyses* reigned, the Temple was not rebuilt, which in the storie of *Iudith*, is found standing and dedicated. The other two *Persian* Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes* are acknowledged to haue been very fauourable to the *Jewes*; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*, whose part they refused to take, and who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath some conueniences, aptly fitting this Historie; & aboue all, the opinion of a few Ancient writers (without whose iudgement the authoritie of this Booke were of no value) haue placed this argument in the *Persian* Monarchie, inclines the matter to the Raigne of this vaine-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the businesse. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this Historie, there must be a returne from captiuitie lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt; *Iosaim* High Priest; and a long peace, of threescore and ten yeeres or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to bee among the *Jewes*. Likewise on the other side, we must finde a King that reigned in *Ninisie*, eightene yeeres at the least; that vanquished and slew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the *Jewes* refused to assist; one that fought to bee generally adored as God; and that therefore commanded, all temples, of such as were accounted gods, to be destroyed; one whose Viceroy or Captaine Generall knew not the *Jewish* Nation; but was faine to learne what they were of the bordering people.

Of all these circumstances, the Priesthood of *Iosaim*, with a returne from Captiuitie, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manasses* before the destruction of *Ierusalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the rebuilding of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the raigne of *Xerxes*; the rest of circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the Captiuitie of the *Jewes*, and desolation of the Citie. Wherefore the briefe decision of this controuersie is, That the Booke of *Iudith* is not Canonical. Yet hath *Tornielius* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that vnder *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps restored and redified the Citie of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly bene built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted, he adds, that from the twelfth yeere to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is fixe or fixe yeeres, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes*, in his *Græcian* expedition (which he supposeth to haue bene so long) might giue occasion vnto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonosor* hauing vanquished and slaine *Arphaxad*, might then seek to make himselfe Lord of all, by the Armie which he sent forth vnder *Holophernes*. So should the *Jewes* haue done their dutie, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Soueraigne Lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances rehearsed before, be well applied to the argument. For in these times, the affaires of *Iuris* were agreeable to the Historie of *Iudith*, and such a King as this supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough bee ignorant of the *Jewes*, and as proud as we shall need to thinke him. But the silence of all Histories, takes away

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belicte;

believe, from this coniecture: and the supposition it selfe is very hard, that a rebell, whose King was abroad, with an Armie consisting of seuentene hundred thousand men, should presume so farre, vpon the strength of twelue hundred thousand foot, and twelue thousand Archers on horsebacke, as to thinke that hee might doe what he list, yea that there was none other God then himselfe. It is indeede easie to find enough that might be said against this deuice of *Tornilius*: yet if there were any necessitie, of holding the booke of *Iudith*, to bee Canonically, I would rather chooſe to lay aside all regard of prophane Histories, and build some defence vpon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it selfe. That *Iudith* liued vnder none of the *Persian* Kings, *Bellarmino* (whose workes I haue not read, but finde him cited by *Tornilius*) hath proued by many arguments. That shee liued not in the Raigne of *Manasses*, *Tornilius* hath proued very substantially, shewing how the Cardinal is driuen, as it were to breake through a wall, in saying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonosor*, found out by *Tornilius*, are the children of mere fantasie, it is so plaine that it needs no prooue at all. Wherefore we may truly say, that they, which haue contended about the time of this Historie, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stony field) haue chased *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni solique uias*, in an age that neuer was, and in places that were neuer knowne.

Iudith ca. 2.
23. & 25.

Surely, to find out the borders of *APHETH*, which were towards the South, and ouer against *Arabia*; or the Countries of *Phud* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I thinke it would as much trouble Cosmographers, as the former question hath done Chronologers. But I will not buse my selfe herewith; having already so farre digressed, in shewing who liued not with *Manasses*, that I thinke it high time, to returne vnto mine owne worke, and rehearse what others I finde, to haue had their part, in the long time of his Raigne.

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§. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in these times.

THE first yeere of *Manasses* was the last of *Romulus*, after whose death, one yeere the *Romans* wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabyn*e chosen; a peaceable man and seeming verie religious in his kinde. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed only in warres, to some good ciuillitie, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition; as perswading them, that he had familiarite with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies, which hee deliuered vnto the *Romans* as things of great importance. But all these deuices of *Numa* were, in his owne iudgement, no better then mere delusions that serued onely as rudiments to bring the Savage multitude of theues and out-lawes, gathered into one bodie by *Romulus*, to some forme of milder discipline, then their boysterous and wilde natures was otherwise apt to entertaine. This appeared by the Bookes that were found in his graue, almost fixe hundred yeeres after his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himselfe was condemned as vaine. His graue was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffines or Chests of bone were in it, with an inscription in Grecke and Latine letters, which said, That *Numa Pompilius* the sonne of *Pompe*, King of the *Romans* lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his bodie being vtterly consumed. In the other were his Bookes, wrapped

vp

vp in two bundels of wax; of his owne constitutions seuē, and other seuē of Philosophy. They were not onely vncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Pretour of the Citie desiring to haue a sight of these Bookes, when hee perceived wherunto they tended, refused to deliuer them back to the owner, and offered to take a solemne oath that they were against the Religion then in vse. Hereupon the Senate, without more adoe, commanded them to bee openly burnt. It seemes that *Numa* did meane to acquite himselfe vnto wiser ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not bene so foolish as to beleue the Doctrine wherein he instructed his owne barbarous times. But the poyson wherewith hee had infected *Rome*, when hee sat in his Throne, had not left working, when hee ministred the Antidote out of his graue. Had these Bookes not come to light, vntill the dayes of *Tully* and *Cæsar*, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better discuffed, likely it is that they had not onely escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peraduenture generally) effect. Being as it was, they serued as a confutation, without remedie, of Idolatrie that was inueterate.

Numa reigned three and fortie yeeres in continuall peace. After him *Tullus Hostilius* the third King was chosen, in the six and fortieth of *Manasses*, and reigned two and thirtie yeeres, busied, for the most part in warre. Hee quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had to cause to feare, that might grow vnto them from the *Thyrsenians*, caused them to thinke themselves of a course, whereby without effusion of so much blood, as might make them too weake for a common enemy, it might bee decided, who should command, and who obey.

There were in each Campe three Brethren, Twinnes borne at one birth (*Dionysius* sayes that they were Cosen Germans) of equall yeeres and strength, who were appointed to fight for their severall Countries. The end was, that the *Horatij*, Champions for the *Romans*, got the victory, though two of them first lost their liues. The three *Curatij* that fought for *Alba* (as *Lucretius* tels it) were all aliue, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were slaine; but the third *Horatius*, pretending feare, did runne away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts, could not follow him with equall speede, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning vpon them, hee slue them, as it had bene in single fight, man after man, ere they could ioyne together and set vpon him all at once. *Dionysius* reports it somewhat otherwise, telling verie particularly, what wounds were giuen and taken, and saying, that first one of the *Horatij* was slaine, then one of the *Curatij*, then a second *Horatius*, and lastly the two *Curatij*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly seuer one from the other as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the old *Roman* Historie, both in regard of the action it selfe, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in wager, against *Alba*, and in respect of the great increase which thereby the *Roman* State obtained. For the Citie of *Alba* did immediately become subiect vnto her owne Colonie, and was shortly after, vpon some treacherous dealing of their Gouernour, vtterly razed, the people being remoued vnto *Rome*, where they were made Citizens. The strong Nation of the *Latines*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother Citie, had bene chiefe, became ere long dependant vpon *Rome*, though not subiect vnto it, and diuers petty States adiacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forbear to rehearse (as being the works of fundrie ages, and few of them remarkable considered apart by themselves) vntill such time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancie, shall grow to bee the maine subiect of this Historie.

The seauenth yeere of *Thippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the first of *Manasse*. Also the three last Gouernours for tenne yeeres, who followed *Thippomenes*, were in the same Kings time. Of these I find only names, *Leocrates*, *Epander*, and *Erixias*. After *Erixias* yeerely Rulers were elected.

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These

These Gouvernours for tenne yeeres, were also of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was shortened, and from tearme of life reduced vnto tenne yeeres; it being thought likely that they would gouerne the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to liue priuate men vnder the command of others. I follow *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, in applying their times vnto those yeeres of the Olympiads, wherein the Chronological table; following this worke, doth set them. For he not onely professeth himselfe to haue taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted alwaies the yeeres of the *Greeks*, how they did answer vnto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of this Historie. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the first yere of the seuenth Olympiad, and affirmes, that the same was the first yere of *Charops* his gouernment in *Athens*; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who sets the beginning of these *Athenians* somewhat sooner.

In the Raigne of *Manasse* it was, that *Midas*, whom the Poets fained to haue had Asse eares, held the Kingdome of *Phrygia*. Many fables were deuised of him, especially that he obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he should touch, might immediately be changed into Gold: by which meanes he had like to haue bene starued (his meat and drinke being subiect to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* deliuered him from his miserable facultie, by causing him to walk himselfe in the Riuer *Pactolus*, the streame whereof hath euer since, forsooth, abounded in that precious Metall. Finally, it is said hee died by drinking Bulls bloud; being inuaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flourished that *Antimachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) obserued the Moones Eclipse at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Milesiens*, or, (as *Eusebius* hath it) the *Athenians* hauing obtayned some power by Sea, founded *Mastiratis* a Citie on the East of *Egypt*. *Pammilius* herein seemes to haue assisted them, who vied all meanes of drawing the *Greekes* into *Egypt*, accounting them his surest strength. For neither *Miletus* nor *Athens* were now of power sufficient to plant a Colonie in *Egypt* by force.

About this time *Archias* with his companion *Miscellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded *Syracusa* in *Sicily*, a Citie in after-times exceeding famous.

The Citie of *Nicomedia* sometime *Asacus*, was enlarged and beautified in this age by *Zipartes* native of *Thrace*. *Sylla* of *Samius* according to *Pausanias* liued about this time.

About these times also was *Craton* founded vpon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miscellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracusa*. *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient: and so doth *Pausanias*.

About the same time the *Parthenians* being of age and banished *Lacedemon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italie*: where it is said they founded *Tarentum*: but *Iustinus* and *Pausanias* find it built before, and by them conquered and amplified: and about the same time *Manasse* yet liuing, the Citie *Phaselis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the Region of the *Vmbri*, now *Vimin* in *Italie*. About which time also *Chaleadon* in *Asia*, ouer against *Byzantium* (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megarcenes*: who therefore were vpbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long worke to rehearse all that is said to haue bene done in the five and fiftie yeeres of *Manasse*: that which hath already bene told is enough: the rest being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, referring onely *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulassar*, to the businesse that will shortly require more mention of them.

Dion. Halic. l. i.
fol. 43. & 45.

Plut. & Euseb.

* Whence in
Strabo there is
fious *Asacus*
a part of *Byz-*
ponis: where
this Citie stand-
eth. *Paul. l. 5.*
Hal. l. 3.
Strabo l. 6.

Iustin. l. 3.
Paul. l. 10.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of *MANASSES* to
the destruction of *Ierusalem*.

§. I.

Of *ANMON* and *IOSIAS*.



AMON the sonne of *Manasse*, a man no lesse wicked then was his Father before his conuersion, restored the exercise of all sorts of Idolatrie: for which God hardened the hearts of his owne seruants against him: who slew him after he had reigned two yeeres: *Philo*, *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* giue him tenne yeeres, following the Septuagint.

Iosias succeeded vnto *Anmon*, being but a childe of eight yeeres old. Hee beganne to seeke after the God of *Dauid* his Father; and in his twelfth yere he purged *Iuda* and *Ierusalem* from the high places, and the groves, and the carued and molten Images: and they brake downe in his sight the Altar of *Baalim*: He caused all the Images as well those which were grauen, as molten, to be stamp to powder, and strewed on their graves that had erected them, and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. Hee also slew those that sacrificed to the Sunne and Moone, and caused the Chariots and Horses of the Sunne to be burnt. Of *Iosias* it was prophesied in the time of *Iereboam* the first, when he erected the Golden Calfe at *Bethel*, that a child should be borne vnto the house of *Dauid*, *Iosias* by name, and vpon thee (saith the Prophet speaking to the Altar) shall he sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burne incenses vpon thee: a prophetic very remarkable.

In the eighteenth yere of his raigne, hee rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Priest found the Booke of *Moses*, called *Deuteronomie*, or, of the Law, which hee sent to the King: which when hee had caused to be read before him, and considered of the seuerer commandments therein written, the prosperitie promised to those that obserue them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commaunded *Helkiah*, and others, to aske counsell of the Prophetesse *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Booke, who answered the messengers in these words. Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring euil vpon this place, and vpon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curses that are written in the Booke, which they haue read before the King of *Iuda*, because they haue forsaken mee, and burnt incense to other Gods. Onely for the King himselfe, because he was a lover of God and of his Lawes, it was promised that this euil should not fall on *Iuda* and *Ierusalem* in his dayes, but that hee himselfe should inherit his graue in peace.

Iosias assembled the Elders, caused the Booke to be read vnto them, made a covenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in *Ierusalem* and *Beniamin* to doe the like, promising thereby to obserue the Lawes and commandments in the Booke contained.

The execution done by *Iosias* vpon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the false Prophets, at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to haue extended vnto those Countries,

l. King. 13.

2. Chron. 34. 24.

2. King. 22. 17.
2. Chron. 34.

Countries, that had bene part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. Yet I doe not thinke, that any victorie of *Iosias* in warre got possession of these places; but rather that *Ezekias*, after the flight and death of *Senacherib*, when *Merodach* opposed himselfe against *Asarhaddon*, did vnto the advantage which the faction in the North presented vnto him, and laid hold vpon so much of the Kingdome of *Israel*, as hee was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himselfe vnable to deale with *Pasamiticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the siege of *Azotus*, though the Towne held out nine and twentie yeeres) did giue vnto *Manasses*, together with his libertie, as much in *Israel* as himselfe could not easily defend. This was a good way to breake the amitie that the Kings of *Juda* had so long held with those of *Egypt*, by calling a bone betwene them, and withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territorie with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeeme the friendship of the *Jewes*, which had bene lost by iniuries done, in seeking to bereaue them of their owne. When it is said, that *Manasses* did after his deliuerance from imprisonment, put Captaines of warre in all the strong Cities of *Juda*; it may be that some such businesse is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places deliuered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he rooke much paines, in making *Ierusalem* it selfe more defensible; yet I should rather beleue, that he, having already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortifie himselfe against the *Egyptians*, whose side hee had forsaken, than that hee trauailed in making such prouisions, only for his minds sake. The earnestnesse of *Iosias* in the King of *Babel* his quarrell, doth argue, that the composition which *Manasses* had made, with that King or his Ancestor, was vpon such friendly termes, as required not only a faithfull obseruation, but a thankfull requital. For no perswasions could suffice to make *Iosias* sit still, and hold himselfe quiet in good neutralitie, when *Pharao Neco* King of *Egypt* passed along by him, to warre vpon the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*.

The last yeere of *Iosias* his raigne it was, when as *Neco* the sonne of *Pasamiticus*, came with a powerfull Armie towards the border of *Juda*, determining to passe that way being the neerest toward *Euphrates*, either to strengthen the passages of that Riuer, about *Carchemish* or *Cerussium*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this; *Diolestan* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to haue done) or perhaps to invade *Syria* it selfe. For it seemeth that the trauaile of *Pasamiticus* had not bene idlye consumed about that one Towne of *Azotus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged vnto the *Adades* Kings of *Damascus*.

Neither was the induritie of *Neco* lesse than his Fathers had bene, in pursuing the warre against *Babel*. In which warre, two things may greatly haue auailed the *Egyptians*, and aduanced their affaires and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenarie *Greekes*, that were farre better Souldiers than *Egypt* could of it selfe afford; and the danger wherein *Assyria* stood, by the force of the *Medes*, which vnder the command of more absolute Princes, began to feele it selfe better; and to shew what it could doe. These were great helpes, but of shorter endurance than was the warre; as in place more conuenient shall be noted. At the present it seemes, that either some preparation of the *Chaldeans* to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did inuite the King of *Egypt*, into the Countries bordering vpon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharao Neco* ascended with a mighty Armie.

These two great Monarchs, hauing their swords drawne, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Iosias* aduised with himselfe to which of these he might adhere, hauing his Territorie set in the mid way betwene both, so as the one could not invade the other, but that they must of necessitie tread vpon the very face and body of his Countrey; Now though it were so that *Neco* himselfe desired by his Embassadors, leaue to passe along by *Juda*, professing that hee

Chron. 35.

directed

directed himselfe against the *Assyrians* onely, without all harmefull purpose against *Iosias*; yet all sufficed not, but the King of *Israel* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of *Egypt* could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Ioseph* the last King of *Israel*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Assyrian*, and wholly trusted to *Sabacus* or *Sons* King of *Egypt*, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the *Assyrian*, so rooted vp and tare in pieces, as it could neuer after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fell vpon *Juda* in the thirteenth and foureteenth yeeres of *Ezekia*, whilst that good King and his people relied vpon *Sethon*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasses*, were documents of sufficient prooffe, to shew the ill assurance, that was in the helpe of the *Egyptians*, who (neere neighbours though they were) were alwayes vnready; when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seeke, to haue the *Jewes* renew their ancient league with him, but onely craued that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pastime betwene him and the *Assyrians*. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Armie, as did, soone after this, out-face *Nabulassar*, vpon his owne borders, left vnto the *Jewes*, a lawfull excuse of feare, had they forborne to giue it any checke vpon that way. Wherefore I beleue, that this religious and vertuous Prince *Iosias*, was not stirred vp onely by politike respects, to stop the way of *Neco*; but thought himselfe bound in faith & honour, to doe his best in defence of the *Babylonian* Crowne; wherunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by couenant made at the enlargement of *Manasses*, or by the gift of such part as hee held in the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occasion to shew, both vnto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendship was, and to the *Egyptians*: what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemy.

Some thinke, that this action of *Iosias*, was contrarie to the aduice of *Jeremie* the Prophet; which I doe not finde in the Prophecie of *Jeremie*, nor can finde reason to beleue. Others hold opinion, that he forgot to aske the counsell of God: and this is very likely; seeing hee might beleue that an enterprise grounded vpon fidelitie and thankfulness due to the King of *Babel*, could not but be displeasing vnto the Lord. But the wickednesse of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such roote, as all the care of *Iosias* in reforming the Land, could not plucke vp) was questionlesse farre from harkning how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined, that their good King, whose life stood betwene them and their punishment, should now be taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should giue entrance to the miseries ensuing. So *Iosias* leauing all the strength hee could make, neere vnto *Megiddo*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasses*, encountered *Neco*: and there hee received the stroke of death, which lingring about him till hee came to *Ierusalem*, brought him to the Sepulchers of his Ancestors. His losse was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of *Juda*, especially of *Jeremie* the Prophet: who inserted a sorrowfull remembrance thereof into his booke of Lamentations.

Lament. 5. 6. 7. 20.

§. II.

OF PHARAO NECO that fought with IOSIAS: OF ΙΕΡΟΟΑΖ
and ΙΕΡΟΙΑΚΙΜ Kings of Iuda.



F these warres, and particularly of this victorie, *Herodotus* hath mention, among the acts of *Neco*. He tels vs of this King, that hee went about to make a channell, whereby Ships might passe, out of *Nilus* into the Red sea. It should haue reached aboue a hundred miles in length, and beene wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middelt of the worke, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians should haue the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desist when halfe was done. There were consumed in this toile some businesse twelue hundred thousand *Egyptians*; a losse great enough to make the King forsake his enterprife, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. How foueuer it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore hee built a Fleet, and leauied a great Armie, wherewith hee marched against the King of *Babel*. In this expedition he vsed the seruice, as well of his Nauie, as of his land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein, are found recorded, save onely this victorie against *Iosias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Magdulus*, and the *Tewes Syrians*; which is a small error, seeing that *Iudaea* was a Province of *Syria*, and *Magdulus* or *Magdala* is taken to haue beene the same place (though diuersly named) in which this battaile was fought. After this, *Neco* tooke the Citie of *Cadytis*, which was perhaps *Carchemish*, by *Euphrates*, and made himselfe Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Iosephus* witnesseth.

Ios. Ant. Iud. l. 10 cap. 7.

Herod. l. 4.

Particularly we finde, that the *Phenicians*, one of the most powerfull Nations in *Syria*, were his Subjects, and that by his command they surrounded all *Africa*, setting saile from the gulfes of *Arabia*, and so passing along all the Coast, whereto they both landed, as neede required, and sowed corne for their sustenance, in that long voyage which lasted three yeeres. This was the first nauigation about *Africa*, wherein that great Cape, now called, *Of good hope*, was discovered; which after was forgotten, untill *Vasco de Gama* the Portingall found it out, following a contrarie course to that which the *Phenicians* held; for they, beginning in the East, ranne the way of the Sunne, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and streights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the straights of *Gybraltar*, hauing *Africke* still on the right hand: but the *Portingalls*, beginning their voyage not farre from the same straights, leaue *Africke* on the Larboord, and bend their course vnto the East. That report of the *Phenicians*, which *Herodotus* durst not beleuee, how the Sunne in this iourne was on their right hand, that is, on the Northside of them, is a matter of necessarie truth; and the obseruation then made herof, makes mee the better to beleuee, that such a Voyage was indeede performed.

Ios. c. 23. v. 32.

But leauing these discourses of *Neco* his magnificence, let vs tell what hee did, in matters more importing his Estate. The people of *Iuda*, while the *Egyptians* were busie at *Carchemish*, had made *Iehoahaz* their King, in the roome of his father *Iosias*. The Prophet *Jeremie* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the short Raigne of *Shallum* King of the tenne Tribes: for *Shallum* of *Israel* reigned but one moneth; *Iehoahaz* no more than three. Hee was not the eldest sonne of *Iosias*; Wherefore it may seeme that he was set vp as the best affected vnto the King of *Babel*; the rest of his house being more inclined to the *Egyptians*, as appeares by the sequell. An Idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as *Neco* had dispatched his businesse in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affaires of *Iudaea*. This Countrie was now so farre from making any resistance, that the King himselfe came to *Riblah* in the Land of *Hamath*, where

2. Chron. c. 34. v. 24.

where the matter went so ill on his side, that *Neco* did cast him into bonds and carry him prisoner into *Egypt*, giuing away his Kingdome to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. This Citie of *Riblah*, in after times called *Antiochia*, was a place vnhappie to the Kings and Princes of *Iuda*, as may be obserued in diuers examples. Yet here *Iehoiakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdome; an ill gaine, since he could no better vse it. But how euer *Iehoiakim* thrived by the bargain, *Pharao* sped well, making that Kingdome Tributarie, without any stroke stricken, which three months before was too floute to giue him peace, when he desired it. Certaine it is, that in his march toward, *Neco* had a greater taskelying vpon his hands, than would permit him to waite his forces vpon *Iudaea*: but now the reputation of his good successe at *Magdalo*, and *Carchemish*, together with the dissension of the Princes *Iosias* his sonnes (of whom the eldest is probably thought to haue stormed at the preferment of his yonger brother) gaue him power to doe, euen what should please himselfe. Yet hee did forbear to make a conquest of the Land; perhaps vpon the same reason, which had made him so earnest, in seeking to hold peace with it. For the *Iewes* had suffered much, in the *Egyptians* quarrell, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, vnto all extremities, were driuen to forsake thar party, and joyne with the enemies; to whom if they shewed themselves faithfull, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaime them; seeing they were such a people, as would not vpon euerie occasion shift side, but endure more, than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any benefit should lay vpon them: so good a Patron did he meane to be vnto them. Nevertheless hee laid vpon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of silver, and one Talent of gold; that so he might both reape at the present, some fruit of his paines taken, and leaue vnto them some document in the future, of greater punishment then verball anger, due to them, if they should rebell. So hee departed, carrying along with him into *Egypt* the vnfortunate King *Iehoahaz*, who died in his Captiuitie.

The raigne of *Iehoahaz* was included in the end of his Fathers last yeere; or therwise it would hardly be found, that *Iehoiakim*, his successeour, did raigne tenne whole yeeres; whereas the Scriptures giue him eluen, that is current and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three moneths of this short raigne, into the first yeere of the brother, than into the fathers last; the same arguments that shall maintaine his opinion, will also proue the matter to bee vnworthy of disputation; and so I leaue it.

Iehoiakim in impietie was like his brother, in faction he was altogether *Egyptian*, as hauing receiued his Crowne at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickednesse of these last Kings, being expressed in Scriptures none otherwise, than by general words, with reference to all the euill that their Fathers had done, makes it apparent, that the poison wherewith *Ahas* and *Manasses* had infected the Land, was not so expelled by the zealous goodnesse of *Iosias*, but that it still cleaued vnto the chiefe of the people, yea vnto the chiefe of the Priests; also; and therefore it was not strange; that the Kings had their part therein. The Royall authoritie was much abated by the dangers wherein the Countrie stood, in this troublefome age: the Princes did in a manner what they listed; neither would the Kings forbear to professe, that they could denie them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Iehoiakim* had the countenance of the *Egyptian* to grace it, which made him insolent & cruell; as we find by that example of his dealing with *Vria* the Prophet: though herein all the Princes doe appear to haue beene instigators. This Holy man denounced Gods judgements against the Citie and Temple, in like sort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poore man fled into *Egypt*: but such regard was had vnto *Iehoiakim*, that *Vria* was deliuered vnto his Embassadour, and sent backe to the death; contrary to the custome vsed, both in those

2. Chron. cap. 36. v. 14.

those dayes, and since among all Ciuill Nations of giuing refuge vnto strangers, that are not held guiltie of such inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankind should be exempted from all priuiledge.

It concerned *Pharao* to giue all contentment possible to *Scheiakim*: for the *Affirian* Lyon, that had not stirred in many yeeres, beganne about these times, to roare so lowd vpon the bankes of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard vnto *Nihue*, threatening to make himselfe Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawn the houle of *Merodach*, from opposing the *Aegyptian* in his conquest of *Syria*, require our consideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at *Charchemish*, where shortly after this, the glory of *Aegypt* is to fall.

§. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to passe that the Kings of Babel could not giue attendance on their businesse in Syria; which caused them to loose that Province.

MERODACH the sonne of *Baladan*, who taking the aduantage that *Senacherib*'s misaduenture and death, together with the dissenion betwene his children presented, made himselfe King of *Babylon*, was euen yeeres troubled with a powerfull Enemy *Asarhaddon* the sonne of *Senacherib*, rainging ouer the *Affrians* in *Niniue*; from whom whilst he could not any other way diuert his cares, he was faine to omit all businesse in *Syria*, and (as hath beene formerly shewed) to make ouer vnto *Ezekia*, some part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Asarhaddon* did not onely let him free, but gaue vnto him some part of *Affria*, if not (as is commonly but lesse probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Affrians*, I wil not here stand to enquire: his long rainge following, and his litle entermedling in matters of *Syria*, make it plaine, that he had worke enough at home, either in defending or in establishing that which he had gotten. *Iosephus* giues him the honour of hauing wonne *Niniue* it selfe; which we may beleue; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times soone following, that great Citie was free, and vanquished *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yielded vpon some capitulation: and refused afterwards to continue subject, when the Kings being of the *Chaldee* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some thinke that this was the *Affrian* King, whose Captaines tooke *Manasse* prisoner; but I rather beleue those that hold the contrarie; for which I haue giuen my reasons in due place. To say truth, I find little cause why *Merodach* should haue looked into those parts, as long as the *Temes* were his friends, and the *Aegyptians*, that maligned the Northerne Empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was vntill the time of *Psammetichus*, about the end of this Kings Rainge, or the beginning of his sonne.

Ben Merodach the sonne and succcessour of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is hee named by good consent of Authours, and that I speake little of his doings. The length of his Rainge is gathered by inference to haue beene one and twentie yeeres, for so much remaineth of the time that passed betwene the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephewes Rainges (which is a knowne summe) deducting the yeeres of his Father, and of his sonne *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasse* Prisoner and released him. He sped ill in *Syria*; where *Psammetichus*, by the vertue of his Mercinarie *Greekes*, did much preuaile. T his may haue beene some cause that he released *Manasse*, and did put into his handes some

part

part more of the Kingdome of *Samaria*: which is made probable by circumstances alleged before.

Nabulassar that raigne in *Babylon* after his Father *Ben Merodach*, had greater busines in his own Kingdome, than would permit him to looke abroad: in somuch as it may bee thought to haue beene a great negligence or ouer-sight of *Psammetichus* and *Neco*, that they did not occupie some good part of his Dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the *Medes* inuaded *Affria*, and besieged *Niniue*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulassar*, but constrained to remoue by the comming of *Scythians*, who in these ages did ouer-flow those parts of the World, laying hold vpon all, that they could master by strong hand. Of these *Scythians*, and the Lordship that they held in *Asia*, it is conuenient that I speake in this place; shewing briefly afore-hand, how the *Medes*, vpon whom they first fell, were bulied in the same times with hopes of conquering *Affria*.

Phraortes, the sonne of *Deioeces*, King of the *Medes*, hauing by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceived at length a faire possibilitie of making himselfe Lord of *Niniue*.

T hat Citie (as *Herodotus* reports it) hauing beene a Soueraigne Ladie, was not forsaken of all her dependants; yet remained in such case, that of her selfe shee was well enough.

T his makes it plaine, that howsoeuer *Merodach* had gotten possession of this imperiall seat, and made it subiect as was the rest of the Countrie; yet it found the meanes to set it selfe at libertie: as after this againe he did, when it had beene regained by *Nabulassar* his Grand-child.

Sharpe warre, and the very nouelty of suddaine violence, vs to dismay any State or Countrie, not inured to the like: but custome of danger hardeneth euen those that are vnwarlike. *Niniue* had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately rainging therein; it had suffered, and resisted, all the furie, wherewith either Domestick tumults betwene the sonnes of *Senacherib*, or forraigne warre of the *Babylonians*, could afflict it: and therefore it is the lesse wonderfull, that *Phraortes* did speed so ill in his iourney against it. He and the most of his Armie perished in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumstances (perhaps he vnderualued their forces, and brought a lesse power than was needfull) It is enough, that we may here beleue *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares the sonne of *Phraortes*, a brauer man of warre then his Father, wanne as much of *Asia* the lesse, as lay Eastward, from the Riuier of *Haly*s; he sought reuenge vpon the *Affrians* for the death of his Father, and besieged *Niniue* it selfe, hauing a purpose to destroy it. I rather beleue *Eusebius*, that he tooke the Citie, and fulfilled his displeasure vpon it, than *Herodotus*, that the *Scythian* Armie came vpon him whilst he lay before it. For where equall authorities are contradictory (as *Eusebius*, though farre later then *Herodotus*, yet hauing scene other Authours, that are now lost, is to be valued according to his great reading) there doe I hold it best, to yeild vnto the best likelihoods.

To thinke that the *Scythians* came vpon *Cyaxares*, whilst he lay before *Niniue*, were to accuse him of greater improuidence, then ought to bee suspected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to suppose that hee was faine to leaue the Towne, when a warre so dangerous tell vpon his owne Countrie, doth well agree both with the condition of such businesse as that *Scythian* expedition brought into those parts, and with the State of the *Chaldee* and *Affrian* affaires ensuing.

The destruction of this great Citie is both foretold in the Booke of *Tobit*, and there set downe as happening about these times; of which Booke who soeuer was the Authour, hee was ancient enough to know the Storie of those ages, and hath committed no such error in reckoning of times, as should cause vs to distrust him

in this. As for the Prophecie of *Nahum*, though it be not limited vnto any certaine tearme, yet it appears to haue taken effect, in the finall destruction of *Ninine* by *Nabuchodonosor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath menti-
on of a Conquest of *Egypt*, foregoing this calamitie, whereof we will speake in due place. Some that ascribe more authoritie then the reformed Churches yelde, to the Booke of *Tobit*, are careful, as in a matter of necessitie, to affirme, that about these times *Ninine* was taken; but they attribute (coniecturally) the victorie ouer it, to *Ben Merodach*: a needlesse coniecture, if the place of *Eusebius* be well con- sidered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulassar* the sonne of *Ben Merodach*, did seize vpon it, and place a King or Viceroi therein, about such time as the Countrie of *Assyria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* warre ouerwhelmed *Media*. For then was the Conquest wrought out readie to his hand; the swelling spirits of the *Assyrians* were allayed, and their malice to *Babylon* so asswaged, that it might be thought a great fauour, if *Nabulassar*, appointing vnto them a peculiar King, took him and them into protection: though afterwards to their confusion, this vnthank- full people and their King, rebelled againe, as shall be shewed in the Raigne of *Nabuchodonosor*.

§ III.

The great expedition of the *Scythians*, who ruled in *Asia* eight and twentie yeeres.

¶ I.

The time of this expedition.

NOW that I haue shewed what impediment was giuen by the *Assyrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much dis- abled to performe any action of worth vpon the *Egyptians* in *Syria*; it is time that I speake of that great *Scythian* expedition, which grie- uously afflicted not only the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*, with the Countreys adiacent, in such wise, that part of the trouble redounded euen to the *Egyptians* themselves. Of the *Scythian* people in generall, *Herodotus* makes very large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill knowne, with many Fables; of this expedition he tels many particulars, but agreeing with consent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needlesse to recite them, for they are farre enough distant from the businesse in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may seeme very strange, needeth some answer in this place: lest otherwise I should either seeme to make my selfe too bold with an Au-
thour, in citing him after a manner different from his owne tale; or else to bee too forgetfull of my selfe, in bringing to act vpon the Stage, those persons, which I had already buried. Eight and twentie yeeres, he saith, that the *Scythians* Raigned in *Asia*, before *Cyaxares* deliuered the Countrie from them: Yet he reports a warre be-
tweene *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the siege of *Ninine*; the siege of *Ninine* being ere the *Scythians* came. And further he tels, how the *Scythians*, ha-
uing vanquished the *Medes*, did passe into *Syria*, and were encountered in *Palestina* by *Psammetichus* King of *Egypt*, who by gifts and entreatie procured them to de-
part from him. These narrations of *Herodotus* may, euery one of them, bee true; though not in such order of time, as hee hath marshalled them. For *Psammetichus* was dead before *Cyaxares* beganne to Raigne: and *Cyaxares* had spent halfe of his
fortie yeeres, ere *Halyattes* was King of *Lydia*; so that he could not, after those *Ly-*
dian

dian warres, Raigne eight and twentie yeeres together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Eusebius* doth also call *Psammetichus* the sonne of *Pharao Nece*, by name of *Psammetichus*; and this King *Psammetichus* may, by some trained coniecture, bee thought to haue bene he that met with the *Scythians*: for he liued with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Eusebius* himselfe referres all that businesse of the *Scythian* irruption in- to *Palestina*, to *Psammetichus* the Father of *Nece*, whom hee leaues dead before the Raigne of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not relie vpon *Herodotus*, in this matter, o-
therwise then to beleene him, that such things were in these ages, though not in
such order as he sets them downe.

It remaines, that I collect as well as I can, those memorials which I finde of this expedition scattered in diuers places: a worke necessarie, for that the greatnesse of this action was such, as ought not to bee omitted in a generall Historie; yet not easie, the consent of those that haue written thereof, being nothing neere to vn-
formitie.

I haue noted before, that in the Raigne of *Ardis* King of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* ouer-ran that Kingdome, and were not expelled, vntill *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardis* got the vpper hand of them. In these times therefore of *Ardis*, *Sadiattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to find the eight and twentie yeeres, wherein the *Scythians* raigned ouer *Asia*. Now forasmuch as *Psammetichus* the *Egyptian* had some dea-
lings with the *Scythians*, euen in the height of their prosperitie, we must needs al-
low more then one or two of his last yeeres vnto this their Dominion. But the be-
ginning of *Halyattes* his Raigne in *Lydia*, being three and twentie yeeres compleat
after the death of *Psammetichus*, leaues the space very scant, either for the great vi-
ctories of the *Scythians*, necessarily supposed before they could meet the *Egyptian*
in *Syria*, or for those many losses, which they must haue recieued ere they could be
driven quite away. To increase this difficultie, the victorious Raigne of *Nabuchodo-
nosor* in *Babylon*, is of no small moment. For how may we thinke it possible, that
he should haue aduentured the strength of his Kingdome against the *Egyptians*
and *Leues*, had hee stood in daily feare of losing his owne; to a more mightie Na-
tion, that lay vpon his necke? To speake simply as it appears to me; the victories as-
cribed to *Cyaxares* & *Halyattes* ouer these warlike people, were not obtained against
the whole body of their Armie, but were the defeates of some troupes, that in-
fested their severall Kingdomes; other Princes, and among these, *Nabulassar* hauing
the like successes, when the pleasures of *Asia* had mollified the courages of these
hardie Northerne Laddes. Wherefore wee may probably annexe the eight and
twentie yeeres of the *Scythians* rule, to as many almost the last of *Nabulassar* his Raigne,
in compasse whereof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can say of
the time, wherein *Asia* suffered the violence of these oppressors.

¶ II.

What Nations they were that brake into *Asia*; with the
cause of their Iourne.

TOUCHING the expedition it selfe, *Herodotus* tels vs, that the *Cimmerians* being dri-
uen out of their Countrie by the *Scythians*, invaded and waited some part of
Asia; and that the *Scythians* not contented with hauing wonne the land of the *Im-*
merians, did follow them, I know not why, into farre remooued quarters of the
world, so (as it were by chance) falling vpon *Media* and *Egypt*, in this pursuit of
men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Hereby we may gather that the *Im-*
merians were an odious and base people; the *Scythians*, as mischieuous and foolish;
or else *Herodotus*; and some other of his Countreimen, great slanderers of those, by
whom

whom their Nation had bene beaten, and *Ionia*, more then once, grievously ransackt. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbrians* is so well known, and their manie Conquests so well testified in Histories of diuers Nations, that the malice of the *Greekes* is insufficient to flaine them with the note of Cowards. These were the posteritie of *Gomer*, who peopled the greatest part of our Western World; and whose reflow did ouerwhelme no small portion of *Greece* and *Asia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof wee doe now entreat. He that would more largely informe himselfe of their originall and actions, may peruse *Goropius Becanus* his *Amazonica*; of many things in which Booke, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is said to haue spoken, of all *Goropius* his works, that it is easie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them: There wee find it proued, by such arguments and authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians*, were all of one Linage and Nation; how soeuer distinguished in name, by reason of their diuers Tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. *Homer* indecde hath mention of the *Cimmerians*; whose Countrey whether he place in the West, as neer vnto the *Ocean* and boundes of the Earth, Or in the North, as being farre from the Sunne, and couered with eternall darknesse; certaine it is that he would haue them neere neighbours to *Hell*: for he had the same quarrell to them, which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would haue made them seeme a kinde of *Goblins*. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to insert into his workes the names of such as liued in his owne time, making such mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himselfe deserued. And for this reason it is proued by *Eusebius*, that the *Cimmerians* were so disgraced by him, because they had wasted his Countrey. Perhaps that inuasion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Prætorius* his discourse with *Helen*, was the very same, which *Eusebius* noteth to haue happened somewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons*, together inuaded *Asia*.

This is certaine, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerij* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often breake into *Greece* and *Asia*; which though it bee not in expresse rearmes written, that they did with ioynt forces, yet seeing they inuaded the selfe same places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journey of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned also by *Eusebius*, was by the straights of the *Cimmerians*, as we finde in *Diodore*, who further telleth vs, that the *Scythians* therein gaue them assistance. The same Authour, before his entrie into those discourses of the *Amazons*, which himselfe acknowledgeth to bee fabulous, doth report them to haue bene Wiues of the *Scythians*, and no lesse warlike than their Husbands; alleading the example of that Queene, who is said to haue slaine the great *Persian* *Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carrie their wiues along with them to the warres; and how desperate the courage was of those women, the terrible descent of them into *Italia*, when *Marius* the *Roman* ouerthrew them, giues proofe sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the *Amazons*; other place will giue mee better leisure to speake of them: but seeing that they are noted by diuers Historians to haue belonged vnto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, wee may the better approue *Goropius* his conclusion, That these three Nations were one, at least that they were neere allies.

Now concerning the expulsion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appears to haue bene none other than the sending a Colonie of them forth into *Asia*, with an Armie of *Scythians* to helpe them, in purchasing a new seat, and establishing the plantation.

The *Sarmatians* also were companions in this iourne. For the Citie of *Novograd* in *Russia*: (which Countrey is the same, that was called *Sarmatia*) stood in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the North was vp in Armes: and therefore it is no maruaile though many Countreies felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voiage was that, which the same people made

five

sue hundred yeeres and more after this, when they were encountered by the *Romans*. For they issued from the parts about the Lake *Maotis*; they were then likewise assisted (saith *Plutarch* in the most likely report of them) by the *Scythians* their neighbours; they had in their Armie about three hundred thousand fighting men, besides a huge multitude of women & children; they wandered ouer many Countreies, beating all down before them; and finally, thinking to haue sciled themselves in *Italia*, they diuided their companie, for the more easie passage thither, and were consumed in three terrible battailes by the *Roman* Consuls. Meere necessitie enforced these poore Nations, to trouble the World, in following such hard adventures. For their Countrey, being more fruitfull of men than of sustenance, and shut vp on the North side with intolerable cold, which denied issue that way to their ouerswelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge vpon the South, and by right or wrong to drine others out of possession, as hauing title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker, but more ciuill, people had. Their sturdie bodies, patient of hunger, cold and all hardnesse, gaue them great aduantage ouer such as were accustomed vnto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore commonly they preuailed very farre; their next neighbours giuing them free passage, that they might the sooner be ridde of them; others giuing them, besides passage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthie places; others hiring them to depart with great presents; so as the farther they went on, the more pleasant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

†. III.

Of the Cimmerians warre in *Lydia*.

THE first Companie of these, consisting for the most part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the *Euxine* Seas, which they had still on the right hand; leauing on the other side, and behinde them, the great Mountaines of *Caucasus*. These hauing passed through the Land of *Cholchis*, that is now called *Mengrelli*, entered the Countrey of *Pontus*, and being arriued in *Paphlagonia*, fortified the Promontorie whereon *Sinope*, a famous Haven Towne of the *Greekes*, was after built. Here it seems that they bestowed the weakest and most vnserviceable of their traine, together with the heauiest part of their carriages, vnder some good gard: as drawing neere to those Regions, in conquest whereof they were to trie the vmost hazard. For in like sort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I spake euen now) dispose of their impediments, leauing them in a place of strength, where *Antwerpe* now stands, when they drew neere into *Gaul*, vpon which they determined to adventure themselves in the purchase. From *Synope*, the way vnto *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, was faire and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any ledge of Mountaines or any deepe Riuers to stay their march: for *Iris* and *Haly* they had already passed.

What battailes were fought betweene these inuaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable successe the one or other part wanne and lost, I finde not written nor am able to coniecture. This I find, that in the time of *Ardis*, the *Cimmerians* got possession of *Sardes* the Capitall Citie of *Lydia*; onely the Castle holding out against them. Further I obserue, that whereas *Herodotus* tels of the acts performed by *Cyges* and *Ardis* Kings of *Lydia*, before this inuasion, and by *Halyattes* and *Cræsus* in the times following; all that *Ardis* did against the *Cimmerians*, and all, saue burning the *Milesians* Corne fields, that was done in twelue yeeres by *Sadyattes* his Son (who perhaps had his hands so full of this businesse, that he could turne them to nothing else) is quite omitted: whereby it may seeme, that neither of the two did any thing

worthie of remembrance in those warres, but were glad enough that they did not loose all.

Certainly, the miseries of warre are neuer so bitter and manie, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forsaking their owne seates, labour to roote out the established possessor of another Land, making room for themselves, their wives and children. They that fight for the matter, are pacified with tribute, or with some other seruices and acknowledgements, which had they bene yielded at the first, all had bene quiet, and no sword bloodied. But in these migrations, the assailants bring so little with them, that they need all which the defendants haue, their Lands and Cattell, their houses and their goods, euen to the cradles of the sucking infants. The merciless teardrops of this controuersie arme both sides with desperate resolution: seeing the one part must either winne, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or loose their liues without redemption. Most of the Countries in Europe haue felt examples thereof; and the mightie Empire of Rome was ouerthrowne by such inuasions. But our Isle of Britaine can best witness the diuersitie of Conquests; hauing by the happie victorie of the Romans, gotten the knowledge of all Ciuill arts, in exchange of libertie, that was but slenderly instructed therein before; whereas the illue of the Saxon and Danish warres, was, as were the causes, quite contrarie. For these did not seeke after the Dominion onely, but the entire possession of the Countrey, which the Saxons obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the British Race, and defacing all memoriall of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the Danes (who are also of the Cimmerian blood) found such end of their enterprize, as it may seeme that the Cimmerians in Lydia, and Scythians in the higher Asia, did arriue vnto. So that by considering the processe of the one, we shall the better conceiue the fortune of the other. Many batailles the Danes wonne; yet none of such importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerours: Manie the Saxons wonne vpon the Danes, yet not so great, as could drue them quite away, and backe from hence, after they had gotten firme footing. But in course of time, the long continuance euen of vicer enmitie, had bred such acquaintance betwene them, as bowing the natures of both these people, made the one more pliant vnto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one milde temper, no small number of the Danes became peaceable cohabitants with the Saxons, in England, where great slaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their owne Countrey wide enough to receive them, as hauing disburthened it selfe of many thousands, that were sent to seeke their graues abroad. And such (as I thinke) was the end of the Cimmerian warre in Lydia; whereunto though some victorie of Halyattes may haue hastened the conclusion, yett the wearisome length of time seemes to haue done most, in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should feare to adde hereunto my further coniecture; which is, that the matter was so compounded betwene the Cimmerians and Halyattes, that the River of Halys should diuide their Territories. For Halys was henceforth the border of the Lydians, and on the Easterne side of the River was the Countrey of the Amazons, that is indeed, of the Cimmerians and other Scythian people, whose wives and daughters these warlike women are supposed to haue bene.

And hereunto the quarrell ensuing, betwene Halyattes and Cyaxares the Mede, hath very good reference. For Halyattes (as is said) fought in defence of certaine Scythians, vpon whom the Median sought reuenge. And it stands with reason, that the Lydians and Cimmerians, being much weakened with mutuall slaughters, should haue joyned in a league of mutuall defence for their common safetie: though otherwise it had bene dangerous to Halyattes, if he had permitted the Median to extend his Kingdome so farre Westward, whatsoeuer the pretences might be, of taking reuenge vpon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the warre betwene these two Kings, which Herodotus relates, I find it of little waight,

waight, and lesse probability. He tels of Scythians, that being chased out of their Countrey by faction, came vnto Cyaxares; who committed vnto them certaine Boyes, to be instructed in the Scythian tongue, and feare of Archerie. Now it so fell out (saith he) that these Scythians vsing much to hunt, and commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did neuertheless otherwhiles misse of their game, and come home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and cholerick, bitterly reuiled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boyes that was vnder their charge, whom dressing like Venison, they presented vnto him; which done, they fled vnto Halyattes. This Herodotus deliues, as the ground of a warre that lasted sixe yeeres betwene the Medes and Scythians, the one King demanding these Fugitiues to be delivered into his hand, the other refusing to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the Scythians, to betake themselves to either of these Kings, vnto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly they had reason to distrust Cyaxares, for the treacherie that he shewed in the maffing of their Countrey men, that were in his Kingdome; of whom it is now meet that wee should speake.

†. IIII.

The warre of the Scythians in the higher Asia.

As the Cimmerians held their course Westerly, along the shores of the Euxine Sea: so the Scythians and Sarmatians tooke the other way, and hauing the Caspian Sea on their left hand, passed betwene it and Caucasus through Albania, Colchene, and other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of Seruan and Georgia, and so they entered into Media. The Medes encountered them in Armes; but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of Phraortes, whilst Psammiticus reigned in Egypt. If it were in the sixt yeere of Nabulassars Raigne ouer Babylon (supposing him to haue reigned fise and thirtie, otherwise we must allow to Ben Merodach what we take from him) then doeth the eight and twentie yeeres of their Dominion end, one yeere before the great Nabuchodonosor was King; so giuing him good leaue to prouide securely, for the inuasion of Syria, which expedition he began while his Father yet liued, as Josephus out of Berossus relates the Historie.

Now the Medes, desirous to saue themselves as well as they might, from this terrible Nation, which when they had no lust to a second triall of the sword, refused not to vndergoe the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable; that would serue to remooue these troublesome gueits into some other lodging. On the other part, the Scythians finding still the Countries pleasanter & better, the further that they marched into the South, did suffer themselves to bee perswaded, that a little more trauaile, would adde a great deale more to their content. For they relied so much vpon their owne valour, that they feared no resistance; and being the bruest men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best Region. That Phraortes perswaded them into Egypt, I doe not thinke: Babylon was neere enough; whither if hee could send these Locusts to graze, then should not his vnfriendly Neighbours haue cause to laugh at his misfortune. What thist Nabulassar made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I doe not read. But it is well knowne, that his Dominions lay in the midst betwene Media and Egypt; as also, that they made all those parts of Asia Tributarie; wherefore we may very well beleene, that they watered their horses in his Rivers, and that hee also was content to giue them prouender.

Psammiticus hearing of their progresse (like the jealous Husband of a faire Wife) tooke

rooke care that they might not looke vpon *Egypt*; lest the sight thereof should more easily detain them there, than any force or perswasion, that hee could vse, would send them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, presuming more on the great gifts which he meant to bestow vpon them, than on his Armie that should keepe them backe. *Egypt* was rich; and halfe the riches thereof had not bene ill spent in sauing all. Yet *Psammiticus* tooke the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had bene so oblitinate as to refuse all indifferent composition. For hee lay close vpon the edge of the Wilderness in *Gaza* (as I take it) the Southermost border of *Palestina*: whence hee neuer advanced to meet with the *Scythians*; but gaue them leaue to feele as much of the scalding Sunne-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat vpon them. When they were come as farre as *Ascalon*, the next Citie to *Gaza*, then did he assay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work so much the better, by how much the worse they were pleased with the beate of a Climate so farre different from their owne. *Psammiticus* had at his backe a vast wilderness, ouer the scorching sands whereof, the *Scythians* more patient of cold and wet, than the contrarie distempers, could ill haue indured to pursue him, through unknowne wayes, had they fought with him and preuailed: especially the Kingdome of *Egypt* being ready to entertaine him with reliefe, and them with new trouble at the end of their wearie iourne. Wherefore they were 20 content to be intreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to visite their acquaintance in the high Countries. The *Egyptian* King (besids that he preferred his owne Estate from a dangerous aduenture, by hyring this great Armie to depart from him) found all his Cost well repayed in the proceesse of his wars in *Syria*, where the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to molest him, being more then euer troubled themselves, with the returne of their oppressors. For the *Scythians*, resolving now to secke no further, beganne to demand more than the Tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grievous exactions, they presumed to liue at discretion vpon the Countrey, taking what they listed from the Owners; and many times (as it were to saue the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long vsed ouer the higher *Asia*, that is, ouer the Countrey lying betweene the *Caspian* and *Red Seas*; and betweene *India* and *Asia* the lesse. Happie it was for the poore people, that in so large a space of ground, there was roome enough for these new comers; otherwise the calamitie that fell, as it were by chance, vpon those priuate men, to whose wealth any *Scythian* did beare a fancie, would haue lighted in generall vpon all at one clap, leauing few aliue, and none able to relieue their fellows. Yet it seemes that the heauiest burthen lay vpon *Media*; for it was a fruitful Countrey not farre from their owne home, and lay vnder a Climate well agreeing with the constitution of their bodies; there also it was that they had the fatal blow, by which their insolent Rule was taken from them.

Herod. lib. 1.

Cyaxares King of the *Medes*, who in this extremite was no better then a Renter-gatherer for the *Scythians*, perceiving that his Land lay vnmanured and waste, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, resolved to proue what might be done by stratagem. The managing of the businesse is thus deliuered in briefe; That he, and his *Medes*, feasted the better part of the *Scythians*; made them drunke; and slew them; recouring hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another slaughter was committed vpon the *Danes* in *England*; but it was reuenged by their Countymen, with greater cruelties than euer they had practised before. That the *Scythians*, which escaped this bloody feast, made any stirre in *Media*, I doe not find; neither doe I read that either in reuenge hereof, or vpon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by inuasion from *Scythia* in time following.

This

This is the more strange, for that the Armie returning home out of *Media*, was very strong, and encountered with opposition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no lesse then it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the deuce of *Cyaxares* to free his Country, tooke good effect, with lesse blood-shed than hath bene supposed. For if hee surprised all the chiefe of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubtlesse in eight and twentie yeeres had well settled themselves, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remaine in the Countrey; many (of whom I shall speake anon) hauing done what they could in the businesse, for which they came forth, were willing to 10 returne home, with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of the two courses, might goe ioyne with the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, or seeke their fortunes in other prouinces, among their owne Companions. Whereas all the *Families of the North* are said to haue bene with *Nabuchadnezzar*, it may be vnderstood, that a great part of the *Scythians*, vpon hope of gain, or desire to keepe what they had already gained, were content to become subject vnto *Nabuchadnezzar*: mens loue of their wealth being most effectually, in taming the more vnquiet loue of inordinate libertie. This is certaine, that *Nabuchadnezzar*, as cuer after, so in his first beginning 20 of warre, did beate the *Egyptians*, who in ages foregoing had bene accustomed to deale with the *Babylonians* after another fashion: and this new successe of that King may be imputed, in regard of humane meanes, to such addition as this of new forces.

Of the *Scythian* Armie returning out of *Media*, diuers Authours report a Storie, which confirmes mee in the opinion, that this Companie went forth to assist their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new seate, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their wiues behinde them; a good argument to proue that they meant to come againe. The *Scythian* women, to comfort themselves in their husbands absence, became bed fellows to their slaues. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers in Law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their returne. If they were only the children of slaues, 30 which compounded an Armie (as *Herodotus* would haue it), it must needs be that they were very Boyes, or else that the Women did very little while continue chaste. Wherefore I rather beleue that tale as it is told by the *Russes* themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of Histories, make that report of their Ancestors returning homewards, which I will set downe, as I finde it, in *M^r. Doctor Fleet* cher his exact discourse of the *Russe Common-wealth*. They vnderstood by the way, that their Cholaepes, or Bond-slaues whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their Townes, Lands, Houses, Wiues, and all. At which neuer being somewhat amazed; and yet 40 displaying the Villanie of their seruants, they made the more speed home: and so not farre from *Novograd* met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon aduising what was best to be done, they agreed also to set vpon them with no other sort of weapon but with their horse whips (which as their manner is, euery man rideith withall) to put them in remembrance of their seruite condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing in the eares of their Villaines, and strooke such a sense into the onst. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their Villaines, and strooke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled all together like Sheepe before the Druiers. In memorie of this victorie, the *Novogradians* euer since haue stamped their Coine (which they call a *Dingoe* *Novogradskoy*, enrrant through all *Russia*) with the figure of a Horseman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. It may seeme, that all the 50 women of that Countrey, haue sared the worse euer since, in regard of this vniuersall fault: for such a Pudkey or whip, as terrified those slaues, curiously wrought by her selfe, is the first present that the *Moscouian* Wife, euen in time of wooing, sends to him that shall be her husband, in token of subiection; being well assured, to seele it often on her owne loines. But this was a Document vnto the *Scythians*, or rather

Sarmatians.

Sarmatians (for *Novograd* lands in the Countrey that was called *Sarmatia*) to beware of absenting themselves any more so long from their Wiues; which after this, I find not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to set downe of the *Scythian* expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to many Countreies; but for that it appears to haue bene a great cause, of the *Egyptians* preuailing hitherto in *Syria*, and about *Iudaa*, which continues yet a while the centre of our discourse.

p. V.

Of Princes living in diuers Countreies in these ages.



Auing thus farre digressed from the matters of *Iuda*, to auoide all further occasion of doing the like, I will here insert a note of such Kings and men of marke, as were betweene the death of *Manasses*, and the ruine of *Ierusalem*. Of the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Lydians*, I haue spoken as much, as I thought needfull. In *Rome*, *Tullius Hostilius* held the Kingdome, vntill the one and twentieth yeere of *Iosias*; at which time *Anus Martius* succeeding, reigned foure and twentie yeeres. After him *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, a new-come stranger, but very rich, preuailed so farre by his graciousnesse among the people, that he got the Kingdome to himselfe, disappointing the sonnes of *Anus*, ouer whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth yeere of *Zedekia*, and Reigned eight and thirtie yeeres. In this time it was, namely, in the second yeere of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the *Lacedaemonians*, be thinking them how to bee auenged of the *Arcadians*, who gaue succour to the *Messeniens* against them in the former warre, entred the Territorie, tooke the Citie of *Phigalia* or *Phialia*, from whence their Garrisons were soone after beaten out. *Cypselus* expelling the race of the *Basida*, made himselfe Lord of *Corinth* about these times, and gouerned it in peace thirtie yeeres; leauing for successeur his sonne *Periander*, one of the seven Sages, but a cruell Tyrant: who among other vile acts, slew his owne wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the *Corinthian* women stark naked, burning their apparell, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceiue, that the wisdom of the *Greekes* was not excellent in those dayes; when such a one as this could bee admired as excelling all the Countrey.

In these times also were *Zaleucus*, and *Draco*, famous Lawgiuers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italie*, the other in the Citie of *Athens*. The Lawes of *Draco* were so rigorous, that he was said to haue written them with blood: for he rewarded euery small offence with death. Wherefore his constitutions were soone abrogated, and power giuen to *Solon*, by the *Athenians*, to make new in their stead. But the Lawes of *Zaleucus* were very milde. He forbade any Gentlewoman to walke abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, vnlesse it were when shee was drunke, or to goe forth of the Towne by night, vnlesse it were to some sweet-hearts bed; or to dresse herselfe vp in immodest brauerie, vnlesse it were to inueigle a louuer. By which pleasant Ordinances, he effected his desire: for none would seeme, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a singular example of iustice, that when his owne sonne had committed adulterie, and was therefore to loose both his eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gaue one eye of his owne to saue the young man (who also lost one) from vtter blindness.

I shall not henceforth need, so farre to wander, as hitherto I often haue done; in pursuing of actions collateral to the Historie, for inserting them in their order of time.

time. The *Chaldeans* will soone fall vnder the *Persians*; the *Persians*, ere long, encounter with the *Greekes*; the *Greekes*, with the *Romans*; the *Romans*, with many Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successiue present themselves, in their flourishing Estate; it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minoritie. But in the long space of more than thirteene hundred yeeres, which passed betweene the calling of *Abraham*, and the destruction of *Ierusalem*, we finde little matter, wherein the Historie of *Israel* had any dealing with other Nations, than the very neereft borderers. Yet reade we of many Kingdomes, that in these many ages were erected, and throwne downe; as likewise, many memorable acts were performed in *Greece* and elsewhere, though not following one another at any neere distance, all which must haue bene quite omitted, or else referred vnto a very vnseasonable rehearfall, had they not bene disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conueniencie, may pardon the necessitie.

p. VI.

The oppression of *Iudaa*, and destruction of *Ierusalem* by the *Chaldeans*.



OW to returne to the *Iewish* Storie, from whence wee haue so farre digressed. In the third yeere of *Iehoiakim*, *Nabuchodonosor* the second, his Father yet liuing, entred *Iudaa* with a great Armie, who besieging and forcing *Ierusalem*, made *Iehoiakim* his Vassall in despight of *Neco*, that had established him King, and tooke with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a childe, with *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*. Also he tooke a part of the Church treasures; but staied not to search them thoroughly; for *Neco* halted to the succour of *Iehoiakim*, hoping to finde *Nabuchodonosor* in *Iudaa*: wherein this great *Babylonian* had no disposition to bazard himselfe and his Armie, it being 30 this great *Babylonian* had no disposition to bazard himselfe and his Armie, it being a Country of an euill affection towards him, as also farre off from any succour or sure place of retreat. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of *Scythian* horsemen in his Armie; it was the more wisely done of him, to fall backe, out of the rough, mountainous, and ouer-hot Countrey, into places that were more euen and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father, happening at the same time, gaue him iust occasion to returne home, and take possession of his owne Kingdome, before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more vnto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the *Egyptian* was not ready to follow him so farre and to bid him battaile, vntill the new yeere came in; which was the 40 fourth of *Iehoiakim*, the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the last of *Neco*. In this yeere the *Babylonian* lying vpon the Banke of *Euphrates* (his owne Territorie bounding it on the North-side) attended the arriual of *Neco*. There, after a resolute contention for victorie, *Neco* was slaine, and his Armie remaining forced to saue it selfe, which full ill it did, by a violent retreat. This victorie *Nabuchodonosor* so well pursued, as he recovered all *Syria*, and whatsoever the *Egyptians* held out of their proper Territorie towards the North. The *Egyptians* being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, *Iehoiakim* held him selfe quiet, as being friend 50 in heart vnto the *Egyptian*, yet hauing made his peace with the *Chaldean* the yeere before; who contented with such profit as hee could then readily make, had forborne to lay any Tribute vpon *Iuda*. But this coole reticence of *Iehoiakim*, was, on both sides, taken in ill part. The *Egyptian* King *Psammetichus*, who succeeded vnto *Neco*, beganne to thinke vpon restoring *Iehoshaphat*, taken Prisoner by his Father, and setting him vp, as a Domestical Enemie, against his vngratefull brother. Against

Againſt all ſuch accidents, the *Judeans* had prepared the vſuall remedy, praſtised by his fore-fathers: for he had made his owne ſonne *Iechonias* King with him long before, in the ſecond yeere of his owne Reigne, when the Boy was but *Eight yeeres olde*. As for this rumour of *Iehobabaz* his returne, the Prophet *Jeremie* foretold, that it ſhould provide ill, ſaying: *he ſhall not returne thither, but hee ſhall die in the place whither they haue led him captiue, and ſhall ſee this Land no more*. The *Egyptians* indeed, hauing ſpent all their Mercinarie forces, and receiued that heaue blow at *Carchemiſh*, had not remaining ſuch proportion of ſharpe ſteele, as offaire gold, which without other helpe, is ſufficient effect. The valour of *Neco* was not in *Pammiſia*, as *pries* who raigned after *Pammiſis*, did once adventure to ſlew his face in *Syria*, but after a bigge looke, he was glad to retire, without aduenturing the hazard of a battaile. Wherefore this decaying *Nation* fought only with braue words, telling ſuch frivolous tales, as men, that meane to doe nothing, vſe, of their glorious acts forepaſſed, againſt *Iofias* and *Iehobabaz*. In this caſe it was ealie for *Iehoiakim* to giue them ſatisfaction, by letting them vnderſtand the ſinceritie of his affection towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Zabuchodonosor* went to worke more roundly. He ſent a peremptorie meſſage to *Iehoiakim*, willing him not to ſtand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himſelfe a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding herewith ſuch fearefull threats, as made the poore *Judeans* lay aſide all thought of *Pharaoh*, and yeeld to doe, as the more mighty would haue him. So he continued in the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* for three yeeres. At this time *Jeremie* the Prophet cried out againſt the *Iewes*, putting them in mind that he had now three and twentie yeeres exhorted them to repentance, but becauſe they had loſt their eares againſt him, and the reſt of the Prophets, hee now pronounced their captiuitie at hand, and that they ſhould endure the yoke of bondage full ſeuente yeeres. The ſame calamitie hee threatened to all the neighbouring Nations, to the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumeans*, and the reſt; foretelling that they ſhould all drinke out of the *Babylonian* Pitcher, the wine of his Iurie, whom they had forſaken, and after the ſeuenty yeeres expired, that the *Babylonians* themſelues ſhould taſte of the ſame cup, and be vterly ſubuct by the *Medes*, & the *Indians*: permitted to return againe into their owne fields and Cities. The firſt impriſonment of the Prophet *Jeremie* ſeemes to haue bene in the fourth yeere of this *Iehoiakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom hee lent to reade them vnto the people, and after ward to the Princes, who offered them to the King: but fearing the Kings Iurie, they had firſt let *Jeremias* be libertie, and aduiſed him and *Baruch* to hide themſelues.

delivered from other cares, tooke notice of such as had revolted from him vnto *Pharas Nees*, and sent this Noble Prince, his sonne, with an Armie into *Syria*, to reclaim them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same yeere. The yeere next following, being the fourth of *Ischiahim*, was the first of *Nebuchadnezazar*; which *Ieremie* affirmeth in expresse wordes; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth yeere he conquered *Egypt*; and then beganne to raigne as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this yeere it was, wherein he saw that vision, of the Image consisting of sundrie Metals; which did prefigure the successeion of great Kingdomes, that should rule the Earth, before the coming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I find, of long disputations: but returne vnto the siege of *Tyre*, which beganne in the seventh of his Raigne.

KKK

Ichonins

Iechonias his sonne; whom after three moneths and ten dayes, *Nabuchodonosor* removed, and sent Prisoner to *Babylon*, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardachaus*, and *Iosedech*, the high Priest. The mother of *Iechonias*, together with his seruants, *Eunuchs*, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the Land, were also then carryed away Captiues. This *Iechonias*, following the counsell of *Ieremie* the Prophet, made no resistance, but submitted himselfe to the Kings will: wherein hee both pleased God, and did that which was best for himselfe; though at the present it might seeme otherwise, to such as considered the euill that befell him, rather then the greater euill that he thereby auoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it seemes that he was partaker, at least, of his Fathers faults, if not an infligator: which was the cause, that his submitting himselfe to Gods pleasure did not preferue his Estate: for so we read in generall wordes, that he did euill in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done. In his stead *Nabuchodonosor* established *Mahania* his Vncle in the Kingdome of *Iuda*, and called him *Zedechias*, which is as much to say, as the Iustice of God. For like as *Neco*, King of *Egypt*, had formerly displaced *Iehoiabaz*, after his Father *Iosias* was slaine, and set vp *Iehoiakim*, the sonne of another Mother; so *Nabuchodonosor* slue *Iehoiakim*, who depended on the *Egyptians*, and carrying his sonne *Iechonias* Prisoner to *Babel*, gaue the Kingdome to this *Zedechias*, that was whole Brother to that *Iehoiabaz*, whom *Neco* tooke with him into *Egypt*. From *Zedechias* hee required an oath for his faithfull obedience, which *Zedechias* gaue him, and called the liuing God to witnesse in the fame, that he would remaine assured to the Kings of *Chaldea*.

In the first yeere of *Zedechias*, *Ieremie* law and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one signifying those *Iudeans* that were carried away captiue, the other those that staid, and were destroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedechias*, *Ieremie* wrote in a Booke all the euill that should fall vpon *Babylon*, which Book or scrole he gaue to *Sheraia*, when he went with the King *Zedechias* to *Babylon*, to visit *Nabuchodonosor*; willing him first to reade it to the Captiue *Iewes*, and then to bind it to a stone, and cast it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing these wordes: *Thus shall Babel be drowned, and shall not rise from the euill that I will bring vpon her*. This iourne of *Zedechias* to *Babel* is probably thought to haue bene in way of visitation, carrying home presents. But I further thinke, that hee had some suite there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his returne all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seemes) to those vnquiet courses, from which *Ieremie* dehorted both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods appointment, made bonds and yokes; one of which he wore about his owne neck, others hee sent vnto the fiue Kings of *Edom*, *Moadab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, by those Messengers which came to visite *Zedechias*: making them know, that if they and the Kings of *Iuda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they should then possesse and enioy their owne Countries; if not, they should assuredly perill by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence.

Hee also fore-told them, that those Vessells, which as yet remained in *Ierusalem*, should also trauaile after therst, and at length they should be restored againe.

The same yeere *Ananias*, the false Prophet, tooke off the wooden Chaine which *Ieremie* ware, in signe of the Captiuitie of the *Iewes*, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two yeeres, God would breake the strength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he layed on all Nations; restore *Iechonias*, and all the *Iewes*, with the Vessells and riches of the Temple, and giue an end to all these troubles. But *Ieremie* in stead of his wooden Yoke ware a Coller of yron; and in signe that *Ananias* had giuen a deceitfull and false hope to the people, hee fore-told the death of this cold Prophet, which seized vpon him in the second moneth. After this, when *Zedechias* had wauered long enough between Faith and Passion, in the eight yeere of his Raigne he practised more seriously against *Nabuchodonosor*, with his Neighbours

the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moadabites*, *Tyrizans*, and others that were promised great aides of the *Egyptians*: in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonosor* had knowledge, hee marched with his Armie in the dead Winter, toward *Ierusalem*, and besieged it. *Ieremie* perswaded *Zedechias* to render the Citie and himselfe: but being confident of the helpe from *Egypt*, and being perswaded by his Counsellors, and false Prophets, that it was vnpossible that the Kingdome of *Iuda* should bee extirpate, vntill the coming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecie of *Isaiah*) hee despised the wordes of *Ieremie*, and imprisoned him. For *Ieremie* had told the King, that the Citie should be taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but bee taken Prisoner, and brought to the presence of *Nabuchodonosor*; that he should not perill by the sword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his naturall death.

Ierusalem being, the following yeere, surrounded by *Nabuchodonosors* Armie; the King of *Egypt*, *Pharao Hophra*, according to *Ieremie* (*Herodotus* calleth him *Apries*) entered the border of *Iuda*, with his Armie, to succour *Zedechias*, of whose reuolt he had bene the principall Author. But *Ieremie* gaue the *Iewes* faithfull counsell, willing them not to haue any trust in the succours of *Egypt*: for he assured them, that they should returne againe, and in no sort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldeans* removed from *Ierusalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, these vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward returned into *Egypt*, as if they had already done enough; leauing the poore people of *Ierusalem* to their destined miseries.

In the meane while the *Iewes*, who, in their first extremitie, had manumitted their Hebrew Bond-men (as Gods Law required at the yere of *Iubile*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now vpon the breaking vp of the *Chaldean* Armie, repent them of their Charitie: and thinking all had bene at an end, held them perforce to their former slavery. But the *Chaldees* being returned to the siege, the Prophet *Ieremie*, when the State of *Ierusalem* beganne now to grow to extremitie, counselled *Zedechias* to render himselfe vnto them; assuring him of his owne life, and the safetie of the Citie, if he would so doe. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelitie and perurie, had prouided for him.

Three and twentie Moneths (as some doe reckon it) or according to *Iosephus* eightene; the *Babylonian* Armie lay before *Ierusalem*, and held it exceeding straightly beleiged. For they built Forts against it round about, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam surrent ligneam per circuitum: They surrounded the Citie with wooden Towers*, so as the beleiged could neither sally out, nor receiue into the Citie any supply of men or victuals. *Iosephus* reports, that they ouer-topped the Walls, with high Towers raised vpon mounts; from which they did so beat vpon the Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forsake their stations. Now although it were so that the beleiged also raised Counter-buildings, like vnto these, Yet the great King of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions therabouts, and had the Woods and Riuers to obey him, found meanes to ouerthrow all the Citizens endeouours; and to beat downe as fast from without, as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his owne workes being guarded, by the Walls of *Ierusalem* interposed; and theirs within layed open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both famine and pestilence (which commonly accompanie men straightly beleiged) grew on fast vpon them, whereby, when the number, strength, and courage of the *Iewes* failed, the *Chaldeans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did feat themselves, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this vncomfortable sight, and finding no remedie of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hope at once; and lifted himselfe together with his Wiues, Children, Princes, and principall Seruants, out of the Citie, by a way vader ground; leauing his amazed & guidelesse people, to the merciles swords

of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremie* the Prophet perswaded him to render himselfe, despised both the Counsell of God; and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*: vsed now that remedie, which *Wolphius* truly telmeth: *triste, turpe, & infelix: Woe full, shamefull, and vnfortunate.*

By this secret subterrane vault, *Zedechias* making his stealth: recouered (by the helpe of the darke night) the Plaines or Desarts of *Iericho*: but by reason of the traine, that followed him and his, (euery one leading with him those whom they held most deare vnto them) hee was easily traced and pursued. How great sooner the companie was that attended on him, yet, as *Iosephus* reports it, they on whose fidelitie hee most reposed himselfe, no sooner beheld the *Chaldeans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted themselves into the Desarts as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the Ministers of his vengeance; by whom *Zedechias* being made Prisoner, with his Children, and Princes, he was conueighed to *Rebla* or *Reblath* a Citie (as some thinke) of *Nephthim*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then lay, as a place indifferent betwixt *Ierusalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to doe.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had laied before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferred vpon him; together with the notable falsehood and periurie, wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes, and Friends, to be slaine before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last, that euer hee should behold in the World, hee caused his eyes to be torne out of his head, and so carried him in a slauiish manner to *Babel*, where hee consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetuall imprisonment. Herein this most maruailous Prophecie of *Ezechiel* was performed; *Adum cum in Babylonem & ipsam non uiderit. I will bring him into Babylon, and he shall not see it.*

Thus in the Eleuenth and last yeere of *Zedechias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, the *Chaldeans* entred the Citie by force, where sparing no sexe nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

In the yeere next following, *Nabuzaradan*, Generall of the Armie, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of *Ierusalem*: and after this fire had lasted from the seuenth to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood foure hundred thirtie and one yeeres.

After this vpon a second search, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet satiated with blood) commanded seuentie and two others to bee slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fire, to wit, the chiefe and the second Priest, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of Warre, five of his House-hold seruants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Iudea*; and leaving the poorest labouring soules, with some that followed the partie of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground: ouer whom hee left Gouvernour, *Gobolus* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Iosias* had formerly employed in the reformation of the Religion, who is, for his iustice and equitie, by *Iosephus* highly commended. This man, a Jew by Nation, left *Zedechias*, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the warre: and by *Jeremies* desire to liue with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same aduice, which the Prophet gaue vnto *Zedechias*; which was, to submit himselfe altogether to the *Babylonian*, who being ordaind by God to exercise his iustice, was therefore resistlesse. The Prophet *Jeremie* being left to his owne choice, either to liue in *Chaldea*, or elsewhere, he made election of *Godoliah*, to whom he was recommended; who not onely embraced *Jeremie*, but gaue comfort to all the other *Jewes*, that were left vnder his charge, promising them fauour and libertie, so long as they remained obedient Subjects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom hee was established

Provinciall Gouvernour of his owne Nation.

But ere that yeere was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of *Ierusalem*, had kept himselfe out of the storme, with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other chosen men, while *Godoliah* seated them in

Maspha or *Mispha*, the Citie of his residence, trayterously slue him, together with diuers *Chaldeans* and *Jewes* that accompanied him. This done, hee made an escape, and in his way encountering with eightie persons, repairing towards *Godoliah* with presents, hee slue the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discouer vnto him some Treasures, hidden in the fields during the warre. Hee also tooke with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practice and intent of *Ismael* had bene formerly discouered vnto *Godoliah* by *Iohanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remayning *Jewes*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

Iudea being now left without a Gouvernour (for *Ismael* durst not take it vpon him, but retired himselfe, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Jewes*, fearing the reuenge of the *Chaldeans*, resolved to flie away into *Egypt*, and besought *Jeremie* to aske counsell of God for them: who readily made them answer, that if they remained in *Iudea*, God would prouide for them, and shew them mercy; but if they sought to saue themselves in *Egypt*, that they should then vndoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this aduice, the *Jewes* held their determination; and despising the Oracle of God, and contrayning *Jeremie* and *Baruch* to accompanie them, they trauielled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharao*, neere vnto *Taphnes*: where, when *Jeremie* often reprehended them for their Idolatrie, foretelling both the destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians* also, he was by these his owne hard-hearted and vngratefull Countreymen, stoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly reuerenced him, buried neere the Sepulchre of their owne Kings.

Finis Libri secundi.



10 THE FIRST PART OF
THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM

the destruction of Ierusalem, to the time

of PHILIP of Macedon.

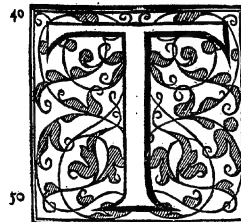
20 THE THIRD BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

30 Of the time passing betwene the destruction of
Ierusalem, and the fall of the Assy-
rian Empire.

§. I.

Of the connexion of Sacred and prophane Historie.



40 THE course of Time; which in prophane Histo-
ries might rather bee discerned through the
greatest part of his way, hitherto passed in some
out-worne foot-steps, than in any beaten path,
having once in Greece by the Olympiads, and in
the Easterne Countries by the account from
Nabons[sar], left surer marks, and more appli-
50 cable to actions concurrent, then were the warre
of Troy, or any other token of former date; be-
gins at length in the ruine of Ierusalem to disco-
uer the connexion of antiquitie fore-spent, with
the storie of succeeding ages. Manifest it is,
that the originall and progresse of things could ill bee sought in those that were
ignorant of the first creation: as likewise that the affaires of Kingdomes and Empire
afterwards growne vp, are not to be found among those, that haue now no state nor
A a a policie

politic remaining of their owne. Having therefore pursued the storie of the world vnto that age, from whence the memorie of succeeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous discourse deriued vnto vs, I hold it now conuenient briefly to shew, by what meanes and circumstances the Historie of the Hebrewes, which of all other is the most ancient, may bee conioyned with the following times, wherein that Image of sundrie metalls, discovered by God vnto *Nebuchadnezzar*, did raigne ouer the earth, when *Israel* was either none, or an vtregarded Nation.

Herein I doe not hold it needfull, to insitt vpon those authorities, which giue, as it were by heare-say, a certaine yeere of some old *Assyrian* King vnto some action or euent, whereof the time is found expressed in Scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus* his line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of *Belochus* and his issue that occupied that kingdome afterwards, depending vpon the vncertaine relations of such, as were neither constant in assigning the yeeres of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relie vpon. Let it therefore suffice, that the consent and harmonic, which some haue found in the yeeres of those ouer-worne Monarchs, doth preserue their names, which otherwise might haue bene forgotten. Now concerning the later Kings of that Nation, howsoeuer it be true that we find the names of all or mozt of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians: yet hereby could we onely 20 learne in what age each of them liued, but not in what yeere his raigne beganne or ended, were it not that the raigne of *Nebuchadnezzar* is more precisely applied to the times of *Iehoiakim* and *Zedekia*. Hence haue we the first light whereby to discover the meanes of connecting the sacred and prophane Histories. For vnder *Nebuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the captiuitie of *Iuda*, which ended when 70. yeeres were expired; and these 70. yeeres tooke end at the first of *Cyrus*, whose time being well knowne, affords vs meanes of looking backe into the ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first yeere of *Cyrus* his raigne in *Persia*, by generall consent, is ioyned with the first yeere of the 55. *Olympiads*, where, that he reigned three and twenty yeeres before his Monarchie, and seven yeeres 30 afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controuersie. Giuing therefore foure hundred and eight yeeres vnto the distance betwene the fall of *Troy*, and the inauguration of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*; we may easily arriue vnto those antiquities of *Greece*, which were not meerey fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilest in sundrie parts of the world, *S. Augustine* and others may be trusted in setting downe their times, which they had by Tradition from authors of wel-approved faith and industrie.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned vnto *Alexander*, and from him to the battaile of *Artium*, it were (peraduenture) in this place impertinent to set downe. But seeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* captiuitie are the markes whereby we are chiefly directed, in passing from the first vnto the latest yeeres of the world, through any storie, with least interruption, it is very expedient that wee take some paines to informe our selues truly of the 70. yeeres, during which it continued, euen from *Nebuchadnezzar* vnto *Cyrus*.

p. II.

A briefe rehearſall of two opinions, touching the beginning of the captiuitie: with an answer to the caulls of *Porphyrus*, inmeiſing againſt *S. Matthew*, and *Daniel*, vpon whom the later of theſe opinions is founded.

Any Commentators, and other Historians, and Chronologers finde, that the captiuitie then beganne, when *Iechonias* was carried prisoner into *Babylon*, eleuen yeere before the finall destruction of *Ierusalem* vnder *Zedekias*. This they proue out of diuers places in *Ezekiel*, especially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plaine distinction betweene the beginning of the Captiuitie, and vtter destruction of *Ierusalem* by *Nabuzaradan*, in these wordes: In the fine and twentieth yeere of our being in captiuitie, in the beginning of the yeere, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth yeere after that the Citie was smitten. In which words hee beginneth the captiuitie in plaine termes, eleuen yeeres before the Citie was destroyed. *Beroaldus* is of opinion that it beganne in the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, which hee endeuours to proue out of the second of *Chronicles*, but more especially out *S. Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whose words afford matter of long disputation, but serue notto make good so much as *Beroaldus* would enforce. That place of *S. Matthew*, and the whole booke of *Daniel*, haue ministred occasion of scoffing and railing at the Christian religion to that wretched man *Porphyrus*, who, not vnderstanding how the sonnes of King *Iehus* were called by diuers names, as *Epiphanius* hath shewed at large, thought that the Apostle had spoken hee knew not what in reckoning the sonnes, or, according to some translations, the Sonne and Nephewes of that good King, begotten about the time of the captiuitie. Vpon *Daniel* also the same *Porphyrus* doth spend the twelfth of his malicious books written against the Christians, affirming that these prophecies & visions remembered by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or neere the time of *Antiochus Epiphanius*. This fond supposition of his, *Eusebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, haue sufficiently answered. For the leuente Interpreters, who conuerted the old Testament about an hundred yeere before *Epiphanius*, did also turne this booke of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greece*, as a part of Scripture receiued. And were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrus*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were sufficient, who liued diuers yeeres before *Antiochus Epiphanius*. For *Iaddus*, the high Priest shewed that great Conqueror, when he came towards *Ierusalem* to haue destroyed it, this booke of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his owne glorie foretold, as the same was plainly expounded vnto him; which not only staied his hand from the harme of that Citie and people, but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future peril and resistance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Easterne Empire in a shorter time than *Nabuchodonosor* had done one Citie, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*.

It is true indeed that the *Iewes* themselves giue lesse authoritie to *Daniel*, than to *Moses*, and the Prophets, accompting his booke among those which they call *Cetaphims*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they say *Estras* and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their returne from *Babylon*. But first, that the booke of *Daniel* (I meane so much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonical: secondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himselfe, and not by *Estras* and the Seniors; we may assure our selues by testimony of Councils, and Fathers. For in the Council of *Laodicea* held about the yeere of our Lord 368. after the death of *Iovinian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Councell three and fortie yeeres, this booke of *Daniel* was received.

ceived, verified and confirmed among the other Canonick Scriptures, as in the *Epitomie* of the same Council it may be seen, and so doth *Melton* the most ancient Bishop of *Sarhis* number it, witnesseth *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical historie, the fourth booke, and five and twentieth chapter, so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonick bookes vpon *Origen*, so doth *Hilarius* in his Preface vpon the Psalmes, and *Epiphanius* in his booke of Waights and Measures, &c. To these I may adde *S. Hierome*, *Gregorie Nazianzene*, and others. For the *Hagiographe* bookes or holy Writings, the *Iewes* and *Rabbines* reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalmes*, *Prouerbs*, *Iob*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Hester*, *Esra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Esdras*, that wrote this booke, Gods commandment vnto him by his Angell, to seale vp the same to the time appointed, is an vnanswerable testimonie. Yea that which exceedeth all strength of other prooffe, our Saviour Christ who citeth no Apocryphal Scripture, in *Mathew & Marke* allegeth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his nineteenth chapter. Further, in the first of *Iohn*, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth verse the second. *S. Paul* describeth *Antichrist* out of *Daniel*, and the Revelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniel*s visions.

Math. 24. 15.
Mark. 13. 14.

Donat.

§. III.

That the 70. yeeres of captiuitie are to be numbered from the destruction of Ierusalem; not from the migration of IERONIA.

Aning thus farre digressed, in maintaining that authority, which mult often be cited in the present argument, it is now conuenient, that we returne vnto the differences of opinion, concerning the beginning of these 70. yeeres. Neither will I stand to trouble my selfe and others with laying open the grounds or weaknesse of that which *Eusebius* and some few namelesse Authors, haue sometimes held in this point, which is lately reuiued by *Beroaldus*; but will forth-with enter vnto consideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers haue so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Fourre Kings of *Iuda* were carried away captiues to *Babylon*: First, *Manasses*; then *Iehoiakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: thirdly, *Iechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*: lastly, *Zedekias*; at which time the Citie and Temple were destroyed. To the first of these captiuities the beginning of the 70. yeeres is referred by none that I haue read; to the second by few and with weak prooffe; to the third by very many and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezekiel* already cited, there is a strong argument gathered out of *Ieremie*, which may seeme to make the matter plaine. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with *Iechonias*, vseth these words: Thus saith the Lord, after 70. yeeres be accomplished at *Babel*, I will visit you, and performe my good promise towards you, and cause you to returne to this place.

em. 29. 10.

But it stands indeed with little reason that we should seeke the interpretation of a prophetic out of circumstances, when the prophetic is such as doth sufficiently expound it selfe. *Ieremie* had already, in the fourth yeere of *Iehoiakim*, denounced the iudgement of God against the Land, for the sinnes and impoentitie of that obdurate people, in these words: Behold, I will send and take to me all the families of the North, saith the Lord, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, the King of *Babel*, my seruants, and will bring them against this Land, and against the inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and

and a continuall desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladnesse, the voice of the Bridgroom, and the voice of the Bride, the noise of the mill stones, and the light of the candle, and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serue the King of *Babel* 70. yeeres. And when 70. yeeres are expired, I will visit the King of *Babel*. Here wee see prescribed vnto the captiuitie the term of 70. yeeres, which were to commence, neither when the prophetic was uttered; nor when *Iehoiakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, nor yet in the time of *Iechonias*; but with the utter desolation of the Citie, whereof *Ieremie* did againe giue notice to those that were already in *Babylon*, at such time as he sent them the comfort of deliuerance before recharied. And so did the people vnderstand this prophetic, in those times when they saw it accomplished, beginning the 70. yeeres at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the Historie of *Iuda*, where it is said thus: They burnt the house of God, and brake downe the wall of *Ierusalem*, and burnt all the places thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof to destroy all: And they that were left by the sword, carried he away to *Babel*, and they were seruants to him and to his sonnes, vntill the Kingdome of the Persians had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of *IEREMIA*, vntill the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the daies that the Land was desolate, she kept Sabbath, to fulfill 70. yeeres. But in the first yeere of *CYRVS* King of Persia (when the word of the Lord, spoken by the mouth of *IEREMIA*, was finished) the Lord stirred up the spirit of *CYRVS*.

Ierem. 29. 16.
17. & 18.

Chon. 3. 6. 19.

We seldom find one piece of Scripture so precisely and plainly expounded by another, as in this prophetic, to haue afterwards bene the subiect of alteration. For one can hardly deuise, how either the desolation could haue bene expressed more sensibly than it was by the Prophet, or the event of the prophetic haue bene more exactly set downe, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it bee requisite that we bring more prooffe in so euident a case, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yeelds testimonie sufficient, vnto this exposition of *Ieremie* his prophetic, that *Ierusalem* was to lie waste 70. yeeres. For in the first yeere of *Darius the Mede*, which was the last of the 70, *Daniel* obtained of God the deliuerance that had been promised by prayer, which he made vpon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth vs in these words: In the first yeere of his reigne, I *DANIEL* vnderstood by bookes the number of the yeeres, whereof the Lord had spoken vnto *IEREMIA* the Prophet, that he would accomplish 70. yeeres in the desolation of *Ierusalem*. So that howsoever the time of *Daniel* his owne captiuitie bee reckoned from the taking of *Iehoiakim*, and that the people carried away with *Iechonias*, did accompt, as well they might, the yeeres of their owne captiuitie; yet with the generall desolation of the Countrey, wherein were few or none of the *Israelites* left remaining to inhabite, beganne in the nineteenth yeere of *Nabuchodonosor* the great captiuitie; which by Gods appointment continued vnto the end of 70. yeeres. This I will not further seeke to proue, by the authoritie of *Iosephus* and others affirming the same; for as much as that which already hath bene produced, is enough to satisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrarie.

Dan. 9. 2.

d. 1111.

Sundrie opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon during the 70. yeeres.



Xenophon. Cyropag. lib. 1. c. 13

That Kings reigned in Babylon, during these 70. yeeres of the captivity, and how long each of them did weare the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know, for as much as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they liued, nor the length of their reignes, any way helpfull to the concordance of times, fore-going or succeeding. The conquests recounted by *Xenophon of Syria, Arabia*, (or rather some part of it) *Hyrcania, Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seeme fruits of the victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar the Great* (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betooke himselfe to ease, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the house of his Kingdome, and for the honor of his Maestie, where it may seeme that he and his Heires kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Assyrian* Souldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no lesse. For whereas vnder *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofes) they attempted, and finished, that hardie piece of worke, of winning the strong Citie of *Tyre*, by ioyning it vnto the continent, filling vp the deepe and broad channel of the Sea, diuiding it from the maine with a mole, or peece of earth, and other matter, the reparation whereof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexanders* works in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach neerer to the enemy than their bowes would carrie, but were ready to turne their backs, as soone as any, though inferiour in numbers, aduenturing with in the distance offered to charge them.

Xenophon. Cyropag. lib. 1. c. 13

Now as their actions from the end of *Nebuchadnezzars* warres, till the ruine of their Empire, were not worthie to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and raigne of their severall Kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath so vaine been taken in that businesse. For when it is granted, that the captiuitie of *Juda*, ending with that Empire, lasted 70. yeeres, we may as reasonably forbear to search into the particular continuance of two or three slouthfull Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children, liuing in the *Egyptian* seruitude; resting satisfied in both with the generall assured summe.

Yet for as much as many haue travelled in this businesse, vpon desire (as I take it) to approue the beginning and end of the 70. yeeres, not only by the reignes of other Princes, ruling else-where, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselves: I will not refuse to take a little paines in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I thinke, may best be held for likely, if the certaine truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselves, and in setting downe the yeeres of their severall reignes. The first (as I take it) the surest, is theirs, who merely follow the authoritie of the Scriptures, without borrowing any helpe from others. These name onely three Kings, *Nebuchadnezzar, Evilmerodach*, and *Balthasar*. Neither haue they only the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other to be their warrant, but the prophesie of *Jeremie* precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very same. For God, by the mouth of that Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all, would dispose of all, according to his owne will, and making it knowne that he had some Countries here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, saith thus: *And all Nations shall serue him, and his Sonne, and his Sonnes Sonnes, untill the very time of his Land come also; then many Nations and great Kings shall serue themselves of him.* These wordes expressing the continuance of the *Chaldean* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeede I finde no other necessitie of qua-

Jerem. 27. 21. 7.

qualification to be vied herein, than such as may grow out of mens desire to reconcile the Scriptures vnto profane authors. And this desire were not vniust, if the content of all histories were on the one side, and the letter of the holy Text were single on the other side.

But contrariwise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, and the proofes of their different reports are so slender and unufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not bin thus deliuered in Scriptures, but onely set downe by some Author of equal credite with the rest, might verie well haue found and deferred as good belicfe, as any of those things which they haue deliuered in this point. For some there are, who following *Iosephus*, deriue that Empire, as by descent from father to sonne, through five generations; beginning with *Nabuchodonosor* the great, and giuing to him 43. yeeres, to *Evilmerodach* 18, to *Nightsar* the sonne of *Evilmerodach* 40, to *Laborsardach* the sonne of *Nightsar* 9. moneths, and lastly to *Balthasar* (whom *Iosephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his father) 17. yeeres. And this opinion (saue that he forbears to reckon the yeeres, and plainly calls *Balthasar* the sonne of *Laborsardach*) *Saint Hierome* doth follow, alledging *Berosus*, and *Iosephus* as a sectator of *Berosus* for his Authors; though *Berosus*, as he is cited by *Iosephus*, report the matter farre otherwise. For he tells vs that *Evilmerodach* the sonne of *Nabuchodonosor* did raigne but 2. yeeres, being for his wickednesse and lust, slaine by his sisters husband *Nightsar*, who occupied the kingdome after him 4. yeeres, and left it to his owne sonne *Laborsardach*, who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of 9. moneths slaine by such as were about him, and the kingdome giuen to one *Naborsinus*, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it vnto *Cyrus* after 27. yeeres. This relation ill agrees with that of *Iosephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number either of yeeres, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, haue procured vnto them some authoritie, so that the names which they haue inserted, are taken as it were vpon trust. There is a third opinion, which makes the three last kings brethren, and sonnes of *Evilmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather beleue *Xenophon*, who saith that the last king of *Babylon* was immediate successeur to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholasticall Historie; who is founder of this opinion, placeth betwene him that tooke *Ierusalem*, and *Evilmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonosor*: plaine it is that he hath, out of any Historic sacred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we haue reason to follow him. *Eusebius, Soletinus, Suerus*, and *Theodoret*, vpon better ground, haue supposed, that *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar* were brethren and sonnes of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. This is built on the fifth chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (for of *Evilmerodach* there is none that euer doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonosor* his sonne. And so common grew this explication, that *Saint Hierome* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Jeremie* before cited, proues that *Balthasar* was not the sonne indeede, but the grandchild of that great conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures; and familiar in those *Eastern* languages, he was called the sonne.

Amnius his *Metasthenes* hits very rightly the 70. yeeres of captivity, giuing to *Nabuchodonosor* 45. yeeres, to *Evilmerodach* 30. yeeres, and to the three sonnes of *Evilmerodach*, nephews of *Nabuchodonosor* 14. yeeres; that is, to *Reg-Assar* the eldest sonne three yeeres, to *Lab-Assar* the second sonne fixe yeeres, and to *Balthasar* the third sonne five.

To this account agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole summe of 70. yeeres, and in the number of generations, I haue sometime subscribed, as not daring to reject an appearance of truth, vpon no greater reason than because the Author was of *Amnius* his edition. Yet could I not satisfie my selfe herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few such of the moderne Writers as deserre to be regarded, haue consented with this *Metasthenes*; and for that in making *Balthasar* succeed

Iosephus. Antiqu. lib. 10. cap. 12.

Iosephus. Antiqu. lib. 11.

Xenophon. Cyropag. lib. 1.

succede vnto his brother in the kingdome, and not vnto his father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whose Historie of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* warre I can not lightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the king was at his drunken feast.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might giue any light in this obfcuritie, I found manifest prooffe, that the time allotted vnto *Balthazar*, by *Annius* his *Metaphyses*, was farre short of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the 70. yeeres hee pleased among the rest. For in the third yeere of *Balthazar*, *Daniel* saw a vision, after which he was sicke certaine dayes, but when hee rose vp, he did the kings businesse: from which businesse, that hee did afterwards withdraw himselfe, and liue retired, so long that he was forgotten in the Court, it appeares plainly, both by the many words which the old *Queene* vsed to set out his sufficiency, and by the *Kings* asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were *Daniel*. Now to thinke that a man of such account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two yeeres haue bene worne out of remembrance, were in my iudgement a very strange conceipt, which rather than I would entertaine, I can well be contented, to thinke the whole storie (thus related) a part of *Annius* his impostures.

Out of these reports of *Iosephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by coniectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captiuitie being 70. yeeres, and these yeeres extending vnto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his sonne and grand-child, must haue reigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the yeeres of these three descents, by inserting some, whose reignes might fill vp the whole continuance of the captiuitie, with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Eulmerodach* and *Balthazar*, ioyned vnto the yeeres following the nineteene of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Ierusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing euen.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him, fashion the yeeres of *Eulmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18. yeeres giuen to him by *Iosephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbered 28. yeeres, and the two yeeres that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Eulmerodach* should be written 23. in the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2) and in the latter there should haue bin added the figure of (3) to that of (2:) this granted (to wit) that *Eulmerodach* reigned 28. yeeres, whereof five together with his father, and 23. after his death, and the same number of 23. added to the 25. which *Nabuchodonosor* liued after the destruction of *Ierusalem*, make 49. then 4. yeeres of *Niglissar* according to *Berosus*, 9. moneths of *Labassardach* his sonne, and 17. yeeres of *Nabonidus* or *Balthazar* make vp the number of 70. yeeres to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by error in figures, or in words, the numbers be vterly mistaken, in all copies extant, vpon how weak a foundation doe they build, who haue nothing to helpe them, save onely the bare names of two vnkowne *Kings*, found in Authors manifestly corrupted, and such as if they had bene entirely extant, were not worthy, to haue that place of *Ieremie* called into dispute, in regard of their authoritie?

§. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reignes of the Babylonian Kings.



Ther suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Mercator*, I purposely forbear to rehearse, as falling vnder the same answer. That of *Ioseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deseruing to be considered apart from the rest. He giues to *Nebuchadnezzar* 44. yeeres, to *Eulmerodach* 2, to *Belsazar*, 5; and to *Nabonidus* 27. So that from the

the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in which *Ierusalem* was destroyed, vnto the time of *Cyrus* he accompteth onely 59. yeeres; beginning (as many doe) the captiuitie 11. yeeres sooner, from the transportation of *Iechonia*. But hereof enough hath bene said already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running betweene the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the *Caldean* Empire: wherein if he haue erred, then is all further inquisition fruitles.

Concerning the length of *Nabuchadnezzars* raigne, I shall hereafter vpon better occasion deliuer my opinion. The time which he giues to *Eulmerodach*, is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Berosus* than with the Scriptures. For wee find in *Ieremie*, that this *Eulmerodach* in the first of his raigne, shewing all fauour to *Iechonia*, did among other things take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eate bread before him all the dayes of his life. His portion was a continuall portion giuen him of the *King of Babel*, euery day a certaine, all the dayes of his life vntill he died. The very sound of these words (which is more to be esteemed, than the authoritie of *Berosus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a farre longer time than two yeeres, wherein *Iechonia*, vnder this gentle Prince, enioyed the comfort sent by God, whose commandement he had obeyed in yielding himselfe to *Nabuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Iechonia* did liue it can not be proued; but plaine it is hereby, that all his remaining daies hee did eate bread before this *King*. Now that hee liued not so short a while after this as 2. yeeres, it is more than likely, for he was but 55. yeeres old when he was set at liberty, hauing bin 37. yeeres in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of 18. yeeres; after which time it seemes plaine that hee begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zerobabel*, who is said to haue bene but a yong man, and one of *Darius* his Pages three score yeeres after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it selfe.

Of *Belsazar*, to whom *Scaliger* giues the next five yeeres, naming him also *Labassardach*, I should wonder why he calls him *Nabuchadnezzars* daughters sonne, were it not that herein I find him very carefull to helpe out *Berosus*, by shewing in his *Nirgissaroor*, as husband to *Nabuchadnezzars* daughter, and Protector of his son foure of these yeeres; by which meanes there remains about one yeere to *Belsazar* alone, agreeing neerely with the 9. moneths assigned by *Berosus* to the sonne of *Niglissar*. But *Ieremie* hath told vs that it was to *Nabuchadnezzar*, and to his son, and to his sonnes sonne (not to his daughters sonne) that the Empire was promised: which difficultie if *Scaliger* could not helpe, it was well done of him, to passe it ouer with silence.

Nabonidus the last of these (whome others, desirous to reconcile *Berosus* to the Scriptures) haue iudged to be all one with *Balthazar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to bee *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firme *Berosian*: for *Berosus* makes him of the same stocke or race a *Babylonian*. I speake not this to disgrace the traualle of that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and iudgement, that he was not so wedded to any author, as affected with the loue of truth) but to shew that he himselfe hauing in some points disliked those Writers, whome in generall he approoueth, might with greater reason haue wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirme this opinion in *Scaliger*, that hee whome *Berosus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: First, the phrase of Scripture, which signifies vnto vs, that *Darius* tooke the kingdome, not saying that hee wanne it by force of armes; Secondly, a fragment of *Metaphyses* found in *Eusebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Originall, 50 or of the Greeke translation, which expressing no force of armes, doth only signifie, that *Darius* tooke or receiued the kingdome; I see no reason why we should thereupon inferre, that the next king entred by Election: seeing *Daniel* relateth not the meanes and circumstances of *Balthazars* death, but onely the swift accomplishment of his owne prophecie. Neither could it indeede haue properly bene said (if *Daniel*

niel had cared to vie the most expresse termes) that *Darius* of the *Medes* breaking into the citie, did win the kingdome; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his vie. Now concerning the fragment of *Megasthenes*, true it is, that in *Eusebius* his workes printed at *Basile*, in the yeere 1559. I finde onely thus much of *Megasthenes*, cited out of *Alpheus*; That *Nabuchodonosor* was more valiant than *Hercules*; that hee subdued all *Lybia*, and the rest of *Asia* as farre as to the *Armenians*; and that as the *Chaldeans* report, being returned into his kingdome, and rapt with a diuine furie, he cried with a loude voice: O Babylonians, I foretell yee of a great calamitie that shall come vpon you, which neither Beel, nor any of the Gods shall avert: There will come a Persian, halfe an *Asse*, that shall bring slavery vpon yee: and that, this and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I beleeue little or nothing, sauing that *Nabuchodonosor* knew before-hand, that his Empire should be translated, as *Daniel* had foretold from the golden head, to the siluer brest. But that he wan all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaliger* copy of *Eusebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megasthenes* tells vs that *Nabuchodonosor* wanne both *Africa* and *Spaine*, I beleeue the fragment so much the lesse: and am as little moued with the authoritie of it, where it calls a *Median* the pride and confidence of the *Affrians*, as where it tells of *Nebuchadnezzar* his owne vanishing away. Indeed that same title of halfe an *Asse*, by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to suspect the fable as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, becaue his parentage was more noble on the mothers side, than on the fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Asses* vpon *Mares*. And thus much in answer to the two principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnitie and coherence which it hath within it selfe, I easily allow it. But this proues nothing, for mere fictions haue not wanted these commendations: neither can any man beleeue that one so iudicious, industrious and deeply learned as *Ioseph Scaliger*, would ouer-shoote himselfe in setting downe repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeale. And herein it seemes that *Scaliger*, well knowing his owne sufficiency, hath beene little carefull to satisfie men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the prophetic of *Daniel* were true, that the kingdome of *Babylonia* was diuided, and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*, either wee must thinke that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or else wee must bethinke our selues what *Persian* it might be that shared the kingdome with him. For it is not more certaine, that *Balthasar* lost his life and kingdome, than that his kingdome was diuided and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it, as by supposing *Nabonidus* to haue bene *Darius*, they should be thought to haue done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords ouer all the subiect provinces, in so much that the Grecke Historians did commonly call those warres which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made vpon *Greece*, The warres of the *Medes*. Yea to cleare this point, euen *Daniel* himselfe remembers that *King*, with whom *Alexander* fought, vnto a *Ramme* with two hornes, calling him the *King* of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to haue beene condemned by *Ioseph Scaliger*, for maintaining vpon such good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes*, was partner with *Cyrus* in his victories, and not a *Chaldean King* by him subdued. Neither was *Ioseph* to be the lesse regarded, for affirming that *Balthasar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his nephew *Cyrus*, though herein hee varied from *Berosus*, and others, whose authoritie elsewhere he gladly citeth. For *Ioseph* had no reason to beleeue any mans faith or knowledge of those times, halfe so well as *Daniel*, whom I beleeue that hee vnderstood as farre as was needfull in this case. Lawfull it was for him to allege all Authors that had any mention, though vnperfect of the same things

things that were contained in the writings of the *Iewes*, to whose histories thereby he procured reputation in the *Roman* world, where they were strangers, and might seeme fabulous. Euen so doe *Eusebius*, and other Christian Writers, willingly embrace the testimonies of heathen bookes making for the truth in some particulars; yet will they not therefore be tried in generall by the selfe same *Etimologic* philosophers, but leaue them where they are against the truth; as *Iosephus* in this case hath left *Berosus*. And thus much I thought it meete to say of *Scaliger* opinion in this point; holding neuertheless in duer regard his learning and iudgement, which if in some things it had not failed, the miracle had bene very great.

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§. VI.

What may be held as probable of the Persons and Times of *Nabuchodonosor* his successors.

IT now remains that I freely acknowledge mine owne weaknes, who cannot find how the 70. yeeres of captiuitie are to be diuided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I finde that the distribution made of them, in such wise as already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly say with *Petrus*, that wee ought liberally to pardon those whose fete haue failed them in the slipperie wayes of *Chronologie*, wherein both learning and diligence are subiect to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulness, or heedlesse reckoning. Yet will I aduenteure to deliuer my opinion, wherein the iudgement of *Lyra* and others (holding those onely to haue reigned ouer *Chaldeans*, whose Names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Coniectures before rehearsed. Nor that I will take vpon me to defend *Lyra* his Coniectures, when hee supposeth by *Niglisar* and *Laborsadach* to be meant the same persons which are called in Scriptures *Eulmerodach* and *Balthasar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but onely to shew that the *Kings* by him cited, are likely to haue occupied the whole time of seuentie yeeres. First therefore let vs consider the raigne of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whose eighteenth yere *Ierusalem* was taken and sackt, but in his nineteenth layd vtterly desolate.

Most of Writers haue giuen to him 43. yeeres of raigne, following therein *Berosus*. There are who haue added one yere more; and some haue made it vp 45. To dispute about the certaintie were needlesse: for in shewing by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall shew the certaine truth.

Manifest it is, that the 19. yere of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is ioyned with the 11. of *Zedekias* as also that his eight yere, was the first yere of *Iechonias* his captiuitie; the raigne of *Zedekias* occupied all the meane space being of 11. yeeres. This is generally agreed vpon, so that it needes no further proofes: As for the beginning of his successor *Eulmerodach*, it was in the seuen and thirtieth yere of *Iechonias* his captiuitie; so that *Nebuchadnezzar* after his eight yere (which was the first of *Iechonias* his bondage) reigned 35. whole yeeres, and peraduenture a good part of the fixe and thirtieth, so far much as *Iechonias* was enlarged with so great fauour, not vntill the end of the yeere. Subtracting therefore out of these foure and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzar* reigned did well-neere occupie, those eighteene yeeres of his which passed away before the captiuitie of *Iuda*, and ruine of the citie, we haue remaining fixe and twenty yeeres of the seuentie, that were almost wholly spent, when his sonne beganne to raigne.

It is now to be considered how the remainder of the seuentie yeeres were diuided betweene the kings ruling in *Babylon* vntill the first of *Cyrus*. A question more difficult (as I said before) than greatly needfull: the whole summe being certaine, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actiues, who were

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were slouthfull Princes. Neither can any man the more iustly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70. yeeres, for that the distribution of some part of them is only coniectural; seeing that none who giues any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both vnlikely and desperate coniectures in diuiding them. I will therefore be bold to doe as others haue done; knowing well before-hand, that whoeuer shall discouer my error, must doe mee the pleasure (which I could rather wish in a case more materiall) of making mee to vnderstand the truth.

Of the foure and forty yeeres remayning in accompt at *Nebuchadnezzars* death, we are to take away the last, which was the first of *Darius the Mede*, and then hauing authority good enough to warrant vs from blame of presumption, in giuing vs leuenteene yeeres to *Balthasar*, we finde left in our hands to bellow vpon *Emimeroch* fixe and twenty yeeres. Of the yere belonging to *Darius the Mede*, I haue already spoken what I thought sufficient, in deliuering my opinion of the beginning & continuance of this captiuitie. That *Balthasar* did raigne leuenteene yeeres, we haue the authority of *Iosephus*, before cited in expresse words; We haue also the generall consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting *Berosus* his *Nabonidus*, who raigned so long; and *Balthasar* to haue beene one. But nothing moueth me so much to beleue this Tradition, as first those euident places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the third yere of *Balthasar* he followed the Kings businesse, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his raigne, (a prooffe sufficient of no few yeeres, passing vnder this man, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniels* employments tooke end either that yere or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of *Cyrus* his warres against the *Assyrians*, which beginning with the death of this mans father, and being alwaies prosperous, could hardly haue occupied any longer time, though we make large allowance to his deedes in the lower *Assyria*, which fell out in the mid-way: I haue already shewed, that there appears in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the raigne of *Emimeroch* was not short: and that men of great iudgement haue found it most probable, that he was King three and twenty yeeres. More, I thinke, they would haue allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying *Berosus* caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that bookes of such antiquitie, as those of *Berosus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeeld in many darke passages of Antiquitie. I will yet confesse, that were his workes neuer so excellent, and in all things else vnquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend vnto him in some one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemy. How much lesse ought I to obey a broken fragment of his, containing only seuen or eight lines, and part euen of the title corrupted, as they beleue that follow him in the rest? The Scriptures haue told vs that God gaue the Empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his sonne, and to his sonnes sonne: How long each of them held it, we finde not expresse; yet would we gladly know it of *Berosus*, or of any other that would teach vs; provided alwaies, that helping vs in a particularitie, he destroy not thereby the generall truth. More words are needlesse. It is enough to say with others, that *Berosus* or *Iosephus* who cited him, hath bin wronged by the carelesnesse of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to erre in writing two for fixe & twentie, as for three and twentie, or perhaps more easie. For the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5. signifying 6. hath a neerer resemblance of 6 than stands for 2. than hath 7, which is vsed for 3. So that the numerall notes 63. expressing 26. were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true copie, and might be altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mischance not vnusall, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seeme not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in 67 standing for 23, I doe not well perceiue. As for the arithmeticall figures now in vs, they were

Don. c. 8. v. 1.
c. 27. c. 1.
v. 11, 12, c. 13.

Jerem. 27.

were long after the time of *Iosephus* brought in by the *Arabians*, and therefore doe not appertaine to this businesse; vnlesse we should ghesse that his workes were corrupted in that vnlearned age, which following the *Saracen* conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanitie, but in a sort wholly giuen ouer to the doctrine of *Aristotle*. If this will serue to make *Berosus* our friend, so let it be; if not, I will not purchase the fauour of his authoritie, by forsaking *Jeremie* and *Daniel*, when they seeme his opposites.

§. VII.

Of the victories which *NABUCHODONOSOR* obtained betwene the destruction of *Ierusalem* and conquest of *Egypt*.



What actions this time of 70. yeeres was entertained by the *Babylonian* Kings, few haue written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure haue bin some cause that the time it selfe was, and is yet sought to be abridged, as not hauing left sufficient matter to witness the length of it. But by such an argument wee might as well deny to many people euen their being. For eury Nation (I know not whom I should except) betwene the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slouthfull age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no maruell, if the posteritie of *Nabuchodonosor*, finding all things readie to their hand, which their hearts could haue desired, betooke themselves to their ease and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigall sonnes of greedie fathers, their owne wisedome greater, which knew how to enioy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their daies in the restless trauell of purchasing: Though indeede the raigne of *Nabuchodonosor* was so diuided, that his youthfull and stronger yeeres haue beene exercised in victorious armes, no small part of his life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthe labours past. The nineteenth yere of his raigne it was, when destroying vtterly the great and mightie Citie of *Ierusalem*, hee enriched himselfe with abundance of spoyle, and terrified all that would offer to resist him, by that fearefull example. From that time forward, he, vntill his three and twentieth yere, laboured in the conquest of those adioyning Regions, which God had exposed vnto his sword, & commanded to weare his yoke; namely, the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrrians*, *Sidonians*, and *Egyptians*, though some of these were already become his followers, and serued vnder him, when *Ierusalem* was beaten down and burnt. But the *Tyrrians*, whose Citie was founded on an Island, safe enough from any danger of a Land-armie, and whose fleet was so strong, that they needed not to feare any enemy at sea, were neither danted with the fall of their neighbour Cities, nor with the obblinate resolution of this mightie Prince, employing all his power to their subuersion.

That the Citie of *Tyre* was rather well pleased, than any way discouraged with the fall of *Ierusalem* (which had held the same course that *Tyrus* did, and endured all that might be in the same quarrell against the common enemy) it appears by the words which *Ezechiel* condemneth as the common voice of *Tyrus*: *AN* *h*, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned vnto me for seeing thee is desolate, I shall be replenished. Yet at the length, euen in the nineteenth yere of *Nabuchodonosor*, that great work of his, whereof we haue already spoken, began to appeare about the waters, and threaten them with ineuitable mischance.

But those prophecies of *Jeremie* and of *Ezay*, which appoint vnto this desolation of *Tyre* the same terme of 70. yeeres, that was prescribed vnto the raigne of the *Chaldeans*, doe plainly shew, that these followed *Ierusalem*, the same nineteenth yere of *Nabuchodonosor*, in the same, or a very like fortune. The particularities,

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which

Ezech. 26. 4.

Jer. 25.
Ezech. 23. 15.

which doubtlesse were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner utterly lost. Thus much we finde, That the Citizens perceiving the Towne unable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fled into the Isle of Cyprus. Neuerthelesse it seemes that this confusion serued only the principall men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer sort vnto the enemies furie. For not only such people of Tyre as dwelt on the Continent (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which, with excessive labour, the Assyrian made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus NABUCHODONOSOR caused his Armie to serue a great service against TYRUS, wherein every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare, yet had he 10 no wages, nor his Armie; but was faine to rest contented with the Honor of hauing destroyed that Citie, which in all mens iudgements had bene held invincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerful Cities, hauing made the name of the Chaldeans dreadfull in the eares of all the Nations thereabout, Nabuchodonosor vsed the aduantage of that reputation which hee had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with lesse paine. The Kingdome of Egypt was the mark at which he aimed; a Country so aboundant in all riches and pleasures, that it might well haue tempted any Prince, finding himselfe strong enough, to seeke occasion of quarrell against it; and so farre an enemy to the Crowne of Babylon, that had it bene poorer, yet either it must haue bene subdued, or the conquest of Syria could ill haue bene established. Neuerthelesse it was needfull, that before hee entered into this business, the Countries adiacent should be reduced into such termes, that either they should wholly stand at his deuotion, or at least bee vnable to worke him any displeasure. And herein the decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For the people of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damasceus, Kedar, Hazor, and other adioyning Regions, whom God for their sins had condemned to fall vnder the Babylonian swords, were such, as regarding onely their owne gaine, had some of them, like Ravens, followed the Chaldean Armie, to feede vpon the carcases that fell by the cruelty thereof; others taking aduantage of their neighbours miseries, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to Nabuchodonosor; all of them thinking, that when the Assyrian had satisfied his furie, he should be faine to forsake those desolate parts, and leaue the possession to those that could lay hand vpon it. Particularly the Edomites and Philistines had shewed much malice to the Iewes when their Citie was taken. What good seruice they had done to the Chaldeans, I finde not; if they did any, it is likely to haue been with reference to their own purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The Ammonites were not contented to reioyce at the fall of Ierusalem, but presently they entered vpon the Country of Gad, and took possession, as if not the Assyrians, but they, had subdued Israel. Neither can I perceiue what other ground that practice had of Basai King of the Ammonites, when he sent 40 Ishmael, a Prince of the bloud of Iuda, to murder Gedalim, whom the King of Babel had left Governour ouer those that remained in Israel, and to carry captiue into the Ammonites Countie the people that abode in Mizpah, than a desire of embroiling Nabuchodonosor with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his owne Country, and abandon those wasted Lands to himselfe and others, for whom they lay conueniently. Such or the like policie the Moabites did exercise; whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, and their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right.

All these Nations had the art of rauening, which is familiar to such as liue or border vpon desarts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the vttermost cunning of their theuifish wits. But Nabuchodonosor did cut asunder all their deuices by sharpe and suddaine war, ouerwhelming them with vnexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the prophecies of Esay, Ieremie, and Ezechiel, who fore-told, with little difference of words, the greatnesse and swiftnesse of the miserie

Ezechiel. 25. 3.
10. 11.
Ezechiel. 26. 18.

Ezechiel. 25. 3.
15.

Ezechiel. 25. 3.
Ieremie. 49. 14.

Ieremie. 40. 14. &
41. 2. & 10.
Ieremie. 27. & 6.

Esay. 18. 14.

erie that should come vpon them. With which of them he first began, I finde not; it seemes that Moab was the last which felt his hand: for so doe many good Authors interpret the prophetic of Esay, threatening Moab with destruction after three yeeres, as hauing reference to the third yeere following the ruine of Ierusalem; the next yeere after it being spent in the Egyptian expedition. This is manifest, that all the principall Townes in these Regions were burnt, and the people slaine, or made slaues, few excepted, who being persued by flight, had not the courage to returne to their habitations ouer-hastily, much lesse to attempt any thing against Nabuchodonosor, but liued as miserable out-lawes, or at least, oppressed wretches, vntill the end of the seauente yeeres, which God had prescribed vnto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of Iuda.

§. VIII.

That Egypt was conquered, and the King therein reigning slaine by NABUCHODONOSOR, contrarie to the opinion of most Authors: who following HERODOTUS and DIODORUS, relate it otherwise.

10 **W**hen by a long course of victorie Nabuchodonosor had brought into subiection all the Nations of Syria, & the bordering Arabians, in such wise, that no enemy to himselfe, nor friend of the Egyptian, was left at his back, that might giue impediment vnto his proceeding, or take aduantage of any misfortune; then did hee forthwith take in hand the conquest of Egypt himselfe, vpon which those other Nations had formerly bene depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets, Esay, Ieremie, and Ezechiel, haue written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needlesse to looke after more authoritie, or to cite for proofe balle of that which may be alleaged out of these. Neuerthelesse, we finde many and good Authors, who following Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus, are well contented to straine these prophecies with vnreasonable diligence vnto such a sense, as giues to Nabuchodonosor little more than the honour of hauing done some spoile in Egypt, omitting the conquest of that Land by the Babylonian, and referring the death of Apries or Hophra to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affaires. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the meane and second helps conducing to their purpose, that often-times they preferre the Commentator before the Author; and to vp-hold a sentence, giuing testimonie to one clause, doe carelesly ouerthrow the historie it selfe, which thereby they sought to haue maintained. The reports of Herodotus and Diodorus, concerning the Kings of Egypt, which reigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former book: but that which they haue spoken of Apries, was purposely referred vnto this place. Herodotus affirms, that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; (vnlesse we should vnderstand that he was victorious in the Warre, which he is said to haue made vpon Tyrrus and Sidon) that hee reigned five and twentie yeeres, and was finally taken and put to death by his owne subiects; who did set vp Amasis, as King, which preuailed against him. The rebellion of the Egyptians hee imputeth to a great losse which they receiued in an expedition against the Cyrenians, by whom almost their whole Armie was destroyed. This calamitie the people of Egypt thought to be well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on this dangerous expedition, with a purpose to haue them consumed, that so he might with greater securitie reigne ouer such as staid at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slaine, rebelled against Apries, who sent Amasis to appease the tumult; but Amasis became Captaine of the rebells, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land consented vnto this new Election; whereby Apries

Herod. 2. & 13.

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was driven to trust vnto his forraigne Mercenaries, the *Ionians* and *Carians*, of whom hee kept in readinesse thirte thousand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were vanquished by the great numbers of the *Egyptian* forces, amounting vnto two hundred and fittie thousand, which were all by birth and education, men of warre. *Apries* himselfe being taken prisoner, was gently intreated by *Amasis* for a while, vntill the *Egyptians*, exclaiming vpon him, as an extreme enemy to the Land, got him deliuered into their hands, and strangled him, yet gaue him honourable buriall. Such is the report of *Heredotus*, with whome *Diodorus Siculus* necerly agrees, telling vs that *Apries* did vanquish the *Cyprians* and *Phoenicians* in battell at Sea, tooke by force and demolished *Sidon*, wan the other townes of *Phoenicia*, and the Isle of *Cyprus*, and finally, perilled as is before rehearfed, when he had reigned two and twentie yeeres. This authoritie were enough (yet not more than enough) to informe vs of *Apries* his historie, if greater authoritie did not contradict it. But the destruction of *Egypt* by the *Babylonian*, fore-told by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compell our belief, than haue the traditions of *Egyptian* Priests (which the *Greeke Historians* followed) and greater probabilities to perswade those that looke onely into humane reasons. For *Esaie* prophesied long before of the shameful captiuitie of the *Egyptians*, whom the king of *Assur* should carry away naked, young and old, in such wise, that the *Iewes*, who fled vnto them for deliuerance from the *Assyrian*, should be ashamed of their owne vaine confidence in men so vnable to defend themselves.

But *Ezekiel* and *Jeremie*, as their prophesies were neerer to the time of execution, so they handled this Argument more precisely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainly, that *Egypt* should begin to be destroyed, as wages for the seruice which hee had done at *Tyre*: Alo hee recounteth particularly all the chiefe Cities in *Egypt*, saying, That these by name should be destroyed, and goe into captiuitie; yea, that *Pharaoh* and all his armie should be slaine by the sword. Wherefore it muft needs be a violent expolition of these Prophesies, which by applying the issue of such threatnings to an insurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in *Egypt*, than change of the Kings person, wherein *Amasis* did succed vnto *Apries*, by force indeede, but by the vniforme consent of all the people. Certainly, if that notable place of *Jeremie*, wherein hee foretelleth how the *Iewes* in *Egypt* should see *Pharaoh* *Hophra* deliuered into the hand of his enemies, as *Zedekia* had bene, were to be referred vnto the time of that rebellion, whereof *Heredotus* hath spoken, as the generall opinion hath ouer-ruled it, then was it vainely done of the same Prophet (which God forbid that any Christian should thinke, seeing hee did it by the appointment of God himselfe) to hide in the clay of a Brick-hill, those very stones, vpon which the throne of *Nabuchodonosor* should be set, and his pavilion spread. Yea then was that prophesie no other than false, which exprest the end of *Pharaoh* thus: Behold, I will visite the common people of *No*, & *Pharaoh*, and *Egypt*, with their gods and their kings, even *Pharaoh*, and all that trust in him: and I will deliuer them into the hands of those that seeke their liues, and into the hand of *Nabuchadnezzar*, King of *Babel*, and into the hands of his seruants. The clearnes of this prophesie being such as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amasis*, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the *Greeke Historians*. Wherefore looking vpon *Iulius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharaoh* *Hophra* to be *Amasis*, and his followers, I found him heere acknowledging that the *Egyptian* Priests had notably deluded *Heredotus* with lies, coined vpon a vaine-glorious purpose of hiding their owne disgrace and bondage. And surely it may well be thought, that the historie of *Nabuchadnezzar*, was better knowne to the *Iewes*, whom it concerned, than to the *Greekes*, that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not rather

Diodor. Siculib.
1. c. 2.

Esaie. 45. v. 6.

Ezech. 29. v. 12.
30. c. 30.
Ezech. 32. v. 31.

Jerem. 44. 30.
Jerem. 43. 10.

Jerem. 46. v. 16.
25. c. 26.

Iul. in Jerem.
c. 44. v. 16. 30.

ther beleeue *Iosephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonosor* in the three & twentieth yeere of his reigne, and the fift yeere of the destruction of *Ierusalem*, did conquer *Egypt*, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his stead, than *Heredotus* or *Diodore*; who being meere strangers to this businesse, had no great reason to labor in searching out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the Priests would tell them. Now if setting aside all aduantage of authoritie, we should only consider the relations of *Iosephus*, and of the *Greeke Historians*, as either of them might be verified of it selfe by apparant circumstances, without reflecting vpon the *Hebrew* Prophets, or *Egyptian* Priests; me thinks the death of *Apries* can no way be approued as hauing bene wrought by consent of the people, but affords great matter of suspition; yea, though no man had opposed the reports of *Heredotus* and *Diodore*. For the great loue and honour which the *Egyptians* did beare vnto their Kings, is notorious by the vniforme testimony of al others that haue handled the matters of that Countrey, as well as by the report of *Diodore* himselfe. How then can we thinke it probable, that *Apries* hauing wonne great victories, did for one only losse fall into the hatred of all his people, or which may seeme to perswade, that a King of *Egypt* would seeke, or so demean himselfe, that he might be thought to seeke the destruction of his naturall subiects? As for that armie of thirte thousand souldiers, *Carians* and *Ionians*, which the King of *Egypt*, whom *Amasis* tooke prisoner, is said to haue kept for his defence: doth it not argue that hee was a forraigner, and one that armed himselfe against the *Egyptians*, wishing them few and weak; rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Countrey, as assuredly their owne, as the strength of their owne bodies? It were more tedious than any way needfull, to vse all Arguments that might be alleadged in this case. The very death of this supposed *Apries*, which the clamours of the people obtained of *Amasis*, who sought to haue kept him aliue, doth intimate that he was some forren Governour, not a naturall Prince; otherwise the people would haue desired to saue his life, and *Amasis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, whereunto I should not haue yeelded, though it had stood vpon great apparance of truth, considering that the voice of Truth it selfe cries out against it; but leaue the circumstances, prouing the Conquest of *Egypt* by *Nabuchodonosor* to be obserued, where due occasion in course of the storie following shall present them.

§. IX.

How *Egypt* was subdued and held by *Nabuchadnezzar*.

IT is a great losse, that the generall Historie of the World hath suffered, by the spoile and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments, that should haue preferred the memorie of such famous actions as were accomplished by this mightie Prince *Nabuchodonosor*; wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater, it is now vnertaine. That his victories following the Conquest of *Syria*, and the Neighbour-Prouinces, were such as did more enlarge his dominion, than all his former warres had done, it may easily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckons vp in his thirtieth chapter (besides the whole Countrey of *Egypt*) *Phut* and *Lud*, with other Nations that may seeme to haue reached out into *Mauritania*, as people subdued by this great *Babylonian*. The circumstances of these warres are in a manner vtterly lost; but that the victorie was easie and swift, any man shall find, who will take the pains to confere the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I thinke worthy of more particular obseruation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Booke) thought himselfe safe in *Egypt* by the well defended situation of his Countrey, did very vnwisely in suffering his enemies

Iosephus de Ant.
liq. lud. lib. 10.
c. 11.

to sweepe the way cleane vnto his owne doores, by consuming all his friends and adherents in *Syria*. For as the labour of this businesse did more harden then wearie the *Chaldean* army, so the confidence and vaine securitie of the *Egyptians*, relying vpon the difficult passages which the enemy was to make thorow the *Arabian* deserts, and the much advantage which the great river of *Nilus* would afford vnto themselves, did little auail them in prouision for the war, and much astonish them (as may iustly be thought) in the time of execution: it being vially scene, that the hearts of men faile, when those helps faile, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their owne vertue. Hitherto the Kingdome of *Egypt* had flourished vnder the rule of the *Pharaons*, and then at length it began to recover by little & litle the former greatnes, yet so, that it was neuer dreadful vnto others, God hauing said of that people, *I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule the Nations*. For whereas it hath bene said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the sonne of the wife, I am the sonne of the ancient Kings*: and whereas he had vaunted, *The River is mine, and I haue made it*; the Princes of *Egypt* now became fooles, the river failed them, the King himselfe was taken and slaine, and that ancient linage quite extinguished. This came to passe in the first yeere after the destruction of *Ierusalem*, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, at which time (saith *Iosephus*) He slew the King then reigning, placed another in his roome, and carried captiues thence to *Babylon*, the Iewes whome he found in that Countie. Now concerning the time which *Iosephus* giues vnto this businesse, and the businesse it selfe, I haue already shewed, that it is warranted by all the prophecies which insinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of *Ierusalem*, and carrying away those vnto *Babel*, who inhabited the miserable ruines of that great city, which was in the same three & twentieth yeere of *NEBUCHADNEZZAR*, is not vnprobably thought by good authors to haue bene at the returne from this *Egyptian* expedition. But whereas *Iosephus* tels vs, that there was another King put in the roome of *Apries* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, wee must vnderstand, that hee was onely a *Viceroy*, and not (as some haue mistaken it) thinke that this was *Amasis*. For to place the beginning of *Amasis* his raigne in the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant vnto the prophecies before alledged, as to all *Chronologie* and historie. Some there are, which to helpe this inconuenience, imagine that there were two successiue bearing the name of *Amasis*; others, that there were two *Apries*, the one slaine by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amasis*: a question of small importance, because the difference is onely about a name, it being once granted that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of life and kingdome by the *Affrians*. Yet for any thing that I can perceiue, that *Apries*, of whom the *Greeke* Historians wrote, could not be the Deputie of *Nebuchadnezzar*, seeing that hee was the Grand-child of *Pharaoh Necho*, and made warre (as they report) vpon the *Phenicians*, who were, before the *Egyptians*, become subiect vnto the Crowne of *Babylon*. I might adde, perhaps, that he whom *Nebuchadnezzar* left as Governour of *Egypt*, was more likely to haue had some *Chaldean* or *Affrian*, than an *Egyptian* name; vnlesse we should thinke that hee had bene a traitor to his naturall Prince, and so rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the Countie: about which it were but fruitles to dispute. This much in briefe we ought to beleue, that *Nebuchadnezzar* made an absolute Conquest of *Egypt*; that he was not so foolish as to giue it away, any man may guesse, that he appointed one to rule the Countie, it is consequent vnto the former, and hath authoritie of *Iosephus*; that this Governour (or some successour of his) was afterwards taken and slaine by *Amasis*, I see probability enough to perswade my selfe, and yet can well bee content, that others vse their libertie, and beleue what they list. As for the armie which this *Egyptian* King *Apries* is supposed to haue kept of *Ionians* and *Carians*, I hold them to be none other than the garisons of mercenarie souldiers which were left by the *Affrian*

Ezek. 39. 13, 14.
○ 15.
Ezek. 39. 11.
Ezek. 39. 9.

Ioseph. Ant. Iud.
lib. 10. c. 11.

Ierem. 51. 30.

for the guard of his *Viceroy*, and custodie of the new subdued Province: as likewise the company returning from *Cyrene* and *Berenice*, who together with the friends of such as were slaine in that expedition, remembered before out of the *Greeke* Historians, depoled and slew *Apries*, I take them to haue bene the *Egyptian* fugitives, which then recovered their owne Countie. Sure it is that this Prophecie of *Ezekiel* was verified, *At the end of fortie yeeres will I gather the Egyptians from the people where they were scattered, and I will bring againe the captiuitie of Egypt, and will cause them to returne into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation, and they shall be there a small kingdome*. If the *Egyptian* Priests alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of *Amasis* his obtaining the Kingdome, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deuised matter that had no shadow of truth, onely to keepe the *Greekes* from knowledge of their Countie's disgrace; then are they little to be regarded, since we know the truth with them.

¶ X.

Of the sundry accounts drawne from sundry acts of *NEBUCHADNEZZAR*, and of the destruction of *Niniaue*, by him; the time of which action is vncertaine.

These victories brought the greatnes of the *Affrian* Empire to the full, and from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s raigne in sundry places of Scripture. To speake any more of the questions arising about the supputation of *Nebuchadnezzar* his times, might seeme to be the ouer-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note; that whereas *Daniel* was carried captiue in the third yeere of *Iehoiakims* (which ranne along with some part of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s first yeere) and was kept in diet three yeeres more, before he was brought into the Kings presence; it could not be the second of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s kingdome, wherein he interpreted the forgotten dreame of the great Image, foretelling the succession of *Monarchies*, but the second of his Empire. The same or the like may be said of diuers places which referre sundry matters vnto their set yeeres; as that of *Ezekiel* before cited, where he fore-tells, that *Egypt* should be giuen in reward for the seruice done before *Tyrus*, dating his prophecie in the seuen and twentieth yeere; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth yeere: for these yeeres held no dependance vpon either the beginning of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s kingdome, or of his Empire, nor yet vpon any of the captiuities, but had reference to some memorabile action, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not easie to be found, nor worth the labour of vncertaine search.

Of any warre made by *Nebuchadnezzar*, after such time as he returned from the Conquest of *Egypt*, I doe not read: excepting that against *Niniaue*, the destruction whereof was fore-told by the Prophet *Nam*. *Niniaue* had long before bene taken by *Merodach* (as in due place hath bene shewed) and together with the rest of *Affria* made subiect to *Babylon*. Yet was it left vnder a peculiar King, who rebelling against the *Chaldean*, as *Iehoiakim* & *Zedekias* tributary Kings of *Inda*, had done, raised likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of *Niniaue* followed the Conquest of *Egypt*, it appeareth by the comparison which *Nabum* the Prophet made betwene this Citie, that was to fall, and the Citie of *Noin* in *Egypt*, that was fallen already. But how long after this came to passe, it is (me thinks) vnpossible to finde out. For whereas it is found in an *Hebrew* *Chronologie*, that it was in the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s raigne; the place of *Nabum* last cited is enough to disprove it. Whereas it is referred by some vnto the first of his *Monarchie*, which began at the end of the *Egyptian* warres; the whole Prophecie of *Nabum* which went betwene the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time intercurrent.

Ezek. 30. 10, 13.
○ 14.

Dan. 2. 2. & 3.

Nabum. 3. 7.

current. So that to enquire into the very yeere of this destruction, or other circumstances of the Warre, whether managed by *Nabuchodonosor* in person, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat like vnto the vaine curiositie of *Tyberius Caesar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hebeus*; or to the like idle paines which he should take, who would seeke to learne what woman that *Hazzab* Queen of *Ninivie* was, whose wofull captiuitie the same Prophet *Naum* likewise did fore-tell.

§. XI.

Of the later time of *Nebuchadnezzar*; his buildings, madnesse, and death.

10



Dan. 4. 27.

At the time which this great *Monarch* spent in quiet, I thinke there are no Monuments extant, save those which we finde among the prophecies of *Daniel*. Among these we may reckon his great works at *Babylon*, wherewith he pleased himselfe so well, that he brake out into these glorious words: *Is not this great Babel that I have built for the house of the Kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my Madnesse?* Surely if those things bee true that are by *Iosephus* rehearsed of him out of *Berosus* and *Megasthenes*, he might well delight himselfe with the contemplation of such goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is said, That he fortified *Babylon* with a triple wall; that besides other rarely works, he raised those huge arches wherewith were borne vp the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the ayre, and equalling the tops of Mountaines; which most sumptuous frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the *Assyrian*, and all the *Persian* Empire, is said to haue bene reared, and finished in fiftene daies.

But of all this, and other his magnificence, we finde little else recorded, than that (which indeede is most profitable for vs to consider) his ouer-valuing of his owne greatnesse abased him vnto a condition, inferior to the poorest of men. And not vnderstandedly tell these iudgements of God vpon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not onely with many victories, and much happinesse in his owne life, but with a discouerie of things to come after him, yea and had approoued the certaintie of his dreame, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memorie, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet: he neuertheless became so forgetfull of God, whose wonderfull power he had scene and acknowledged, that hee caused a golden Image to be set vp and worshipped: ordaining a cruell death as reward vnto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleasure, which was vterly repugnant to the law of him that is the King of Kings. Hereof *S. Hierome* hath well noted; *Relax obliuio veritatis, ut qui dum seruum Dei quasi Deum adorauerat, nunc statum sibi fieri inbeant, ut ipse quasi Deus in statu adoraretur: A haste forgetfulness of the truth, that hee who so lately had worshipped (DANIEL) the seruant of God, as if he had bene God himselfe, should now command a Statua to be erected vnto himselfe, wherein himselfe might be worshipped as God. From this impietie it pleased God to reclaim him, by the strange and wonderfull deliuerie of those blessed Saints out of the fierie furnaces; who being throwne into it bound, forrefusing to commit Idolatrie, were assisted by an Angell; preferred from all harme of the fire; loosened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and restored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this deuotion of *Nebuchadnezzar* was not so rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit answerable to his haultie zeale. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dreame of the terrible iudgement hanging ouer his head, which *Daniel* expounding, aduised him to breake off his (sine by righteousnesse, and his iniquitie by mercy towards the poore, that there might be an healing of his error. Hereby it seems that*

that iniustice and crueltie were the faults, for which he was threatned, but this threatning sufficed not vnto his reformation. For that fo great a *Monarch* should be driuen from among men, (according to the tenor of the dreame and interpretation) yea, compelled to dwell with the beaulls of the field, and made to cate grasse as the Oxen, was a thing so incredible in mans iudgement, that easily it might be thought an idle dreame, and much more easily be forgotten at the yeeres end. One whole yeeres leisure to repent was giuen to this haughtie Prince: which respite of the execution may seeme to haue bred in him a forgetfulness of Gods sentence. For at the end of twelue moneths, walking in the royall Palace of *Babel*, he was fo ouer-joyed and transported with a vaine contemplation of his owne seeming happinesse, that without all feare of Gods heauie iudgement pronounced against him, hee vttered those loftie words before rehearsed, in vaunting of the Maiefticall works which he had reared, as well becomming his maiefticall person. But his high speeches were not fully ended, when a voice from heauen, telling him that his Kingdome was departed from him, rehearsed ouer vnto him the sentence againe, which was fulfilled vpon him the very same houre.

That *Salomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, haue taken delight in their owne buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that euer I haue read of any, that were punished for reioicing in works of this kinde, (though it is hard in ioy, or any passion of the minde, to keepe a iust measure) excepting onely this *Nebuchadnezzar*.

The like may be said of *Dauid*: for other (and some very godly) Kings haue mistred all their forces to the very last man; but few or none haue been known to haue bene punished as *Dauid* was. Surely I not onely hold it lawfull to reioyce in those good things, wherewith God hath blessed vs, but a note of much vnthankfulness to entertaine them with a fullen and vnfeeling disposition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obscure cloudes, hindring the influence of that blessed light, which clarifies the soule of man, and predisposeth it vnto the brightnesse of eternal felicitie; so that insolent ioy, which man in the pride of his vaine imagination conceiuet of his owne worth, doth aboue all other passions blatt our minde, as it were with lightning, and makes vs to reflect our thoughts vpon our seeming inherent greatnesse, forgetting the whilest him, to whom wee are indebted for our very being. Wherefore these *mala mentis gaudia*; The euill ioyes of the minde, were not vnaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, bestowed in the entrance of *Hell*, and placed further inward than sorrowes, cares, and teares; not farre from the yron Cabbins of the *Furies*. And certainly it is no vnlikely token of vengeance neere at hand, when these vnreasonable flushes of proud and vaine ioy, doe rage in a minde, that should haue bene humbled with a iust repentance and acknowledgement of ill deservings.

This was verified vpon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whose punishment was singular and vnexempld. For he ranne among beaulls in the fields and woods, where for seuen yeeres hee liued, not onely as a saluage man, but as a saluage beaull, for a beaull hee thought him selfe secundum suam imaginationem, as *Thomas* noteth, and therefore fed himselfe in the same manner, and with the same food that beaulls doe: Not that he was changed in figure external, according to *Mediana*, in so much as he appeared a beaull to other mens eyes, as *S. Hierome* in the life of *Hilarius* (how true God knows) speaks of a woman that appeared to all other mens sight a Cow, but to *Hilarius* onely a woman; neither was he changed as *Ipigenia* the Daughter of *Agamemnon* was said to be, into a Hinde, nor made a Monlie, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but according to *S. Ieromes* exposition of these words: *At the same time was my vnderstanding restored vnto me. Ergo. Quando dixit (saith S. Ierome) sensum sibi redditum, ostendit non formam se amisisse, sed mentem; when he saith that his sense was restored vnto him, he sheweth that he had not lost his humane shape, but his vnderstanding. Seuen yeeres expired, it pleased God to restore *Nabuchodonosor*, both to his vnderstanding,*

L. 2. de Reg. p. 11.

Med. l. 2. de reclin in Deum fid. cap. 7.

Dor. in Symph. Ep. in vii. Dab.

Dan. 4. 1. 31. r.
34.

ding, and his estate, for which he acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confessing his power, and everlasting being; that he was the Lord of heaven and earth, and wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his works were all truth, and his waies righteous. Which gaue argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his saluation; namely, *S. Augustine, Theodorēt, Lysa, Caribolamus*, and others. And for that place of *Ezay*, the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforementioned Authors apply the same to *Balthasar*, because *Ezay*, both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapter, speaketh of the King, and the destruction of *Babylon* ioyntly.

§. XII.
Of EVILMERODACH.

Having already spoken what I could of the succession and yeeres of *Nebuchadnezzar* posteritie; the most that may be said of him, is said of *Evilmerodach*, which I will not here againe rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his Father had gotten, and left his Kingdome burning in a warre that consumed it to ashes. He lost *Egypt* by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth yere of his raigne, which was fortie yeeres after his Father had conquered it: But this agrees neither with the account of *Herodotus*, who allows to *Amasis* foure and fortie yeeres of raigne; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who gives him five and fiftie, saying that he died in the third yere of the threecore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyses* did conquer *Egypt*. There were indeed but seven and thirtie yeeres, which passed betwene the second yere of the foure and fiftieth Olympiad, (which was the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach*, and the first of *Amasis*) and the fift of *Cambyses* his raigne, wherein hee wanne *Egypt*; of which seven and thirtie yeeres it is credibly held, that *Pamennitus*, the sonne of *Amasis*, rained three: so that *Amasis* could be no longer King than foure and thirtie yeeres. But seeing that these two Greeke Historians haue bene abused by *Aegyptian* Priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no marvell though they were also deceived in the length of his raigne. This is the plaine answer to this objection. For to say either that the numbers were miswritten, and foure and fortie set downe in stead of foure and thirtie, or that *Amasis* did temporise awhile with the *Affrians*, and not beare himselfe as absolute King of *Egypt*, untill the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath bene proued out of *Ezechiel*, that *Egypt* became againe a Kingdome) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these *Aegyptian* troubles did animate the King of the *Medes* to deale with *Evilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame, and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces; or whether (as I rather thinke) some foile receiued by the *Affrian* invading *Media*, emboldned the *Aegyptian* to rebell against him: I will neither vndertake, nor seeke to define. *Xenophon* tels, that the first serice of young *Cyrus* in warre, was vnder *Astages* King of the *Medes*, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the *Affrian* Prince, who did set upon him at which time *Cyrus* was fifteen or sixteen yeeres old. If therefore *Cyrus* liued threecore & three yeeres (as he is said to haue died well stricken in yeeres) which is held to be the ordinarie terme of no short life, then was this encounter in the third yere of *Evilmerodach* his raigne. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the warre began more early betwene these Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of *Nebuchadnezzar* gaue courage vnto those that had felt him a troublesome neighbour, to stand vpon prouder termes with the *Affrians*, than in his flourishing estate

Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1.

Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1.

estate they durst haue vied. Howloer the quarrell beganne, wee finde that it ended not before the last ruine of the *Affrian Monarchie*. For the *Babylonian*, being too proud to digest the losses which hee receiued by the *Medes* and their Allies the *Perfians*, drew vnto his partie the *Lydiens*, and all the people of the lesser *Asia*, with gifts and strong persuasions, hoping to ouer-whelme his enemies with a strong inuasion, whome in vaine hee had sought to weare out with a lingring Warre.

This happened after the death of *Astages*, who left the World in the nineteenth yere of *Evilmerodach*, at which time *Amasis* tooke possession of *Egypt*. So that the *Affrian* hauing his hands already full of businesse, which more earnestly did affect him, fernes thereby to haue given the better means vnto the *Aegyptians*, of new erecting their Kingdome, which by long distance of place did sundry times finde occasion to rebell in after-ages, and set vp a King within it selfe, against the far more mightie *Persian*.

The issue of these great preparations made by *Evilmerodach* against the *Medes*, was such as opened the way vnto the fulfilling of those prophesies, which were many yeeres before vttered against *Babel*, by *Ezay* and *Ieremie*.

For the *Affrians*, and their Confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to haue buried the *Medes* and *Perfians* vnder their thicke shewes of arrowes and darts, were encountered with an armie of stout and well-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battell, wherein *Evilmerodach* was slaine. So that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonosor* had rayfed and vp-held, being shaken and grievously crackt vnder his vnfortunate Sonne, was left to bee sustained by his vnworthy Nephew: a man more likely to haue ouerthrowne it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repaire it, when it was in way of falling.

§. XIII.

Appropriate coniecture of the Author; serving to make good those things, which are cited out of BEROSVS, concerning the Successors of EVILMERODACH, without wrong to the truth, the qualitie, and death of BALTHASAR.

Hough I haue already (as it seemes to mee) sufficiently proued that *Balthasar* was the Sonne, and immediate Successour to *Evilmerodach*, yet considering earnestly the coniectures of those Writers, which following *Berosus*, insert *Ziglar*, or *Nirigissoroor*, and his sonne *Labfardach* betwene them: as also that which I finde in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris*, a famous Queene of *Babylon*, who greatly adorned and fortified that Citie; I haue thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by what means it was possible that some error might haue crept into the Historie of those times, and thereby haue brought vs to a needlesse trouble of searching out the truth: as it were by candle-light, in the vncertaine fragments of lost Authors, which we might haue found by day-light, had we adhered onely to the Scriptures. First, therefore I observe, that the time which *Berosus* dinides betwixt *Evilmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees with the yeeres in which *Nebuchadnezzar* liued wilde among brute beasts in the open field: Secondly, that the suddainenesse of this accident, which came in one houre, could not but worke much perturbation in that state, wherein doublet the honour of so noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamitie pitied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clause

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Herod. li.

clause which promised his recouerie, as being verified in that which had bin more incredible. Now if we doe in common reason iudge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome, for settling the government, whilst the King was thus distracted, we shall finde it most likely, that his Sonne and Heire did occupie the royall Throne, with condition to restore it vnto his Father, when God should enable him to repossesse it. In this his rule *Eutimerodach* being to supplie the vicer want of vnderstanding in his Father, as *Proteectors* doe the vnpericelle of it in young, but reasonable Kings, might easily commit the infolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That hee had in him very small abilitie of government, it appears by his ill maintaining the Empire, when hee held it in his owne right. That his Sister *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his sister) was a woman of an high spirit, it appears by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, saying that shee was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and vifull works about the Riuer of *Euphrates*, and her fortification of *Babylon* against the *Medes*, who had gotten many Townes from the *Assyrians*, & amongst them *Ninive*. Wherefore it were not vnreasonable to think, that such a woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers misgovernment, vsed practices to get the rule into her owne hands, and afterwards, as a mother, to leaue it vnto her vngracious sonne. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could haue reigned, we doe not finde; but we finde in *Berosus* (as *Iosephus* hath cited him) that *Niglissar*, who got the Kingdome from *Eutimerodach*, was his sisters husband; which argues this to haue bene the same woman. As for *Labassardach* the sonne of *Niglissar*, if at the end of nine Moneths raigne hee were for his lewd commissions flaine by the Nobilitie, as the same *Berosus* reporteth, it seems that God p hereby the way for *Nebuchadnessars* restitution (whose terme of punishment was then expired) by raising such troubles as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here vfe many words to confute that which *Berosus* hath further set downe of *Eutimerodach*, telling vs that hee was flaine by his sisters husband: for the plain words of Scripture, naming the yeere wherein he gaue libertie to *Techonias*, do plainly tellifie that he out-liued the three or foureand fortieth yeere of his Fathers 30 raigne, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to haue succeeded *Eutimerodach* in the Kingdome, might indeede haue so done, though not when hee held it in his owne right. Of *Balthasar*, who was his Sonne and Heire, we finde, that he had such conditions, as God permitteth to be in a King for the ruine of the people. He was from his young yeeres of a mischievous nature, hauing in his Fathers time flaine a Noble yong man that should haue married his sister, onely for spight and enuie to see him kill two wild beafts in hunting, at which him selfe hauing throwne his laue-line had misfed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beutie, said it were a happie woman that should be his wife. Such 40 barbarous viliaries caused many which had loued his Father (as a good and gracious, though vnfortunate Prince) to reuolt from him vnto the enemie as soone as he was King. Neither doe I finde that hee performed any thing worthy of record, but as a Coward and a Foole hee lost all; sitting still, and not once daring to giue battell to them that daily tooke somewhat from him: Yet carelesly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on euery side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom hee had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a foole taken in vnexcusable securitie, yet had not that happinesse, such as it is, of a death free from apprehension of feare, but was terrified with a dreadful vision; which had shewed his ruine not many houres before, 50 euen whilst hee was drinking in that wine, which the swords of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his latest blood. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable raigne of seuentene yeeres, he perished

rished like a beaft, and was flaine as he deserved. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath bene spoken heretofore; in matter of his affaires, shall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whose storie that of *Balthasar* is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the originall and first greatnesse of the Persians.

§. I.

That the *Medes* were chiefe actors in the subuersion of the Babylonian Empire.



Line of *Belochus* being now extinguished in *Balthasar*, the Empire of *Babylon*, and of *Assyria*, was ioyned first to that of *Media*, which then was gouerned by *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*, after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of *Assyria* and of *Media* it selfe.

Of the race of *Phul Belochus* there were ten Kings besides him selfe, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metasthenes*. These two Prouinciall Gouernours hauing cut downe the last branch of *Ninus* in *Sardapalus*, diuided betweene them the Easterne Empire.

Cyaxares (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the last of the race of *Arbaces*, dying about two yeeres after that the line of *Belochus* was ended in *Balthasar*; the Dominions as well of the Conquerour, as of the conquered, fell to a third Familie, namely, to *Cyrus* of the house of *Achamenes*, the Princes of which blood raigning in *Persia*, had formerly bene dependants on the *Medes*, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the World.

Of the Family of the *Achamenes*, and Line of the *Persian* Kings, we shal hereafter finde occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the *Medes* descended from *Madai* the third sonne of *Isabert*; that they had Kings soone after the flood, *Lactantius* and *Diodorus* haue found record; For *Lactantius* remembreth an ancient King of the *Medes* called *Hydaspes*, and *Diodor* speaketh of *Pharnus* with his seuen Sonnes, flaine by the *Assyrian* in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded *Arbaces* the first, that freed his Nation from the *Assyrians*. I take the list and number from *Eusebius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whom I haue spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these.

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Arbaces

Artabaces.	} Who reigned	28. yeeres.
Sofarmus.		30. yeeres.
Medius.		40. yeeres.
Cardaces.		13. yeeres.
Dioetes.		53. yeeres.
Phraortes.		24. yeeres.
Cyaxares.		32. yeeres.
Astyages.		38. yeeres.
Darius Medus.		

And though the *Greekes* ascribe the conquest of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach vs that *Darius* was not onely King of *Media*, and had the *Persians* his followers, but that the Armie victorious ouer *Babylazar* was his; as the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Empire also was during his owne life. For wee finde in *Daniel*, that *Darius* of the *Medes* tooke the Kingdome being threecore and two yeres old: And further, what Officers it pleased him to set ouer the Kingdome. And so was it prophesied by *Isay* long before: Behold, I will stirre up the *Medes* against them, &c. And by *IEREMIE*, The Lord hath raised up the Spirit of the King of the *Medes*: for his purpose is against *Babel* to de destroy it; and in the eighth and twentieth Verse, prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the *Medes*, the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion. These Scriptures *Iulius Affricanus* doth well open, who taking authoritie from *Diodor*, *Caflor*, *Thallus*, and others, deliuereth that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* beganne to raigne, which also agreeth with *Strabo*, where he saith, That as the *Medes* were subuigated by the *Persians*, so before that, both the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* were mastered by the *Medes*. And therefore the reports of *Iustine*, and *Herodotus*, are not to be receiued, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

Cap. 15. v. 17. 18.
v. 11. 22. 23.

Lib. 16.

§ II.

By what meanes the Empire was translated from the *Medes* to the *Persians*.



Ow the Kingdome of the *Medes* fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by Historians, but rather their different relations of his beginnings haue bred the former opinion of those who giue the conquest of *Babel* to the *Persian* only. For some there are who denie that *Astyages* had any other Successour than *Cyrus* his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Ctesias* on the contrary side affirmeth, that *Cyrus* was no way descended from *Astyages* (whom hee calleth *Astigas* or *Apinia*) but onely that hauing vanquished him in battaile, and confined him to *Bactria*, hee married his Daughter *Amysis*. But I finde the relations of *Ctesias* often cited and seldome followed, and himselie sometimes very iustly reproofed of willfull vntruth.

Viginius a diligent and learned Historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that *Astyages* had no such sonne as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirme his opinion, the more he citeth *Diodore*, *Iustine*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Isocrates*, and before them *Caflor*, *Thallus*, and *Phlegon*, who doe not finde any such Successour. Neither doe *Tatianus*, *Theophilus*, *Antiochennus*, *Iulius Affricanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Iustine Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *S. Hierome*, or *S. Augustine*, make report out of any faithfull Author by them read, that hath giuen other Son or Successour to *Astyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet seeing that this manner of argument ab authoritate negatiue, doth neuer inforce

force consent; we may bee the bolder (all this great list of noble Writers by him alikewised notwithstanding) to affirme that either *Astyages* himselie mult haue been *Darius* of the *Medes*, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; Or elle to giue him some other Successour, according to *Isophus*, and *Xenophon*, the same whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifest, and without dispute, that the King of the *Medes* commanded in chiefe, and was absolute Lord of that Conquest, *Cyrus* during his life, being no other then the Lieutenant of his Armie, and subiect to his authoritie; The strength of both Nations, to wit, the *Medes* and *Persians*, with other the Vassalls of *Darius*, being ioyned together to com-
10 pound it.

But it is very certaine that the honour of that great victorie ouer *Babylon* was wholly giuen to *Cyrus*, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himselie, not onely for his action, but for the deliuerie of his Church; a greater worke in the eyes of God, than the subuersion of any State or Monarchie, how powerfull soeuer.

And it may well be thought, that the Souldiers employed in that seruice did rather ascribe the glorie to him that was the best man of Warre, than to the *Median*, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling vpon *Cyrus* by succession, and continuing in his posteritie, did much augment the fame of his vertue, which among prophane Historians ouergrew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both becaufe he was old, and did nothing in person; as also becaufe hee soon after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was possessor of whatsoever belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any such King or Conquerour was carried farre off.

And for the Greeke Historians, they tooke all things from the relations of the *Persians*, who gaue to *Cyrus* all the praise of a most excellent Prince, making none his equall. Only *Daniel* in the first, fift, and sixt Chapters of his prophecies, makes it plaine, that himselie not onely liued a great Officer vnder King *Darius*, but that hee continued in that estate to the first of *Cyrus*; which being the yeere of *Daniels* death, could not haue bene distinguished from the raigne of *Darius*, if they had begunne together and reigned ioynly; Neither can it bee imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdome by *Cyrus* permission, considering that *Cyrus* beganne after him.

§ III.

XENOPHONS relation of the Warre with the *Medes* and *Persians*, made with ioynnt forces vpon the *Assyrians*, and others.



These Testimonies of the Scriptures, which neede no other confirmation, yet made more open to our vnderstanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of these warres: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Assyrian* had enlarged his Empire with victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countries, hee beganne to hope that if the *Medes* could be brought vnder his subiection, there should not then be left any Nation adioyning able to make head against him. For the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the field threecore thousand foote, and about tenne thousand horse, to which the forces of *Persia* being ioyned, made an exceeding strong Armie.

The *Assyrian* considering the strength of such a Neighbour, inuited *Craesus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mightie both in men and treasure, and with him other
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Lords of *Asia* the lesse to his assistance, alleging that those Easterne Nations were very powerfull, and so firmly conioyned by league and many alliances, that it would not bee easie, no nor possible, for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements strengthened with great presents, he drew to himselfe so many adherents as he compounded an Armie of two hundred thousand foot, and threescore thousand horse, of which, ten thousand horse, and fortie thousand foote were led by *Crasus*, who had great cause of enmitie with the *Medes*, in regard of the Warre made by them against his Father *Alyattes*; But this great Armie was by *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* generall of the *Persian* forces, utterly broken; Vpon which defeat the *Assyrian* King being also slaine, so many of the *Assyrians* revolted, as *Babylon* it selfe could not longer be assured without the succours of Mercenaries, waged with great summes of money out of *Asia* the lesse, *Egypt*, and elsewhere. Which new gathered forces were also scattered by *Cyrus*, who following his advantage, posselt himselfe of a great part of the lesse *Asia*, at which time it was, as I take it, that *Crasus* himselfe was also made prisoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following soone after, the Armie lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his sisters sonne, prevailed against *Balthazar*, as in due time shall be set downe.

Those *Persians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him leuied, are numbred thirtie thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the 20 common sort were Archers, or such as vsed the Dart and the Sling. So farre *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in *Cyrus* the paternie of a most Heroicall Prince, with much Poeticall addition: So it cannot be denyed, but that the bulke and grosse of his Narration was founded vpon mere Historiicall truth.

Neither can it indeed bee affirmed of any the like Writer, that in every speech and circumstance he hath precisely tyed himselfe to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his owne inuention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Morall and Politique discourse, and examining but the Historie of things 30 done, it will easily appeare, that *Xenophon* hath handled his vnder-taken subiect in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof, hee hath not in any sort corrupted the bodie.

§. III.

The estate of the *Medes* and *Persians* in times fore-going this great Warre.



Or it is commonly agreed vpon, that *Achamenes* the sonne of *Perfes* 40 being Governour of *Persia*, did associate himselfe with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media* in that rebellion against *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victorie obtained, held for himselfe the Dominion of those Countries, which he had formerly ruled for the *Assyrians*; as also that they conueyed ouer the same honor and power to their posteritie; which in *Media* was not absolutely Regall, but with some restraint limited, vntill such time as *Deioces* tooke vpon him the full authoritie and maiestie of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the raigne of *Deioces*, are vsually accounted about an hundred and forty yeeres, in the last fixtie whereof there reigned in *Assyria* mightie Princes, namely *Salmanasser* and his Successours, whose great atchieuements in *Syria* 50 and elsewhere witnesseth, that the *Medes* and *Persians* found it not for their aduantage to vnder-take any offensive warre against those victorious Kings, it being also probable that the league continued as yet betweene these the successours of *Belochus*, and *Arbaces*, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now

Now from the beginning of *Deioces* to the first of *Alyattes*, there past about ninetie yeeres, in which if *Herodotus* haue written truly, that *Phraortes* conquered *Persia*, and how he and other the Kings of *Media* by many victories greatly enlarged their dominions, and commanded many parts of *Asia*, it had bene but an vnadvised enterprize of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, to haue wasted themselves against the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, leauing so able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the *Medes* had done nothing vpon the South parts of *Persia*, and that the *Persians* themselves were not masters of *Susiana* in *Nabuchodonosors* time, it is manifest in *Daniel*, who was then Governour for the *Babylonian* in *Susa* or *Susan*, the chiefe Citie thereof. It is true indeed, that the *Medians*, either vnder *Cyaxares* or *Alyattes*, or both, had quarrell with *Habylates* the father of *Crasus*, which after some fixe yeeres dispute was compounded.

How the affaires of *Persia* stood in so many ages, I doe not find any memorie. It seemeth that the roughnesse of the mountainous Countrey which they then posselt, with the confederacie which they continued with the *Medes*, gaue them more securitie than fame: For if their Kings, being the posteritie of *Achamenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatnesse which they afterward obtained would not haue suffered any forgetfulness thereof. But as we find all *Xenophons* reports, both of these Warres and the state of those Countreies to be very consonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, so it appeares, 20 that the race of *Achamenes* held the Principalltie of *Persia* from father to sonne for many descents. And therefore we may better giue credit to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyes* the father of *Cyrus* was King of *Persia*: than to those that make him a meane man, and say, that *Alyattes* gaue him his daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her sonne (whose naturitie he feared) might be disabled from any great vnder-taking by his fathers ignobilitie.

For what cause of griefe could it be to *Alyattes*, that the sonne of his daughter should become Lord of the best part of *Asia*? No; it was more likely, that vpon such a Prophecie his loue to his grand-child should haue encreased, and his care 30 bene the greater to haue married her to some Prince of strength and eminent vertue.

Yea, the same *Herodotus*, who is the first Author, and as I thinke the deuiler of the mischief intended against *Cyrus* by his grandfather, doth confesse, That the line of the *Achamenides* was foreknown, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his prosperitie did thence deriue himselfe, and vaunt of it: which he would neuer haue done, had they bene ignoble, nor had they been the vassalls of any other King or Monarch.

For in this sort *Xerxes* in the seuenth of *Herodotus* deriueth himselfe.

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Achamenes.
Cambyes.
Cyrus.
Tuissens.
Ariaramnes.
Achamenes.
Hystaspes.
Darius.
Xerxes.

50 Of the *Achamenides* there were two races: of the first was *Cyrus* the great, whose issue male fayled in his two sonnes, *Cambyes* and *Smerdis*. This royall familie is thus set downe by the learned *Reinccius*.

Cccc 3

Achamenes;

Achemenes, the sonne of *Perfes*, first King of *Persia*.

Darius.

Cyrus, the first of that name, had *Cambyfes* and *Atossa*, who, married to *Pharnaces*, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artysena* and other daughters.

Cambyfes had

Cyrus the Great, *Cyrus* had

Cambyfes, who succeeded him, and *Smerdis* slaine by his brother *Cambyfes*.

Of the second were those seven great Princes of *Persia*, who hauing ouerthrowne the vsurped royaltie of the *Magi*, chose from among themselves *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes* King.

This Kingdome of *Persia* was first knowne by the name of *Elam*, so called after *Elam* the sonne of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamites*; by *Elianus*, *Elymae*; by *Iosephus*, *Elymi*.

Suidas deriues this Nation sometimes from *Assur*, sometime from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Magusai*; which *Magusai*, according to *Eusebius*, are not to be taken for the Nation in generall, but for those who were afterward called the *Magi* or Wise men. So doe the *Greekes*, among many other their sayings of them, 20 affirme, That the *Persians* were anciently written *Artai*, and that they called themselves *Cephenes*. But that they were *Elamites*, *Moses* and the Prophets, *Esaie*, *Ieremie*, *Ezechiel*, *Daniel*, and *Esdra*s in many places confirme: Which also *S. Hierome* vpon *Ieremie* the five and twentieth, vpon *Daniel* the eight and twentieth, and in his Hebrew questions approueth, saying: *Elam à quo Elamites Principes Persidis*; *ELAM*, of whom were the *Elamites* Princes of *Persia*.

And that Citie which the Author of the second booke of the *Maccabees* calleth *Persepolis*, is by the Author of the first called *Elimais*, but is now called *Siras*, being the same which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vaine, and to his great dishonour. And yet this Citie, now called *Siras*, was not the 30 old *Persepolis*; for *Alexander*, at the request of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

The first King of *Persia* to vs knowne, if wee follow the current of Authors interpreting the foureteenth chapter of *Genesis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who liued with *Amraphel* or *Ninias*, and ioyned with him in the warre against those *Arabians*, who was afterward extinguished by the forces of *Abraham*.

Gen. 14.

2. Mac. 9.
1. Mac. 6.

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CHAP.

CHAP. III.

OF CYRVS.

§. I.

Of CYRVS his name and first actions.



Stouching the name of *Cyrus*, *Strabo* sayth, That the same was taken from a Riuer which watereth *Persia*, this great Prince hauing *Agradatus* for his proper name. But the great *Cyrus* was not the first of that name. *Herodotus* other wife; and that *Cyrus* signifieth 10 a father in the *Persian* Tongue, and therefore so intituled by the people.

It is true that for his Iustice and other excellent vertues he was indeed called a Father; but that the name of *Cyrus* had any such signification, I thinke it be mistaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to say as the 20 Sunne, in the same Language. Howsoever it be, yet the Prophet *Esaie*, almost two hundred yeeres before *Cyrus* was borne, giues him that name, Thus saith the Lord vnto CYRVS his Anointed, &c.

Before the Conquest of *Babylon*, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which, the Conquest of *Lydia*, and other Prouinces thereto subiect, together with the taking of *Croesus* himselfe, are not recounted by *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and others, but placed among his latter achievements, whose opinion for 30 this difference of time is founded vpon two reasons; namely, That of the *Median* there is no mention in that last warre against *Croesus*: and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad, and the glorious victory which *Cyrus* had ouer *Babylon*, to the five and fiftieth Olympiad.

The former of which might haue bene vsed (and was by the *Greekes*) to exclude the *Medes* from the honour of hauing wonne *Babylon* it selfe, which in due place I haue answered. The latter seemes to haue reference to the second Warre which *Cyrus* made vpon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; at which time hee so established his former Conquest, as after that time those Nations neuer offered to revolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to beleue with *Herodotus*, whome the 40 most of Chronologers follow, and finde the enterprise of *Sardis* to preceede that of *Babylon*.

§. II.

Of CROESVS the King of Lydia, who made warre vpon CYRVS.



Haue in the last Booke spoken somewhat of *Croesus*, of his race and predecessors, as also of those Kings which gouerned *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the first (to prophane Authors knowne) was *Lydius* the sonne of *Alys*: Which familie extinguished the Kingdome was by an Oracle conferred vpon *Argon*, descended from *Hercules*, wherof there were two and twentie generations, *Candaules* being the last, who by shewing his faire wife naked to *Gyges* his fauorite, he was by the same *Gyges* 50 (thereto

(thereto vrged vpon perill of his owne life by the Queene) the next day slaine. Which done, *Gyges* enioyed both the Queene and the Kingdome of *Lydia*, and left the same to *Atys* his sonne, who was father to *Sadyattes*, the father of *Halyattes* (who thrust the *Cimerians* out of *Asia*) and *Halyattes* begat *Craesus*: Which five Kings, of a third race, enioyed that Kingdome an hundred and seuentie yeeres. *Halyattes* the father of *Craesus* was an vndertaking Prince, and after hee had continued a warre against *Cyaxares* the *Median*, a Prince very powerfull, and maintained it six yeeres: a peace was concluded vpon equall conditions betweene them.

Atyages, the sonne of *Cyaxares*, and grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himselfe greatly honoured by obtaining *Arenis*, *Craesus* sister, whom he married. 10

But *Craesus* so farre enlarged his dominions after his fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territorie to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were foure in effect of equall strength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Egyptian* and the *Lydian*: onely *Nabuchodonosor*, after he had ioyned *Phoenicia*, *Palestina*, and *Egypt* to his Empire, had thence-forward no competitor during his owne life.

But *Craesus*, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrel of the *Babylonians*, he yet mastered *Aolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*, Provinces posselt by the *Greekes* in *Asia* the lesse, adioyning to *Lydia*; gaue law to the *Phrygians*, *Bituminians*, *Carians*, *Mysians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. And that he also inforst the *Ephesians* to acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their Citie with *Dianes* girde, *Herodotus* witnesseth. Moreover, *Athenes* out of *Berosus* (which also *Strabo* confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victorie which *Craesus* obtained against the *Sacians*, a Nation of the *Scythians*, in memorie whereof the *Babylonians* his allies did ycerely celebrate a Feast, which they called *Sacae*: All which hee performed in foureteene yeere.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and enuious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting also, that his prosperous vndertakings might in the ende grow perillous to himselfe, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollon*, whom he presented with marvellous rich gifts, what successe he might hope for against *Cyrus*, if 30 he vnderooke him: from whom he receiued this riddle; *Craesus* passing ouer the *Riuer Halys*, shall dissolve a great dominion. For the diuell being doubtfull of the successe, payed him with marchandize of both sides like, and might be inuerted either way to the ruine of *Persia*, or of his owne *Lydia*.

§ III.

Craesus his Expedition against CYRVS.



Ereupon *Craesus* being resolved to stop the course of *Cyrus* fortunes, 40 if he could, despite all the arguments vled by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who desired him to fore-thinke, That he vrged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region, a people not covered with the soft filke of wormes, but with the hard skinnies of beasls; not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; ouer whom if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himselfe in nothing but fame, in which he alreadie excelled: and if by them beaten, and subiect, so great would his losse appeare of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceived. 50

Notwithstanding this solide Counsaile, *Craesus* hauing prepared a powerfull armie, he led the same towards *Media*, but in his passage, he was arrested at *Pterium*, a Citie of great strength in *Cappadocia*; which while he sought by all meanes to surpriue or to force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That each

each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I doe not finde: for out of doubt, *Craesus* as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and abilitie, so was hee not vnder any in territorie and fame that then liued.

But as *Cratippus* of *Mitylene* answered *Pompey* when he complained against the gods, because they fauoured a disturber and vlturper of the Commonweale against him who fought for the Romane libertie, That Kingdomes and Commonweales had their encrease and period from diuine Ordinance: so at this time was the Winter of *Craesus* prosperitie at hand, the leaues of his flourishing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not 10 *Admetis* *Herdman*, *Apollo*, had giuen date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of diuers skirmishes, the *Persians* and *Lydians* beganne to ioine in grosse troupes: supplies from both Kings thrust vpon vpon the falling off, and aduancement of either Nation: and as the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the day, so when the darke vaile of night had hidden each armie from the others view, *Craesus* doubting what successe the rising Sunne would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all speede possible rettyred, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his first Citie and Regall Seat, without any pursuite made by *Cyrus* to retard 20 him. Where being arriued, and nothing suspeting *Cyrus* approach, or any other warre for that Winter, he dismissed the souldiers, and sent the troupes of his sundry Nations to their owne Prouinces, appointing them to reassemble at the end of five moneths, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the warre at the time appointed.

§. IIII.

The Conquest of Lydia by CYRVS.

30 **C**YRVS in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his armie in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heeles, as to bediscouered. But hauing good intelligence of *Craesus* his proceeding, hee so measured his Marches, as he presented not himselfe before *Sardis*, till such time as *Craesus* had disposed his armie to their Wintering garrisons: when being altogether vnlooked for, and vnfeared, he surrounded *Sardis* with his Armie: Wherein *Craesus* hauing no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinary Gards, after foureteene dayes sicge the same was entred by assault, and all executed that resisted. *Craesus* hauing now neither armes to fight, nor wings to flye, *Sardis* being on all parts strongly encompassed, 40 thrust himselfe into the heape and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had vndergone the common fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a sonne of his, who had beene dumbe all his life (by extremitie of passion and feare enabled) cried out to the souldiers to spare *Craesus*. Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, depoyled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and set on the top of a great and high heape of wood, to be consumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was set and kindled, remembering the discourse which he had with the Athenian Law-giuer, he thrice cryed out on his name, *Solon*, *Solon*, *Solon*: and being demanded what he meant by that inuocation he first vled silence: but vrged againe, he told them, That he now found it true. 50 *Solon* had long since told him, That many men in the race and courses of their liues might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discern himselfe for happy in deede, till his end.

Of which answer *Cyrus* being speedily informed, remembering the changes of fortune and his owne mortalitie, he commanded his ministers of Iustice to withdraw

In communi calamitate
suum quisque habet fortunam.
Cuius.
Memoriam vultus perimit: et non vocis est immensum.
Salm. c. 7.

Homo qui in homine calamitose infelicior est, minus est infelix.

draw the fire with all diligence to saue *Craesus*, and to conduct him to his presence; Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perswaded him? Or what selfe reason had conducted him to invade his territorie, and to make him of a friend an enemy? To whom he thus answered, It was thy prosperous and my vnprosperous destinie (the *Græcian* God flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inueters and conductors of *Craesus* warre against *Cyrus*.

Cyrus being pierst with *Craesus* answere, and bewailing his estate, though victorious ouer it, did not onely spare his life, but entertained him euier after as a King and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed, *Quæ non causam sed fortunam spectat.*

And herein is the reall difference discerned betwene that behavior which wee call *Beneficium latronis*, & *gratiam Principis*: A theefe sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but vnusually: A King that giueth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his owne euill.

The report made by *Xenophon* is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertaine *Craesus* at the first sight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* deliuereth, and is here already set downe, that hee should haue bene burnt aliue. It may well bee, that *Xenophon* portraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroicall Prince, thought an intent so cruell fitter to be forgotten than rehearsed, as too much misbecoming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that neere esse of alliance might with-hold *Cyrus* (had he bene other-²⁰ wise vicious) from so cruell a purpose against his grandmothers brother. Howsoeuer it was, the Morall part of the storie hath giuen credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it passe for currant, though the trust reposed in *Craesus* afterwards may seeme to argue, that *Cyrus* did not vse him inhumanely at the first.

For as *Herodotus* himselfe telleth vs, when *Cyrus* past with his armie ouer *Araxes* into *Sythia*, he left *Craesus* to accompanie and aduise his sonne *Cambyses*, Governour of the Empire in his absence, with whom he liued all the time of *Cyrus*, and did after ward follow *Cambyses* into *Egypt*, where he hardly escaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was I doe not finde.

But in this time the races of three of the greatest Kings in that part of the world tooke end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and *Lydians*; in *Balthasar*, *Cyxares*, and *Craesus*.

ð. V.

How *CYRUS* wonne *Babylon*.



After this *Lydian* warre ensued the great Conquest of *Babylon*, which ⁴⁰ gaue vnto *Cyrus* an Empire so large and mighty, that he was iustly reputed the greatest Monarch then liuing vpon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action tooke vp, it is vncertaine; onely it seemes, that tenne whole yeeres did passe betwene his taking those two Cities of *Sardes* & *Babylon*, which neuertheless I doe not thinke to haue bene wholly occupied in prouision for the *Assyrian* warre, but rather to haue bene spent in settling the Estate which hee had already purchased. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Ctesias* hath in his fragments of a warre made by *Cyrus* vpon the *Sythians*, though related as foregoing the victory obtained against *Craesus*. He telleth vs, That *Cyrus* invaded *Sythia*, and being victorious ouer that Nation, tooke *Amorges* their King prisoner: but being in a second battaile ouerthrowne by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, and therein taken, the one King was deliuered for the other.

Likewise it may be thought, that no small part of those troubles which arose in the

the lower *Asia*, grew loone after the departure of the victorious armie, before the Conquest was fully established.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Asia* the lesse, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Craesus*, and now by *Cyrus*, reuolted from him; against whom he employed *Pactias*, and then *Harpagus*, who first reduced the *Phœnicians* vnder their former obedience: and then the rest of the *Greekes* inhabiting *Asia* the lesse, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Eolians*, and *Lycians*, who resolutely (according to the strength they had) defended themselves. But in the attempt vpon *Babylon* it selfe it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, hauing taken order before-hand, that nothing should be able to diuert him, or to raise that sieg, and make frustrate the worke vpon which he did set all his rest. And great reason there was, that he should bend all his care and strength vnto the taking of that Citie, which befide the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was so strongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, and surrounded with waters vntoodable, so plentifully vntoaled for many yeeres, that the inhabitants were not onely free from all doubt and feare of their estate, but despised and derided all purposes and power of their besiegers.

The onely hope of the *Medes* and *Persians*, who despaired of carrying by assault a Citie so well fortified and manned, was in cutting off all supplies of victuals and other necessities; whereof though the Towne was said to be stored sufficiently for more than twentie yeeres, yet might it well be deemed, that in such a world of people as dwelt within those gates, one great want or other would sooner appeare, and vanquish the resolution of that vnwarlike multitude. In expecting the successe of this course, the besiegers were likely to endure much traualle, and all in vaine, if they did not keepe straight watch and strong guards vpon all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the vast circuit of those walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficiently assured vnto their Commander: The consideration whereof mislited vnto the *Babylonians* matter of good pastime, when they saw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their Towne to keepe them in, who hauing bene their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to ioyne with them, if occasion were offered, than to vse much diligence on the behalfe of *Cyrus*, who had, as it were, yesterday laid vpon their neckes the galling yoke of seruitude. Whilest the besieged were pleasing themselves in this deceitfull gladnesse, that is the ordinarie fore-runner of suddaine calamitie; *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made strong, constant, and inuentiue, deuised by so many channels and trenches as were sufficient and capable of *Euphrates*, to draw the same from the walls of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and assured: which when by the labour of many hands hee had performed, hee flayed the time ⁴⁰ of his aduantage for the execution: for hee had left certaine banks or heads vncut, betwene the maine riuier which surrounded the Citie, and his owne Trenches.

Now *Balthasar*, finding neither any want or weaknesse within, nor any possibility of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding sumptuous feast, publike Playes, and other Pastimes, and thereto invited a thousand of his Princes or Nobilitie, besides his wiues, curtizans, and others of that trade. This hee did either to let the besiegers know, that his provisions were sufficient, not onely for all needfull vses, but euen for iolitic and exesse: Or because hee hoped that his enemies, vnder the burthen of many distresses were well neere broken, or in honour of ⁵⁰ *Bel* his most reuerenced Idoll: Or that it was his birth or coronation day: Or for many or all these respects. And he was not contented with such magnificence as no Prince else could equall, but (vsing *Daniels* words) he lifted himselfe up against the Lord of Heauen: For hee and his Princes, wiues and concubines, made carowling cuppes of the Vessels of God, in contempt of whom hee praised his owne puppets, made

made of silver and Gold, of Brasse, of Iron, Wood, and Stone, *Quanta fuit stultitia in vestibus aureis bibentes lignos & lapideos Deos laudare; How great a foolishness was it* (sayth S. Hierome) *drinking in golden Cuppes, to praise Gods of Wood and Stone.* While *Balthazar* was in this sort triumphing, and his braines well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by diuine power wrote on the wall opposite vnto him certain words which he vnderstood not: wherewith so great a feare and amazement seized him, as the ioynts of his loynes were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other. Which passion when he had in some part recovered, he cryed out for his *Chaldeans, Astrologians, and Southsayers*, promising them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the Kingdome to him that could reade and expound the writing; but it exceeded their art. In this disturbance and astonishment the Queene hearing what had past, and of the Kings amazement, after reuerence done vsed this speech: *There is a man in thy Kingdome, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy father, light, and vnderstanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King NABUCHODONOSOR thy father, the King (I say) thy father made chiefe of the Incubators, Astrologians, Chaldeans, and Southsayers, because a more excellent spirit, and knowledge, and vnderstanding, &c. were found in him, then in DANIEL, &c. Now let DANIEL be called, and he will declare the interpretation.*

Orip. & Theod.
in Dan. 10. 10.
Dan. 10.

This Queene, *Iosephus* takes for the grandmother; *Origen* and *Theodoret* for the mother of *Balthazar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that there was 20 not any of the Kings wiues, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dauncing and banquetting, she came in vpon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his distraction: and whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others of younger yeeres and times, this old Queene remembered well what he had done in the dayes of *Nabuchodonosor*, grandfather to this *Balthazar*, and kept in mind both his religion and diuine gifts.

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honour, to reade and interpret those words miraculously written; to whom *Daniel* made answer in a farre different style from that he vsed towards his grandfather: for the euill which he foretold *Nabuchodonosor*, he wished that the same might befall his enemies, but to this King (whose neglect of God and vice he hated) he answered in these words, *Keep thy rewards to thy selfe, and giue thy gifts to another, yet will I reade the writing vnto the King, and shew him the interpretation:* Which before he had performed, he gaue him first the cause of Gods iust judgement against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence; whereof the King and all his Wifemen were vnterly ignorant: Which being written at large in *Daniel*, bath this effect, That forgetting Gods goodnesse to his father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefites, as he deprived him of his estate and vnderstanding; so vpon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite 40 power he restored him to both. This King notwithstanding lifted himselfe vp against the same God, and presumed both to abuse those vessels, dedicated to holy uses, and neglecting the Lord of all power, prayed and worshipped the dead Idols of Gold, Silver, Brasse, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those wordes, from the Oracle of a true God deliuered, (to wit) *Mene Tekel, Spharism,* gaue the King knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his Kingdome, and finished it: That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods justice, and found too light; and that his Empire was diuided and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*.

The very euening or night of this day, wherein *Balthazar* feasted and perished, *Cyrus* either by his espiall, according to *Xenophon*, or inspired by God himselfe, 50 wofe ensigne he followed in this warre, found the time and opportunitie to inuite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobilitie were no lesse filled with the vapours of wine, than their hearts were with the feare of Gods judgement, he cauled all the bankes and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut downe

down with that diligence, as by them he drew the great Riuers of *Euphrates* drie for the present, by whose channell running, his armie made their entrance, finding none to disturbe them. All the Towne lay buried (as the Poet saith) in sleepe and wine: such as came in the *Persians* way, were put to the sword, vnlesse they saued themselves by flight, as some did, who ranne away crying, and filling the streets with an vncertaine tumult.

Such *Affiryan* Lords as had reuolted from *Balthazar*, and betaken themselves to the partie of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a selected companie to the Kings Palace; which hauing easily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the King with his 10 Princes were banquetting, slew both him and them without any mercie, who struggled in vaine to keepe those liues which God had newly threatened to take away. And now was the prophetic of *Jeremie* fulfilled, & that of *Ezay*, two hundred yeeres before this subuersion, who in his thirce & fortieth Chapter, and elswhere, writeth this destruction so feelingly and liuely, as if he had beene present both at the terrible slaughter committed, and had scene the great and vnfeared change and calamitie of this great Empire; yea, and had also heard the sorrowes and bewailings of every suruiuing soule thereunto subiect. His prophesie of this place he beginneth in these words: *Come downe, and sit in the dust, O virgine daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no throne, &c.* And againe, *Sit still and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called the Lady of Kingdomes.* For though it cannot be doubted, that God vsed *Nabuchodonosor* & the *Chaldeans*, to punish the idolatrie of the *Iudeans*, yet *Ezay* teacheth vs in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his iudgements was mixt with a rigorous extremite. For (saith *Ezay*) in the person of God, *I was wrath with my people, I haue polluted mine inheritance, and giuen them into thine hand: thou shalt shew them no mercie, but thou shalt lay thy very heauie yoke vpon the ancient. I will rise vp against them, saith the Lord of Hosts, and will cut off from Babel the name and the remnant, and the sonne and the nephew. And in the thirteenth, Every one that is found, shall be stricken thorow: and whosoener ioyneth himselfe, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their 30 eyes, their houses spoiled, and their mines ranshed.* So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victorie of *Cyrus*, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leaue the fame to posteritie after it happened, than *Ezay* hath done in many places of his prophesies, which were written two hundred yeeres before any thing attempted.

The greatnesse and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by diuers graue Authors set downe, might seeme altogether fabulous: for besides the reports of Saint *Hierome*, *Salinus*, and *Orosius*, *Aristotle* in the third of his *Politiques*, the second Chapter, receiued the report for true, That one part of the Citie knew not that the rell was taken three daies after. Which is not impossible, if the testimony of 40 *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who findes the compass thereof at three hundred and threescore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes five and fortie miles: the walls whereof had so great a breadth, as fixe chariots might passe in front thereon. And of height, according to *Ctesias* and *Clitarcus*, three hundred threescore and five foot, garnished with an hundred and fiftie Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his sixteenth Booke of Geographic giues it a greater circuit, adding five and twentie furlongs more to the former compass, reckoning the fame at three hundred fourescore and five furlongs, which makes eight and fortie mile and one furlong: but findes the wall farre vnder that which *Diodor* reports: and so doth *Curtius* measure their thicknesse but at two and thirtie foot, and their height at an hundred cubits; which is also very much: every cubite containing a foot and halfe 50 of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the Citie hee giues the same with *Siculus*, and eight furlongs more. *Herodotus* findes a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, foure hundred and fourescore furlongs in circle; the thicknesse

100. c. 27.
Ezay. 47.

Cap. 47.
Id. 24.

Towit, Euilmerodach and Balthazar.

Diod. 13.

Id. d. d. d. thicknesse

Her. l. 1.
E. p. 4. 7. 8.
6. 13.

nesse of the wall he measures at fiftie cubits, and the height at two hundred of the same regall cubit. For entrance it had an hundred gates of Brasse, with poits and hookes to hang them on of the same metall: and therefore did the Prophet Esay rightly intitle *Babylon*, The Princesse and glorie of Kingdomes.

But when *Cyrus* had wonne her, he stript her out of her princely Robes, and made her a slave, dividing not only all her goodly houses, and her whole Territorie, with all the riches therein contained, among his souldiers: but bestowing the inhabitants themselves as bondslaves upon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Touching the raigne of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enjoyed in rest and pleasure, I can say no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to have lasted onely seven yeeres: in which time he made such Constitutions, as differ little from the Ordinances of all wise Kings that are desirous to establish a Royal power in themselves and their posteritie.

§. VI.

The end of *CYRVS*.

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His last warre, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diversly written. *Herodotus* and *Iustine* delivier, That after the Conquest of *Asia* the lesse *Cyrus* invaded the *Massagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, governed by *Tomyris* their Queene: and that in an encounter betwene the *Persians* and these Northerne *Nomades*, *Tomyris* lost her Armie, and her Sonne *Spargapiser*, that commanded it: In revenge whereof, this Queene making new levies of men of warre, and following the warre against *Cyrus*, in a second battaile beat the *Persian* armie, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his body, and cast the same into a boule of bloud, vying these wordes; *Thou that hast all thy lifetime thirsted for bloud, now drinke thy fill, and satisfie thy selfe*.

It should hereby seeme, that *Cyrus* knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was perswaded to abate their furie by some forcible inuasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Syaxares*, father to *Astyages*, those *Scythians* invaded *Media* and *Asia* the lesse, and held the same in a servile subiection eight and twentie yeeres.

This warre which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, lasted (saith he) sixe yeeres, and tooke end at the death of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I beleue with *Vigener*, that this *Scythian* warre was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the *Sacians*, before the Conquest of *Lydia*, according to *Ctesias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, though he delivier the successe of that warre otherwise then *Herodotus* doth: The rather (saith *Vigener*) because *Strabo* in his eleventh booke reciteth, That *Cyrus* surprised the *Sacians* by the same stratageme by which *Iustine* saith, he defeated the sonne of *Tomyris*. And the same *Ctesias* also reporteth, That the last warre which *Cyrus* made was against *Amorhians*, King of the *Derbicians* a Nation (as the rest) of *Scythia*; whom though he overcame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he suffered three dayes after.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried in his owne Citie of *Pasagardes*, which himselfe had build, and where his Epitaph was to be read in his time; which is said to have bene this: *O vir quicunque es, ex undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoravi: Ego sum CYRVS qui Persiam imperium constitui, possum hoc terra quo meum tegitur corpus mihi invidias; O thou man, who soever thou art, or whence soever thou*

Vig. prim. part.
lib.

Ctes. l. 15. hist.
part.

Strab. l. 15.

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thou comest; for I was not ignorant that thou shouldst come: I am *CYRVS* that founded the *Persian* Empire, doe not envie unto me this little earth, with which my bodie is covered.

This Tombe was opened by *Alexander*, as *Qu. Curtius* reporteth, either upon hope of treasure, supposed to have bene buried with him, or upon desire to honour his dead body with certaine ceremonies; in which there was found an olde rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bowes, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his bodie lay, *Alexander* caused to be covered with his owne garment, and a Crowne of gold to be set vpon it. These things well considered, as they give credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, so they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaues his bodie in the hands of *Tomyris*.

And surely, had *Cyrus* lost the Armie of *Persia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely, that his sonne would so soone have transported all his remaining forces into *Aegypt*, so far off from that quarter: the *Scythian* Nation then victorious, and bordering *Media*; neither had *Cambyses* bene able in such haste to have vnderaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather beleue *Xenophon*, saying, That *Cyrus* died aged and in peace: and that finding in himselfe, that hee could not long enjoy the world, hee called vnto him his Nobilitie, with his two sonnes, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*; or after *Xenophon*, *Tauanaxares*: and after a long Oration, wherein he assured himselfe, and taught others, of the immortalitie of the Soule, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deservings of euerie man in this life; he exhorted his sonnes by the strongest arguments hee had, to a perpetuall concord and agreement. Many other things hee vttered, which make it probable, that hee received the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when hee governed *Susa* in *Persia*; and that *Cyrus* himselfe had read the prophetic of *Ezay*, wherein hee was expressly named, and by God (for the delivrie of his people) praordained. Which act of delivring the *Jewes* from their Captiuitie, and of restoring the holy Temple and Citie of *Ierusalem*, was in true consideration the noblest worke that euer *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions he was an instrument of Gods power, vsed for the chastising of many Nations, and the establishing of a Governement in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the grace to be an instrument of Gods goodnesse, and a willing advancer of his Kingdome vpon earth; which must last for euer, though heauen and earth shall perish.

§. VII.

Of *CYRVS* his decree for building the Temple of God in *Ierusalem*.

Having therefore spoken of his great victories, mentioned by sundry Historians, the glory of all which was as a reward of this his seruice done vnto him that was Author of them and of all goodnesse: I hold it meete at length to speake of the Decree made in the first of his Raigne, being perhaps the first that euer he made, after his possession of the *Babylonian* Empire: That the captive *Jewes* should returne againe into their owne Territorie, and re-build the House of God in *Ierusalem*, hauing now endured and finished the three score and tenne yeeres captiuitie, by the Prophets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, hee gaue order to his Treasurers to furnish them with all things necessarie and wanting. Hee also restored vnto them fiew thousand foure hundred three score and nine Vessels of Gold and Silver, whereof *Nabuchodonosor*, the grandfather of *Balthazar*, had formerly robbed the Temple.

Dddd 2

The

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1. Esdras.
2. Esdras.
3. Esdras.

1. Esdras.
2. Esdras.
3. Esdras.

Esdras.
1. Esdras.
2. Esdras.

Esdras.
1. Esdras.
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Esdras.
1. Esdras.
2. Esdras.

Esdras.
1. Esdras.
2. Esdras.

Esdras.
1. Esdras.
2. Esdras.

The number of the *Jewes* which returned out of *Chaldea* vnder their leader *Zorobabel*, the sonne of *Salathiel*, and nephew to King *Iecanias*, and *Iefus* or *Iofua* the sonne of *Iofadab*, were about fiftie thousand; where, as soone as they arrived, they built an Altar to the living God, and sacrificed thereon, according to their owne Law, and afterward bethought themselves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

But no sooner did the *Jewes* begin to lay any one stone, than the *Samaritanes* and other idolatrous Nations adjoining gave all the impediment they could. So did the Governours of those Provinces vnder *Cyrus* altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no sort favoured the *Jewes*, nor the labours and purposes they had in hand. And not onely those which were but Prouinciall Lieutenants and other officers of lesse place, but *Cambyfes* himselfe; who hauing the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was busied otherwise, countermanded the building begun. And whereas some Authors make doubt, that whatsoeuer *Cambyfes* did when himselfe had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no such impediment or prohibition: They may herein resolute themselves out of *Esdras*, That by the conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations the building was hindered all the time of King *Cyrus* life, &c. And therefore it is true, that the *Jewes* themselves as firme as it written in the second of *Iohn*, That the Temple was fixe and fortie yeeres in setting vp, hauing receiued so many hinderances from the first foundation to the second of *Darius*.

And if wee seeke the naturall and politique causes which moued *Cambyfes* to withstand his fathers decree, as well while he gouerned vnder him, as when himselfe became sole and oueraigne Monarch, we shall finde them in that Epistle remembered by *Esdras*, written by *Seleucus*, *Mithridates*, and the rest, Presidents and Counsellors in *Phoenicia*, wherein they complaine, that the *Jewes* were euermore rebellious & troublers of Kings; that their Citie being once built, they would then refuse to pay Tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings.

But that which for that present seemed the most forcible impediment was, that *Cambyfes*, hauing it in his resolution to invade *Egypt*, and that it was a common opinion, That the *Jewes* were descended of those Nations, because they issued thence vnder *Moses*, when they conquered *Iudaa*; their Citie being once repaired and fortified, they might returne to their old vomit, and giue the same disturbance to *Cambyfes* Conquest, which they did to *Senacherib*, *Nabuchodonosor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For as it is written in *Ezekiel*, *Egypt* was the confidence of the house of *Israel*.

But it is to be vnderstood, as *Codoman* and others haue obserued, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counsellors & Governours of *Phoenicia* complained against the *Jewes*, did not precede, but succeed *Darius Hyaspes*, as in the sixt and seuenth chapters of *Esdras* it is made plaine: and also that those Governours (whose Epistle sheweth as much) did not withstand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and inclosing of the Citie, as by the reasons giuen in the said Epistle, and by the Kings answer, it is euident.

Also in the sixt of *Ezra*, the foureteenth verse, the Kings are named in order as they gouerned, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius* as: And they built and finished it (to wit, the Temple) by the appointment of the God of *Israel*, and by the commandement of *Cyrus* and *Darius*, and *Artahshaste* King of *Persia*. Lastly, in the seuenteenth of *Ezra* it is written; Now after these things, in the raigne of *Artahshaste* King of *Persia*: which was as much to say as after the finishing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the second of *Esdras* is there named by anticipation, not in his owne time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the Citie and Temple of *Hiernusalem*. Which action though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pursued by

by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by *Cyrus*. The other ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his forme and manner of gouernment, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire vnto his eldest sonne *Cambyfes*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tauanaxas* his younger sonne to be *Satrapa* or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Cadusia*, and then died, after he had reigned (saith *Herodotus*) one and thirte yeeres, or (according to *Iulius*) but thirtie.

§. VIII.

Of *Cyrus*'s his issue: and whether *Atossa* were his daughter, or (as some thinke) were the same with *Queene Hester*.



Yrvis had issue two sonnes, *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atossa*, *Meroe*, and *Artysiona*: *Ctesias* addeth to these, *Amysis*. *Atossa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyfes* married; *Artysiona*, *Darius Hyaspes* obtained; so did he *Atossa*, *Cambyfes* being dead: who (as some Writers haue supposed) inflamed both her husbands *Darius*, & *Xerxes* after him, to invade *Greece*, to beaueged of the whole Nation for the cruell intent that *Aman* (whom the old translation calleth a *Macedonian*) had against the *Jewes* though the opinion of *Iosephus* be more probable, who findes *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to bee vnderstood, how *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, should haue bene *Esther*; whose Historie seemes rather to appertaine to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the sonne of *Hyaspes*, or of *Xerxes*. The desire of *Atossa* to haue *Greece* brought vnder the yoke of *Persia*, was partly grounded vpon the honour which thereby shee thought her husband might obtaine, partly vpon a feminine humor of getting many braue Dames, *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot giue assent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who vpon the neere sound of the two names, *Atossa* and *Hadassa* (by the latter of which *Esther* was also called) makes them to haue bene one person. For though it be true, that *Esther* concerning her parentage a while, might be taken for a great Ladie; yet *Codoman*'s inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare vnto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certaine it is, that *Esther* did at length discouer her Kindred and Nation; whereby if *Hyistories* could not be kept free from this error, yet the people, and especially the Nobilitie, must needs haue vnderstood the truth: who neuertheless did so well know the parentage of *Atossa*, that for her sake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her sonne *Xerxes* was preferred to the Kingdome before his elder brother, against whom also he could haue pretended a very weake clayme. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. I III.

The estate of things from the death of CYRVS to
the Raigne of DARIVS.

§. I.

Of the number and names of the Persian Kings.



Of the successors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the Persian Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metaſthenes*, who hath numbred the Persian Kings and their times, as followeth.

Darius Medus, and <i>Cyrus</i> jointly	2	
<i>Cyrus</i> alone.	22	
Priscus <i>Artaxerxes</i> .	20	
Darius Longimanus.	37	
Darius Nothus.	19	years. 20
Artaxerxes Mnemon.	55	
Artaxerxes Ochus.	26	
Artas, or Arſames.	4	
Darius the last, conquered by Alexander.	6	

To which *Philogreeth*; which number of yeeres added, make in all an hundred ninetie and one. But in this Catalogue *Metaſthenes* hath left out *Cambyſes* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Aſſuerus* for the immediate ſucceſſor of *Cyrus*; in place (ſaith *Melancthon*) of *Darius* the ſonne of *Hyſtaſpes*: for *Metaſthenes*, as *Melancthon* coniectureth, doth not account *Cambyſes* in the Catalogue, becauſe his 30
raigne was conſounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a ſecond opinion, though ridiculous, of *Seder Olam*, who finds but foure Persian Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, *Schubert*, and *Beroaldus* haue alſo a differing account from the *Greekes*; whom neuertheleſſe *Eufebius* and moſt of the Latines follow, and ſo doth *Xrentzheim*, who hath fully answered, and as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from that account: For in this fort doe the *Greekes* marſhall the Persian Kings with the times of their raignes.

Chron. Xrentzheim 35.

Melancthon gives *Cyrus* but 29.

Melancthon but 20

Melancthon but 40

Melancthon 26.

Melancthon 44

<i>Cyrus</i> inall.	30	
<i>Cambyſes</i> , with the Magi.	8	
Darius <i>Hyſtaſpes</i> .	21	
<i>Xerxes</i>	26	
Artaxerxes Longimanus.	40	yeeres. 40
Darius Nothus.	19	
Artaxerxes Mnemon.	43	
Artaxerxes Ochus.	23	
Arſames.	3	
Darius the laſt.	6	

Which numbers, put together, make in all two hundred and thirtie. 50

This account (as I haue ſaid) the moſt Chronologers and the beſt learned approve. Theſe Persian Princes being all warranted by the authoritie of the Scriptures, as *Pencer* in his hitoricall Animaduerciſions hath gathered the places; finding
firſt

firſt *Cyrus* in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, chap. 36. verſ. 22, 23. *Ezra* 1. chap. 1. verſ. 1. and often elſewhere.

Secondly *Cambyſes* in the 11th of *Daniel*, who may indeede be well eſteemed for one of thoſe three Kings in the ſecond verſe named, and ſo the marginall Commentor vpon the *Geneſis* vnderſtands that place; but, vnder correction, milakes the matter greatly, when he ſaith in the ſame note, that *Darius Hyſtaſpes* was an enemy to the people of God, and ſtood againſt them: his great fauour and liberalitie to the *Iewes* being elſewhere proued.

Thirdly, is *Darius Hyſtaſpes* found in *Ezra* the firſt, c. 4. v. 5 who in the ſixt verſe is alſo named *Ahaſuerus*.

Fourthly, in the eleuenth of *Daniel* verſe the ſecond, *Xerxes* is plainly foretold and deſcribed, and the great warre which hee ſhould make againſt the *Greekes* by *Daniel* remembered.

Fiftly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verſe ſeuen, who is alſo called *Artahſeſta*, c. 4. 1. lib. *Ezra* v. 7. and cap. 7. v. 7.

Sixty, *Darius Nothus*, *Ezra* cap. 4. verſ. 24. and cap. 5. verſ. 6. *Nehem.* cap. 12. verſ. 22.

Seuenthy, *Artaxerxes Atanem* in *Nebes* 2. v. 1. who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arſames*: for *Darius* the laſt he was of another Familie, the Line of *Cyrus* 20
The Great ending in *Ochus*, who deſcended from *Xerxes* the ſonne of *Atoſſa*, *Cyrus* his Daughter; and the iſſue male of *Cyrus* failing with his owne Sonnes.

But to proceede. *Eufebius* with the Latines, following the *Greekes*, apply the beginnings and ends of euery Persian King with their Acts, to ſome certaine Olympiad; As the war of *Aſtyages* (*Cyrus* his maternall Grand-father) and *Ayattes* (*Crefus* his father) to the nine and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of *Cyrus* raigne to the beginning of the five and fiftieth Olympiad; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The inuaſion of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* to the third yeere of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, and ſo of the reſt. Which reference with good agreement betweene ſeueral formes of computation adde the more credit vnto both.

Again, this hitoricall demonſtration is confirmed by the Aſtronomical computation of *Ptolomie*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of Nouember, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the foure hundred and foure & twentieth yeere after *Nabonaſſar*. And the *Era* of *Nabonaſſar* beganne on the fixe and twentieth of Februarie: which conferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth Moneth of the firſt yeere of the eighth Olympiad; So that whether we follow the account of the Olympiads, as doe the *Greeke* Hiſtorians, or that of *Nabonaſſar* with *Ptolomie*, we ſhall finde euery memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

Ptol. in Alim. lib. 3. cap. 8.

40 For *Ptolomie* reckons the time anſwerable to two hundred and foure and twentie Italian yeeres, and an hundred and fortie daies from *Nabonaſſar*, to the fixteenth of *Iulie* in the ſeuenth yeere of *Cambyſes*.

The *Greekes*, and namely *Diadorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* in the ſecond or third yeere of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, and the beginning of *Cambyſes* ſeuenth yeere in the firſt of the threeſcore and fourth Olympiad: which firſt of the threeſcore and fourth Olympiad runnes along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonaſſar*. The like agreement is conſequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewiſe the twentieth of *Darius*, who ſucceeded *Cambyſes*, is according to *Ptolomie* the two hundred and fixe and fortieth of *Nabonaſſar*, which (obſeruing the differences of *Nabonaſſars* *Era* and the Olympiad, viz. eight and twentie yeeres) it agrees with the third of the threeſcore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the *Greekes*. In this *Iosephus* agrees with the *Greekes* throughout, ſaying that he ioyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus*, in the deſtruction of
of

of Babylon, which is true, and not contrarie to the Greeke computation, but may very well stand with it.

Lastly, the disagreements and confused accompts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the *Persian* Kings formerly rehearsed, doth giue the greater credit to this of the *Greekes*, which being constant in it selfe, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

§. II.

Of CAMBYSES, and the conquering of *Aegypt* by him.



E will therefore according to the truth giue the Empire of *Persia* to *Cambyfes*, the sonne of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, sauing the desire to increase the greatness of his Empire: whereof hee was posselt in his Fathers time while *Cyrus* made warre in the North. *Ctesias* with others giue him a longer raigne than agreeth with the *Grecian* accompt before receiued.

Tab. x. c. a.

Her. 3. 4. 45. 83.
Eg. 85.

In the fifth yeere of his sole raigne, and in the third yeere of the threescore and third Olympiad, according to *Diodor* and *Eusebius*, hee invaded *Aegypt*, and hauing overthrowne the King thereof, *Pammenitus*, hee not only caused him to bee slaine, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his children.

Herodotus and *Ctesias* giue for cause of this Warre (being no other indeede than the Ambition of *Cambyfes*) that when hee sent to *Amasis* King of *Aegypt*, to haue his daughter in marriage, *Amasis* presented him with *Nitetis* the daughter of *Apries* his predecessour, which *Cambyfes* disdained.

Howsoever it were, true it is, that *Cambyfes* gathered an Armie fit for such an enterprize, and caused the same to march. But before they entred *Aegypt*, *Amasis* died and left *Pammenitus*, whom *Ctesias* called *Amyrtaeus*, his successour; who inuoyed *Aegypt* after his father; (according to the best copies of *Herodotus*) but fixe Moneths, though other Chronologers giue him fixe yeeres.

But how long fouer he held the Crowne, in one battaile hee lost it, and was himselfe taken prisoner.

It is said that *Cambyfes* following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only spare life to the conquered King, but that hee also trusted him with the gouernment of *Aegypt*, and that vpon some reuolt, or the suspicion thereof, hee caused him to bee slaughtered. But the race of this King was not so extirpated, if wee may beleue *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that hee left a Sonne called *Inarus*, who caused the *Aegyptian* to reuolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*.

That *Pammenitus* was at the first entreated gently by *Cambyfes*, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That hee so much hated *Amasis* the King of *Aegypt*, who died before his arrival, that hee caused his body to be drawne out of the graue, and after diuers indignities vsed, commanded the same to bee burnt, contrarie to the custome both of the *Aegyptians* and *Persians*. For the *Aegyptians* vsed to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugges, to the end the wormes might not deuoure them. The *Persians* durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feede it with Carrion.

* Neither did the Romanes euer consume their dead to ashes, all the time of *Sylla* Dictator, who caused his owne to be deuoured by that element, fearing the Law called *Taliois*, or like for like, because himselfe had vncombed the carcasse of *Caius Marius* after his death, Her. 3. 3. Plin. 1. 7. c. 54.

§. III.

§. III.

The rest of CAMBYSES his acts.



FTER this victorie obtained in *Aegypt*, *Cambyfes* sent an Armie into *Cyprus*, and constrained *Euclebon* King thereof to acknowledge him, w^{ch} he before held that Iland of the *Aegyptians*.

While *Cambyfes* yet busied himselfe in *Aegypt*, hee so much detested the Idolatry of that Nation, as hee caused the Images themselves, with the Temples wherein they were worshipped, to become downe and defaced. That done, hee directed a part of his Armie into *Lybia*, to ouer-turne the Temple of *Iupiter Ammon*; but the Deuill in defence of his Oratorie raised such a tempest of Sand, wherewith the greatest part of that Country is couered, as the *Persians* were there-with choked and ouerwhelmed.

Notwithstanding which misadventure, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that disdayning to be resisted, hee prepared the rest of his Armie, which himselfe meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities, which his first sent troupe had tried, hee changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings haue power ouer men, yet the Elements doe not obey them, according to that old *English* proverbe, *God, saith the King. Stay, saith the Tide*.

After his returne from the attempt of *Aethiopia*, hee caused *Apis* the *Aegyptian* Bull, worshipped by that Nation as God, to be slaine: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeale, and beene executed as in seruice of him that only is, and liueth. But soone afterwards, when in a dreme it seemed vnto him that *Smerdis* did sit in the royall Throne of *Persia* (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) hee gaue it in charge to his fauourite *Praxaspes*, to murder *Smerdis* his brother. And hauing married his owne sisters, contrarie to the *Persian* Lawes, hee committed a most causelesse and most detestable murder vpon the one of them, called *Meroe*, then by himselfe with child, because shee bewailed the death of her brother *Smerdis*. I find it written of this *Cambyfes*, That because his Predecessors obserued religiously the ordinances of their Empire, hee assembled his Iudges and enquired of them, whether therè were any law among the *Persians* that did permit the brother to marry his owne sister: it being his owne intent so to doe.

The Iudges (who had alwaies either lawes or distinctions in store to satisfie Kings and times) made answer, that there was not any thing written allowing any such coniunction, but they notwithstanding found it in their cutumies, that it was alwaies left to the will of the *Persian* Kings to doe what best pleased themselves; and so, as *Naucerus* termes it, *inuenerunt occasionem*: That is as much to say, as the Iudges found a shift to please the King, and to secure themselves. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings private satisfaction, hee caused *Sisamnis* one of his Iudges, and perchance one of those which favoured his incestuous match, to be slayed a linc for an vnjust iudgement giuen, and the same his hide to bee hung vpon the iudgement seat. After which bestowing the fathers Office on his sonne, hee willed him to remember, that the same partialitie deferred the same punishment.

Among other his cruelties, that which hee exercised against the senne of his beloved *Praxaspes* was very strange and vngatefull. For when hee desired to bee truly informed by him what the *Persians* thought of his conditions, *Praxaspes* answered, That his vertues were followed with abundant praise from all men; only it was by many obserued, that hee tooke more than vsuall delight in the taste of Wine. With this taxation inflamed, hee vsed this replication: And are the *Persians* double-tongued, who also tell me that I haue in all things excelled my Father *Cyrus*; thou *Praxaspes* shalt then witness, whether in this report they haue done mee right: for if at the first shot I pierce thy sonnes heart with an arrow, then is it false that hath beene spoken; but if I misse the marke, I am then pleased that the same be accounted true,

true, and my subiects beleueed. This being spoken, hee directed an arrow towards the innocent child, who falling dead with the stroke, *Cambyses* commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broched on the arrow, this monstrous Tyrant greatly reioicing, shewed it to the Father with this saying, in stead of an Epitaph: Now *P R A X A S T E S*, thou maiest resolue thy selfe that I haue not lost my wits with Wine, but the *Persians* theirs, who make such report.

Many other barbarous cruelties hee exercised, till at the last, according to the phrase of our Law, he became *folon de soy*. For when he was informed that *Pantistes*, and *Smerdis* the *Magi*, (*Cæcilius* writeth them *Sphendanes* and *Cimerdus*) Ministers of his domestick affaires, taking aduantage of the great resemblance betweene *Smerdis* the Kings brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, posselt themselves of the Empire, he made all haste towards *Persia*, and in mounting hastily on horsebacke, his sword dis-theathing pierced his owne thigh, where-with deadly wounded, falling into an ouer-late and remedilesse repentance of the slaughter which hee had executed vpon his owne brother, hee soone after gaue vp his wicked ghost, when hee had reigned eight yeeres, accounting therein thole seuen Moneths in which the *Magi* gouerned, while he was absent.

Zonaras Com. 3.
Pag. 117.

In *Cambyses* the Male line of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no issue either by *Atossa* or *Meroe*: yet *Zonaras* out of *Hierome* giues him a Daughter called *Pantistes*, and a sonne called *Orontes*, who being drowned in the River *Ophites* by *Antioch*, the same was afterward in memorie of the Princes death called *Orontes*.

He built the Citie of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, in the place where *Latopolis* was formerly seated, and that of *Meroe* in the Iland of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his sister *Meroe*.

§. IIII.

Of the inter-regnum betweene *CAMBYSSES* and *DARIUS*.

CYRUS and his two sonnes being now dead, and the Kingdome in the possession of one of the *Magi*, the counterfait of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapes*, or Prouinciall Gouvernours of the Empire (to wit, *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Magabysus*, *Asphatines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all descended from *Achæmenes* the first *Persian* King, hauing discovered the fraud of this imposture, ioynd their forces together, surpris'd and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions, and assistants. In which action (saith *Iustine*) *Intaphernes* and *Asphatines* were slaine; but *Herodotus* o-therwise, that they were only wounded, for he auoweth, that all the seuen Princes were present at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Gouvernour, these Princes grew into consultation how the same might be ordered from thence-forth. *Otanes* one of the seuen did not fancie any election of Kings, but that the Nobilitie and Cities should confederate, and by iust lawes defend their liberty in equality, giuing diuers reasons for his opinion, being as it seemed greatly terrified by the cruelties of *Cambyses*; As first, that it was not safe to giue all power to any one, seeing greatnesse it selfe, euen in good men, doth often infect the minde with many vices, and the libertie and freedom in all things is most apt to insult, & to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Again, that tyrants do commonly vse the seruices of wicked men, and fauour them most; they viurpe vpon the lawes of their Countrey; take other mens viues by force, and destroy whom they please without iudgement.

Magabysus was of another opinion, affirming that the tyrannie of a multitude was thrice more intolerable, than that of one. For the multitude doe all things without

without iudgement runne into businesse and affaires with precipitation, like raging and ouer-bearing floods.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most vertuous; because it is euer found, that excellent Counsailes are euer had from excellent men.

Darius gaue the third iudgement, who perswaded the creation of a King, because euen among few diuinitie of concord is seldom found, and in great Empires it doth euer happen that the discord of many Rulers hath inforced the election of one Supreme. It were therefore, saith *Darius*, farre safer to obserue the Lawes of our Countreie, by which Kingly gouernement hath bene ordained.

The other foure Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the same Imperiall gouernement by God established, and made prosperous. And to auoide partialitie, it was accorded, that the morning following these seuen Princes should mount on Horse-back, and on him the Kingdome should be conferred, whose horse after the Sunne-rising should first ney or bray. In the euening after this appointment was made, it is said that *Darius* consulted with the Master of his horse *Oebarnus*, who in the Suburbs of the Citie when the election was resolved of, caused the same Horse, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to couer a Mare, who as soone as he came into the same place was the first horse that brayed. Whereupon the other fixe Princes descended from their horses, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

Her. l. 3. p. 100.
101.

Plato in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memorie of the seuen Princes, whereof *Darius* himselfe was one, that deliuered the Empire from the usurpation of the *Magi*, hee diuided the whole into seuen gouernements; *Herodotus* saith into twentie *Satrapies*.

CHAP. V.

Of *DARIUS* the sonne of *HYSTASPES*.

§. I.

Of *DARIUS* his Lineage.



DARIUS was descended of the ancient *Persian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achæmenides*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineall Successour. For in this sort *Herodotus* deriues him as before.

Cyrus the first, who had
Tespisus, who begat
Ariararnes, who was father of
Arjarnes, the father of
Hystaspes, the father of
Darius, surnamed *Celes*, the father of *Xerxes*.

Cris. l. 4.

Hystaspes accompanied *Cyrus* the Great in the warres against the *Scythians*, at which time *Cyrus* being made jealous of *Darius* by a dreame of his owne, caused him

Hic. 1. 1. 3.

to be sent into *Persia*, others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was deliuered, and made Gouvernor of the *Persian Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyses* into *Egypt*; he then ioynd with the rest of the Princes against the *Magi*, and either by the nying of his horse, or, as others affirme, by strong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more assured to himselfe by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Nieces for his wiues.

* Her. pag. 257.

Pag. 154.

Pag. 150.

Pag. 101. & 102.

Pag. 180. 190.

Her. 1. 6. pag. 180.

Pag. 180. 150.

Pag. 159.

Pag. 100. 104.

Pag. 153. 155.

286.

Pag. 14. 254.

De Reg. Persar.

Fol. 32.

Hyaspes, according to * *Herodotus*, had besides *Darius* these three sonnes, who were great Commanders in the warre which *Darius* made in *Asia* the lesse, *Fraxce*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Atarnes*, *Artaphernes*; and *Artabanus*, who dissuaded *Xerxes* from the second *Grecian* warre. *Cambyses* also had a Daughter married to *Gobryas* the Father of *Mardonius*, who commanded the Armie of *Darius* in *Macedon*; and married the Daughter of *Darius*, *Artazofire* his Cousen germaine.

Reinectus giues to *Hyaspes* five sonnes, *Darius* who succeeded *Cambyses*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Otanes*, and *Atarnes*, with two daughters.

§ II.

Of *Darius* his Government, and suppressing the rebellion of *Babylon*.

DARIS deuised equall lawes whereby all his subiects might be gouerned, the same being formerly promised by *Cyrus*. He gaue access to all his subiects, and behaued himselfe so mildly to all men, that many Nations desired and offered themselves to become his Vassalls: Only hee laied diuers payments and taxes on the people, which had not bene accustomed in *Cyrus* time, to the value of fourethene thousand five hundred and threescore talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The warre which *Cambyses* made a farre off in *Egypt*, and the contention betweene the *Magi*, and the Princes of *Persia*, for the Empire, gaue heart to the *Babylonians* to recouer their libertie, and to shake off the *Persian* yoke, wherof *Darius* being aduertised, he prepared an Armie to recouer that Citie and State reuolted. But finding the same a difficult worke, he vsed the seruice of *Zopirus*, who for the loue he bare *Darius*, did cut off his owne Eares and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to shie to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of *Darius*: who, for hauing giuen him aduice to giue ouer the siege of their Citie, had in this sort dismembred and deformed him; wherupon the *Babylonians* gaue him that credit, as they trusted him with the disposition & commandement of their greatest forces; which when *Zopirus* had obtained, after some small colourable ouerthrowes giuen to the *Persians* vpon sallies, hee deliuered the Citie into *Darius* his hands, who had lye before it twentie Moneths.

Her. lib. 3.

§ III.

Of *Darius* his fauour to the *Iewes* in building the Temple.

IN the second yeere of *Darius*, he gaue order that the building of the Temple at *Ierusalem* should goe on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his own charge, and out of the reuenues of the Crowne. And whereas the Gouvernors of those Provinces which are situate betweene *Euphrates*, and the *Phenician*, and mid-land Sea, (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captaiues beyond the Riuer) had hindered the worke in *Cambyses* his time, *Darius* gaue commandement that they should not thenceforth come neere vnto *Ierusalem*, to giue any impediment to the building, but that they should

Ezra. 6.

should with-draw themselves, and get them farre off till all were finished and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul recedite ab idis*; With-draw your selves farre from them; In our *English*, Be yee farre from thence, to wit, from the Citie, and Temple, now in building.

Hee also made a decree, which concerned his owne Subiects, That whosoever should thenceforth hinder the setting vp of the Temple of God, that his house should be torne downe, and the disturber hanged on a Gallows made of the Timber thereof. He also in the same decree maketh inuocation to God, That hath caused his name to dwell there, (to) destroy all Kings and People that put their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in *Ierusalem*, &c. In foure yeeres after which decree (the *Iewes* being really furnished with money and all things necessarie from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth yeere of *Darius* *Hyaspes*, and in the two and fortieth after their first returne.

Ezr. 6.

§. IIII.

Of *Darius* his *Scythian* Warre.

AFter the recouerie of *Babylon* he invaded the *Scythians*, whose King *Insane* calleth *Luthinus*; and saith, that *Darius* vnder-tooke this warre against him, because he refused him his Daughter in marriage. The better to conuoy his Armie into *Scythia*, hee built a Bridge of small Vessels ouer the Riuer *Ister* or *Danubius*, and gaue the custodie of the same in charge (among others of *Asia* the lesse) to the *Ionians*, and *Æolians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who perswaded the *Asian* *Grecians* to breake downe the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not returne thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficultie; but the same was resisted by *Histiam* Prince of *Milet*, a Citie of *Ionis*, which Nation being a Colonie of the *Grecians*, *Diodorus* calleth Traitors to their Countrie, because they ioynd themselves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good slaues, for as much as they would not runne away from their Master, but were more mindfull of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as faire an occasion of libertie as could haue bene desired. For the great Armie of *Darius* entring the desert Countrie called *Bessarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any sustenance to relieue them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chirm Tartars*, their posteritie, at this day, all horse-men, vying the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Grassers, driving their Herds from one place to another as opportunite of pasture led them. Standing Townes they had none, but vsed for Houses the Waggon wherein they carried their wiues and children. These Waggon they place at euery Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Towne, remouable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himselfe, called now the great *Chrim*, any other Citie than such an *Agora*, (as they name it) or Towne of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himselfe, and wasted his prouision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither waies to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitfull trees, or liuing creatures, nor any thing at all, which either hee himselfe might make vse of, or by destroying it might grieue his enemies; he beganne to percieve his owne folly, and the danger into which he had brought him. Yet setting a good face vpon a badde game, he sent braue messages to the *Scythian*, bidding him to cease his flight, and cieth to make trial of his valour and fortune in plaine battaile, Or if he acknowledged himselfe the weaker, then to yeeld by faire means, and become his Subiect, giuing him Earth and Water, which the *Persians* vsed to demand as a signe, that all was yeelded vnto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an *Heroicall* answer; sending a Bird, a Frog, a Mouse, and five Arrows: which dumbe thew

Eccc

Darius

Darius interpreting by his owne will, thought that hee did yeeld all the Elements wherein those creatures live, and his weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobryas*, one of the seven Princes, who had slaine the *Magi*, confuted their meaning a-right, which was thus; *O yee Persians, get yee wings like Birds, or dine under the water, or creepe into holes in the earth, for else yee shall not escape our arrows.* And this interpretation was soone verified by the *Seythians* themselves, who assailed the *Persian* camp, draue the horse-men into the trenches, and vexing the Armie with continuall Alarums day and night, were so fearelesse of this great Monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his sight, they did not forbear the pastime of coursing a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldnesse of 10 the pastime, *Darius* was so discouraged, that he forsook his Camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were sicke and weake behinde him, and so with all speede marched away towards the River *Ister*. He was pursued hardly by the *Seythians* who mist him, yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perswaded the *Ionians* to depart, assuring them that the *Persian* King should neuer more be able to doe them either good or harme. Which words had certainly bene proued true, had not *Hystien* the *Milesian* prevailed with his people, to attend the coming of *Darius*, whom the *Seythians* did likewise faile to meete, when they returned from *Ister* to seeke him out.

20

§. V.

Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Seythian Warre.

DARIUS hauing thus escaped out of *Seythia*, determined the inuasion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which Warre hee employed *Megabates*, who mastered the *Peonians*, and transplanted them, & possesse *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Bizantium*, and other places, being also soone after subiects, and added to the *Persian* Empire by *Otanes*, the sonne of 30 *Syftannes*, whom *Cambyses* had exoriated for false iudgement. So were the Cities of *Selybria* and *Cardia* likewise taken in for the *Persian*, who hauing now reduced vnder his obeyfance the best part of *Thrace*, did send his Embassadours to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adioyning, demanding of him by the Earth & Water, the Soueraignetic ouer that Kingdome. *Amintas* doubting his owne strength, entertained the Embassadours with gentle wordes, and afterward inuited them to a solemne and magnificent feast, the *Persians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be present: which being granted, the Embassadours who were well filled with wine, and presumed vpon their greatnesse, and many victories, beganne to vse such imbracings, and other lasciuious behauiour towards those Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the Kings Sonne, great Grand-father to *Alexander* the Great, disdaining the *Persians* barbarous presumption, besought his father to withdraw himselfe from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadours, whom withall hee entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a while; promising their speedy returne. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of well-fauoured young-men to clothe themselves in the same garments, & to vse the same attires which the Ladies had worn at the feast, giuing them in charge, That when the *Persians* offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpiree them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soone after giuen by *Darius* for a seuerer reuenge of this murder. But *Alexander*, somewhat before the death of *Amintas*, gaue his sister *Gygis* in marriage to *Eubaris*, a principall Commander of *Darius* forces on that side, who perswading her husband how helpfull the Alliance of *Macedon* would proue for the inuasion of *Attica* intended, so prevailed, as *Alexander*

Her. 1. §.

* A maritimate
City of Thrace
to the South of
Constantinople.
a Cardia, a City
vpon the Chersonesus of
Thrace, afterward
Lymassia, Pto. Paul.

der

der escaped that tempest, which threatened to fall vpon him very suddenly; the warre of *Asia* the lesse, called *Ionick*, falling out at the same time.

§. VI.

The first occasion of the warre which DARIUS made vpon Greece, with archaical fall of the government in Athens, whence the quarrell grew.

NOW the better to vnderstand the reason and motives of that great Warre, which followed soone after, betwene the *Persians* and *Grecians*, it is necessarie to make a short repetition of the state of *Athens*, which Citie indured the hardest and worst blis of *Darius* inuasion on that side the Sea with admirable successe. Neither doe I hold it any impertinencie, to be large in unfolding euery circumstance of so great a businesse as gaue fire to those warres, which neuer could be thoroughly quenched, vntill the ruine of this great *Persian* Monarchie, *Persepolis* the capitall Citie of the Empire, was at the request of an *Athenian* Harlot consumed with a flame, as dreadfull as in the pride of their greatnesse, the *Persians* had raised in *Athens*.

Now therefore as out of the former bookes it may be gathered, how *Athens*, and other parts of *Greece*, were anciently gouerned, the same being already set downe, though scatteringly, and in seuerall times, among other the Contemporarie occurrences of the Easterne Emperors, and the Kings of *India*; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember againe the two last changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedemonians*, they maintained still their ancient policie vnder Kings, though these also after some nineteene descentes bridled by the *Ephori*.

Cadmus King of the *Athenians* in the former bookes remembered, who willingly died for the saietie of his people, was therefore so honored by them, as (thinking none worthy to succede him) they changed their former government from Monarchical to Princes for terme of life, of which *Medon* the sonne of *Cadmus* was the first, after whom they were called *Medontidae*; and of these there were twelue Generations besides *Medon*, to wit.

Alcippus.

Archippus, in whose times the *Greekes* transported themselves into *Ionis*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourescore yeeres, according to *Eusebius*: which migration al other Chronologers (such as follow *Eusebius* herein excepted) find in the yeere after *Troy* fallen one hundred and fortie.

Thersippus.

Phorbas.

Mezades.

Diogenetus, in whose time *Lycurgus* gaue Lawes to the *Spartans*.

Pherebus.

Ariphron.

Theispius, in whose time the *Assyrian* Empire was ouerthrowne by *Babellus*, and *Arbaces*.

Agamnestor.

Aeschylus, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Eusebius*) were erected in *Lacedemon*.

Alcamenon, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected Decennall Gouernours: the former Princes for life hauing continued in all three hundred and sixtene yeeres. The first of those that gouerned for ten yeeres, or the first *Archon*, was

Charops, then

Alymedes.

Eccc x

Elydicus.

Elydus.
Hippomenes.
Leocrates.
Abasander.

Ericias was the last *Archon* of the *decennial* Gouvernors, which forme continuing threcore and ten yceres, was then changed into into *annual* Magistrates, Maiors, or Burg-masters, of which *Theseus* was the first, according to *Pausanias*: others finde *Leofratus*; and then

Antiochines.
Archimedes.
Miltiades.
Damafias.
Draco.
Megacles.

Solon, and others, who are the lesse to bee regarded, by reason of the ycerely change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisdom, gave lawes to the *Athenians*, which were published according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth yere of *Tarquinus Priscus*, and were in after-ages deriued vnto the *Romans*, and by the *Decemviri* (Magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into twelue Tables, 20 which were the ground of the *Romane* lawes. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his owne daies violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed vnto the practice and maintenance of a popular gouernement; the estate of *Athens* was very soone changed into a Monarchie by *Pisistratus* the son of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions, wherof *Megacles* and *Lycargus* two Citizens of noble Families were become the heads, tooke occasion by their contention and insolencie to raise a third faction more powerfull than the other two, and more plausible, for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in general. Having by this meanes obtained loue and credit, he wounded himselfe, and faining that by malice of his enemies he had like to haue 30 beene slaine for his loue to the good Citizens, he procured a guard for his defence, and with that band of men surprisling the State-houfe, or Cittadell of *Athens*, hee made himselfe Lord of the Towne; *Hegesistratus* being then Gouvernour. But the Citizens, who in euery change of gouernement had fought to remove themselves further and further from the forme of a Monarchie, could so ill brooke this usurpation of *Pisistratus*, that he was drinen for lack of helpe to flie the Towne, as soone as *Megacles* and *Lycargus* ioyning their forces attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his tyranny founded vpon the dissension of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; so was it soone after well reedified by the new breaking out 40 of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycargus* to grow greater than his owne, he did (as is the vsuall practice of the weaker side) call in the common enemy *Pisistratus*, to whom he gaue his Daughter in marriage, by which alliance the Familie of the *Alcmaeonides*, wherof *Megacles* was chiefe, became very powerfull, yet so that *Pisistratus* by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmaeonides*, and especially *Megacles* being incensed against *Pisistratus* for his misdemeanour towards his Wife. Wherefore they practised with the Souldiers of the Towne, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so farre, that *Pisistratus* vpon the first discouerie of their intent, perceived no other remedie for his affaires, than to with-draw himselfe to *Eretria*, where he remained eleuen yceres. Which time being expired, hauing hired 50 Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, hee againe recovered the principallitie of *Athens*: after which third obtaining his estate, hee gouerned *Athens* seuentene yceres, according to *Aristotle*, and raigned in all thirte and three yceres, saith *Elianus*; but as *Iustine* hath it, foure and thirte, accounting the time belike as well before

Paus. pag. 159.
Dionys. l. 3.
Paus. p. 169.
Pausan. 170.
Pag. 331.

Herod. 1.
Aristotle a Cicle
of Embassies,
others called
Athenians, by
Stephanus
Eretria.
Tob. 5.
Herodot. apud
Elium. pag. 264.
Just. pag. 28.

before as after his feuerall expulsions. *Herodotus* giues the father and the Sonne fixe and thirte yceres; *Aristotle* fixe and thirte. But *Thucydides* affirmeth, that hee died very old, leauing for his Succesflours his two Sonnes *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who gouerned the *Athenians* with such moderation, as they rather seemed the Lineall succcessors of a naturall Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and some three yceres before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. The cause why, and the manner how performed, *Thucydides* hath written at large. And though *Hipparchus* were charged with vnaturall lust after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled 10 *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that hee was a Prince of as many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers and authors of that scandall. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprife vpon his brother had more and deeper rootes than were apparent, first sought to discouer the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemnia*: who because shee would not reueale her Companions, did cut out her owne tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to strengthen himselfe, enter into a strait amitie with *Aantides*, Tyrant of the Citie *Lampiscus*, whom he knew to bee greatly fauoured by *Darius*, to whose sonne *Hypochus* hee gaue one of his Daughters in marriage. But some three yceres after the death of his brother, doubting 20 I know not what strong practice against himselfe, hee beganne to vse the Citizens with great seueritie, which neither *Pisistratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himselfe had euer exercised during their usurpations till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing lest that this dislike might rather increase, than diminish in *Hippias*, they stirred vp *Clisthenes* one of the noblest and best able of their Citie, to practise their deliuerie: who calling to his assistance the banished *Alcmaeonides*, together with an Armie of the *Lacedaemonians*, ledde by *Cleomenes* their King, so affrighted *Hippias*, as by compulsion he gaue ouer his estate, and the possession of *Athens*, and from thence imbarcking himselfe tooke land at * *Sigeum*, whence hee went to *Lampiscus* in *Asyagouerned* by *Aantides*, who presented him to *Darius*. Hee was de- 30 prived of his estate; as *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* agree, twentie yceres before the battell of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Aantides*, at other times with *Artaphernes* Lieutenant for *Darius* in *Sardis*, the *Metropolis* of *Lydia*; and perswading and practising the enterprife vpon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the ende to his great dishonour vnder-tooke, twentie yceres after *Hippias* had resigned his estate.

Thus farre I haue digressed from *Darius*, to the ende the Reader may conceiue the better the causes and motives of this warre: wherof the hope that *Hippias* had to be restored to *Athens* by the helpe of *Darius*, which made him solicite and perswade the *Persians* to conquer *Greece*, was one; but not the most 40 vident.

§. VII.

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principall cause of the warres ensuing betwene *Greece* and *Persia*.



Another, and a strong motive to this expedition, was the Ionick warre; breaking out in *Asia* about the same time. The Colonies transported out of *Greece* into *Asia*, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-coast, hauing enioyed their libertie about 500. yceres, euen from the Ionick migration, to the time of *Cresus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcel of his Dominions, were taken in by 50

Cyrus, and left as hereditarie Seruants to the Crowne of *Perſia*.

But as it is the custome of Nations halfe conquered (witness *Ireland*) to rebell againe vpon every aduantage and opportunitie: so did the *Ionians*, and other *Gracians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, seeke by all meanes possible to free themselves.

At this time they found such men readie to spurre them into Rebellion, as had by the *Perſian* been giuen unto them for bridles to hold them in subiection. Every one of those Townes had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the government of one man) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the *Perſian*, by whose onely might they held the people in subiection. And this their dutifull affection they had well declared, when *Darius* being in great extremitie, they vsed all meanes to deliuer him and his Armie (that other wise had bene lost) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great piece of seruice *Hystian* the tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chiefe thanks, as hauing bene chiefe Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the rest, either perswaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their owne desires, were readie to haue abandoned him. But it came so to passe, that *Darius* being more fearefull of the harme that *Hystian* (being powerfull and craftie) might doe to him in the future, than mindfull of the good which he had already receiued at his hand, found meanes to carry him a-long to *Susa*, where he detained him with all kind vſage of a friend, yet kept such good espiall vpon him, as an enemy, he could not ſtate away. *Hystian* had subtiltie enough to discover the Kings purpose, which ill agreed with his owne desires. For he thought it more pleasant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one faire Citie, hauing a ſmal Tyrannie, than to sit and leaſt at the great Kings table, and heare the counsailes by which a large Empire was managed; being himſelfe an idle beholder, and enjoying with much restraint of libertie, none other pleasures than a priuate man might bestow vpon himſelfe.

Wherefore he bethought himſelfe of raising of some tumults in the lower *Asia*, to pacifie which if he might be sent, as one that had great experience and authoritie in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either satifie the King with excuses, or deale as occasion shall require. Resolving vpon this course, he sent very ſecret instructions to *Arſtagoras* his kinsman, whom he had left his Deputie at *Miletus*, aduiling him to stirre vp some Rebellion. These directions came seasonably to *Arſtagoras*, who hauing failed in an enterpriſe vpon the Isle of *Naxos*, through the false dealing of a *Perſian* his Associate, stood in feare of disgrace, if not of some further ill that might befall him, as one that that had wasted the Kings treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore he readily embraced the counsaile: and the better to draw the whole Countie of *Ionian* into the same course which he determined to runne, hee abandoned his tyrannie, and did ſet *Miletus* at libertie. This plausible beginning wanne vnto him the hearts of the *Mileſians*; and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom some he tooke and sold as ſlaues to their citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole Nation to be at his command. The *Perſian* fleet, whereof hee lately had bene Admirall in the enterpriſe of *Naxos*, hee had ſurprised in his first breaking out, together with the principall Officers, and Captaines, so that now hee thought himſelfe able to deale with the great Kings forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Asia* would ſhortly be vpon his neck, and cruſh both him and his assistants to pieces, vniſſe that he were able to raise an Armie that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were insufficient to performe. Therefore he tooke a journey to *Sparta*, where hauing ſtayed in vaine with many arguments, and the offer of ſilke talents, to win to his partie *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedaemonians*; hee went from thence to *Athens*, and with better ſucceſſe beſought the people to led him their assistance. The *Athenian* Embassadors which had bene sent to the *Perſian* Kings Lieutenants in the lower *Asia*, deſiring them

them not to giue countenance to *Hippias*, now a baniſhed man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill answers, hauing found very churlish entertainment. So that the euill which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Perſian*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their conſanguinitie with the *Ionians*, and the perswaſions of *Arſtagoras*, drew them on apace, it perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twentie ſhippes the *Athenians* furnished for this voyage; to which the *Eratrians* added ſiue more, in regard of ancient kindneſſe that had paſſed betweene the *Ionians* and them. With these and their owne forces joynd, the *Ionians* entred the Riuier *Caſſius*, which ſalleth into the Sea by *Ephesus*: by which aduantage they ſurprised *Sardis* when no enemy was heard of or ſuſpected; inſomuch, as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Vice-roy in those partes, had no other hope of ſafetie, than by retreating himſelfe into the Caſtle, which the *Gracians* could not force: from whence he beheld the ſlaughter of the Citizens, and the Citie flaming.

The *Perſians* at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market place, ſtrengthened by the Riuier *Pactolus*, which ran through it, and borrowing courage from deſperation, they both defended themſelves, and charged their enemies; who well aduiling themſelves, made all the haſte they could toward the Sea ſide. But *Artaphernes* hauing gathered all the strength he could, purſued the *Gracians*, and found them neere *Ephesus*; where letting reſolutely vpon them, he ſlaughtered a great part of their Armie; the rest ſauing themſelves in *Ephesus*. In this fight *Eualetes*, Captaine of the *Eratrians*, perished: but his ſame and memorie was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preferred. After this overthrow, the *Athenians*, which were ſent to *Arſtagoras* and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their teares, be perswaded to make any ſecond trial of their fortunes, on that ſide the Sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noyſe in the world, than the good ſucceſſe which the *Perſians* had in one or two ſkimmiſhes, could rayſe. Wherefore the *Ionians* brauely proceeding, wone a great part of *Caria*; and ſending their Fleet into the *Helleſpont*, got *Bizantium* and other Townes into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately ſubdued by *Cambyſes*, beganne hereupon to take heart, and entering into confederacie with the *Ionians*, who were able to giue them aide by ſea, rebelled againſt the *Perſians*.

Theſe newes coming to the eare of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the *Athenians*, vpon whom hee vowed to take ſharpe reuenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to thinke, that they would not haue dared to attempt ſuch things, but by the inſtigat[i]on of thoſe, to whom their ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to prouoke him. This was the maine ground of the Warre commenced by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes* againſt *Athens*: To which, the ſolicitation of *Hippias*, before remembred, gaue onely ſome forme and aſſiſtance: the buſineſſe, when once it was thus farre on foot, being like ynough to haue proceeded, though he had perished ere it were aduanced any further.

Some other occurrents in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrell of *Darius* againſt many of the Hlanders, if not againſt the whole Nation of the *Greekes*; for all of them gaue to his Rebels free harbour: the Hlanders moreover did helpe to furniſh out a Nauie of three hundred and ſixtie ſaile againſt him. Theſe prouocations did rather breede in him a deſire to abate their pride, than any feare of harme that they were like to doe him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by ſurpriſe. In euery fight they were beaten by the *Perſians*, who had not yett loſt the fruits of their diſcipline, wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captaines. In one ſea-fight by the Ile of *Cyprus*, the *Ionians* indeed had the vpper hand; but they were *Phenicians*, *Egyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquiſhed; neither was that victorie of any vſe to them; the *Cyprians*, in whole aid they came, being

being utterly beaten by the *Persian* Armie at Land, and reduced into their old subjection. So had the *Persians* likewise by open warre and faire force ouerthrowne the *Carians* in two battailes, and reclaimed that Nation; as also they had recovered the Townes vpon *Hellepont*, with some *Eolian* & *Ionian* Cities: when *Aristagoras* with his friends quitting *Miletus*, fled into *Thrace*, desirous to seat himselfe in *Amphipolis*, a Colonie of the *Athenians*. But the *Edonians*, on whose Territorie belike he landed, ouerthrew him, and cut his troups in pieces.

About the same time, *Hippias* the first mouer of this insurrection came downe into those quarters; who hauing vndertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whome his double-dealing was detected.

But this euasion preserued him not long. For after many vaine attempts that he made, hee was taken in fight by the *Persians*, and hastily beheaded, lest the King should pardon him vpon remembrance of old good turnes; as it seemes that hee would haue done, by the buriall which he commanded to be giuen to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heauie taking of his death.

Hippias had fought to put himselfe into *Miletus*; but the Citizens doubting his condition, chose rather to keepe him out, and make shift for themselves, without his helpe. The strength of their Citie by land, which had in old time withstood the *Lydian* Kings, and their good Fleet which promised vnto them the libertie of so open a sea, emboldened them to trie the vttermost, when very few friends were left vpon that Continent to take their part. But their Nauie was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forsaking them vpon hope of pardon, and many being daunted with the causelesse flight of those that should haue assisted them. Neither was it long before the Towne it selfe being assaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens slaine, their wiues and children made slaues, and their goods a bootie to the *Persians*, whome for fixe yeeres space they had put to so much trouble.

§. VIII.

The Warre which *Darius* made vpon Greece, with the battaile of MARATHON, and *Darius*'s death.



Herod lib. 6.
Whether this
Citie or
People were
of Peloponnesus
in Sicily, or
of Aege, be-
tween Thessaly
and Macedonia,
I do not know:
but those bor-
derers, & next
the enemies,
were most li-
kely to com-
pound than
the rest farre
off. There is
a Iona Citie
called Epini-
um, not farre
from Aegea.
Luij 32. 33.

His warre with good successe finished by the *Persians*, and some attempts made on *Europe* side with variable successe; *Darius* obtinate in the enterprize and conquest of Greece (though at first he pretended to make the warre but against the *Athenians* and *Eretrians*, who jointly assisted the *Ionians* against him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his embassadours demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whome, some of them not so well resolu'd as the rest, submitted themselves, as the *Aginets* and others. Against these, the *Athenians* being inflamed (by the assistance of the *Lacedaemonians*) alter diuers encounters forth them to giue pledges, and to relinquish the partie of the *Persians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedaemonians* in this warre, and caused his companion King *Damantius* to be deposed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, farre the more confident of victorie, by reason of these discords, alienations, and ciuill warres among the *Greekes*. He therefore gaue order to *Hippagoras* to prepare a Fleet of shippes fit to transport his Armie ouer the *Hellepont*: the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and tenne thousand horse. The charge in chiefe of his Armie he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and assisted by *Hippias*, the sonne of *Pisistratus*, expelled out of *Athens* twentie yeeres before, and by *Aristophernes* his brother, Governour of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coast of *Asia* the lesse. These Commanders baring their Companies brought downe to the Sea-side, imbarked themselves in fixe hun-

hundred Gallies and other Vessels; and first of all attempted the Islands called *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way betwene *Asia* the lesse, and *Greece*. For (obtaining those places) the *Persians* had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces ouer the *Aegean* Sea; but on the contrary they might alwayes both relieue themselves in their passage, and throwd themselves from all suddaine tempests and outrage.

To this end they first possessed themselves of *Samos*, secondly, they attempted *Naxos*: Which Island, the inhabitants despairing of their owne forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apollo* was natue: Whose Island *Darius* did not onely forbear to sacke, but recalling the inhabitants, he gaue order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice, to *Apollo* erected. And hauing recovered these and other Islands, the *Persians* directed their course for *Eretria* in *Euboea*: for that Citie (as already hath bene shewed) had assisted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Island the *Persians* tooke ground, and besieged *Eretria* very straitly, and after fixe dayes assault, partly by force, and in part by the treason of *Euphratus* and *Philagius*; they tooke it, sackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus faire the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sayles. From *Euboea* the *Persians* paist their Armie into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of *Athens*, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed, towards *Athens*.

The *Athenians* finding the time arriued, wherein they were to dispute with their owne vertue against Fortune, and to call lots for their libertie, for their wiues, their children, and their liues, put themselves in the best order they could to make resistance, and withall sent away with speed to the *Lacedaemonians* for succour, employing in that Negotiation one *Phidippides*; who passing through *Arcadia*, encountered in the way a familiar Diuell, which he supposed to be *Pan*, who willed him to assure the *Athenians* of victorie, promising that some one of the Gods should be present at the battaile to assist them and defend them against the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his returne seeing he could not bring with him any present succours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly auailing to bring newes from the Gods, and promise of assistance from Heaven, which no doubt (though the device was likely to be his owne) yet it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages haue bene more stirred vp with fond Prophecies and other like superstitious fooleries, than by any iust cause or solid reason. The *Athenians* being now left to themselves, with one thousand onely of the *Platams* (who hauing bene formerly defended by the *Athenians* against the *Thebans*, did in this extremite witness their thankfulness and gratefull disposition) began to dispute, Whether it were most for their aduantage to defend the wals of *Athens*, or to put themselves into the field with such forces as they had, the same consisting of tenne thousand *Athenians*, and one thousand of the *Platams*. In the end, and after great diuersitie of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perswaded the triall by battaile, prevailed. The Armies being now in view, and within a myle of each other, the *Athenians* disposed themselves into three troups: two wings or hornes, as they tearmed them, and the body of a battaile. The *Persians*, when they perceived so small a Troope aduancing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather dispossessed of their vnderstanding, than possessed with the resolution whereof they made use. So inuincible and resistlesse the *Persians* esteemed their owne numbers to be, and that small troupe of their enemies then in view, rather to be despised than to be fought withall: But in conclusion, the victory being doubtfully ballanced for a while, sometime the vertue of the *Graecians*, and sometimes the number of the *Persians* prevailing, the *Graecians* fighting for all that they had, the *Persians* for that they needed not, the great forces of *Darius* were disordered and put in rout; the *Athenians* following their victorie cun to the Sea-shore, where the *Persians*, so many of them as lost not their wits with their courage, saved themselves in their shippes.

The

The *Persian* Armie consisted of an hundred thousand foot and tenne thousand horse; of which there were slaine in the place fixe thousand three hundred, and of the *Graecians* an hundred fourescore and twelue. For howsoeuer it came to passe, either by strange visions, which were afterward called *Panici terrores*, or by some other affright, it seemeth, that the invading Armie, after the first encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and lost that number, by *Herodotus* set downe, in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Iustines* report, That two hundred thousand of the *Persian* Armie were slaine, the same hath no appearance nor possibilitie of truth. In this fight *Themiſticles* the elder was slaine, sayth *Iustine* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tells vs, that he escaped and died most miserably in *Lemnos*.

The greatest honour of this victory was cast vpon *Miltiades*, who both perswaded the trial by battaile, and behaued himselfe therein answerably to the counsell which he gaue. *Themiſticles* had his first reputation in this fight, being both young and of the first beard. Those of the *Graecians*, of marke and commandement, that fell in the first encounter, were *Callimachus* and *Stefleus*. It is also said, That *Cynegyrus* following the *Persians* to their embarking, layd hands on one of their Gallies, to haue held it from putting off the shore, and hauing his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left; of which being also deprived, he tooke hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first yeere of the threecore and twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the Warre made by *Coriolanus* against his fellow-Romane: *Alexander* the sonne of *Amintas* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Phinippus* then Gouvernour of *Athens*, according to *Plutarch*; or *Hybilides*, after *Italycarneſſus*.

This great fray thus parted, and the *Persians* returned backe into the lesser *Asia*, *Miltiades* fought and obtained an employment against the Islanders of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, and passing ouer his Companies in threecore and tenne Gallies, after fixe and twentie dayes assault he brake his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himselfe being made vnable, and his companies discouraged, he returned to *Athens*, where those vngratefull Citizens forgetting all his seruices past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battaile of *Marathon*, did by the perswasion of *Xanippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who enuied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fiftie Talents; where his weak and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his estate to pay the other, he after a few dayes ended his life.

Which enuie of the better sort to each other, with their priuate Factions, assisted by the vnthankfull and witlesse people, brought them, not many yeeres after, from a victorious and famous Nation, to base subiection and slaueerie. *Miltiades* left behind him one sonne called *Cymon*, begotten on *Hegisſpila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (saith *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in vnderstanding, but exceeded them both in iustice and good gouernment.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recover his honour, than sorrow for the losse recieued in *Greece*, gaue order for new leuies of men, and all other warlike provisions. But the *Aegyptians* reuolting from his obedience (a Kingdome of great strength and reuenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the reuinuation of *Greece*. The dissension also among his sonnes; of whom, the yonger being borne after he was King, and by so great a mother as *Atossa*, disdained to give place to his elder brother, borne before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any mans affaires, gaue end to all his consultations and enterprises, and joynd him to the earth of his auncetors, about a yeere after the battaile of *Marathon*, and after that he had reigned fixe and thirty yeeres. He left behind him five sonnes, namely *Artabanus*, born before he obtained the kingdome, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Achemenes* gouernor of *Aegypt*, *Masties* and *Anabignes*.

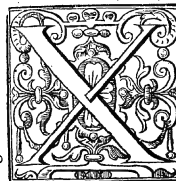
CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of XERXES.

§. I.

The preparation of XERXES against Greece.



XERXES received from his father, as hereditarie, a double Warre; one to be made against the *Aegyptians*, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the *Graecians*; of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the successe ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this Warre, which was chiefly bent against the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Persia* were diuided in opinion. *Mardanius*, who had formerly commaunded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, vnder *Darius*, and had also *Hyaspes* for his grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his sister *Artocostres*, perswaded by many arguments the *European* warre. But *Artabanus*, brother to the late *Darius*, and vncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrarie counsell, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous successe of the two late inuasions, which *Darius* had made contrarie to his counsell: The one in person vpon the *Scythians*, the other by his Lientenants vpon the *Greekes*; in each of which *Darius* left to his enemies both his Armie and his honour.

He therefore besought *Xerxes* to be right well aduised before he did too farre imbarke himselfe in this businesse. For whatsoeuer vnder-taking hath deliberate and sound counsell for conductor, though the successe doe not alwayes answer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variableness of her owne nature, which only the diuine Providence, and not any humane power, can conſtraine.

But so obſtinate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabanus*, whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which hee made knowne to all those that opposed his desire to this Warre (changing opinion & counsell) assisted the *Graecian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the Warre of *Aegypt* was ended, foure yeeres were consumed in describing and gathering an Armie for this inuasion: which being compounded of all Nations subiect to the *Persian* Empire, consisted of ſeuenteene hundred thousand foot, and eightie thousand horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts for Carriage, if we may beleene *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* findes the number lesse by ſeuene hundred thousand footmen.

The Commaunders of the ſeuerrall Nations were the Princes of the bloud of *Persia*, either by marriage in the Kings house, or otherwise: for to these were all commaundements of this nature giuen, some few people excepted, who had of their owne leaders.

The charge of the whole Armie was bestowed on *Mardanius*, the sonne of *Gabryas* by a sister of *Darius*, to whom were joynd some others of *Xerxes* his neereſt kindred, as Generals ouer all; sauing that the charge of tenne thousand ſeleſt *Persians* called the immortal Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died

or were slaine, there was another presently chosen in his stead) was giuen to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thousand horsemen were led by the sonnes of *Darius*, who commanded the late Armie of *Darius* in Greece.

The Fleet of Gallies were two thousand two hundred and eight, furnished by the *Phenicians*, who had Commanders of their owne Nation, and by the *Cypriotes*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphilians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Aeolians*, and *Hellepontines*; who were trusted with the furnishing of their owne Vessels, though commanded by the Princes of *Persia*, as by *Artabanes* the sonne of *Darius*, and others. The rest of the Vessels for transportation were three thousand. There were also certaine Gallies furnished by *Artemisia*, the daughter of *Lygdamis*, Prince of *Sadyrnassus*, and the Islands adjoining, which her selfe commanded. These Gallies by her prepared and furnished, exceeded all the rest of the Fleet, excepting those of *Zidon*, in which *Xerxes* himselfe was imbarcked.

W. DILL.
1670.

§. II.

XERXES Armie entertained by *PYTHIUS*: His cutting off Mount *Athos* from the Continent: his bridge of Boates over the Hellespont: and the discourse betwene him and *ARTABANVS* upon the view of his Armie.



hen this world of an Armie was thoroughly furnished, he caused all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their *Rendez-vous* and repair at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when hee had assembled to the number of seuentene hundred thousand foot, as he entred the body of *Chelone*, he was by one *Pythius* the *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flocks and Herds of Cattell gaue food to *Xerxes* and his whole Armie. The Feast ended, hee also presented him with two thousand Talents of siluer, and in Gold foure Millions, wanting seuen thousand of the *Persian Darius*, which make so many of our markes.

The King overcome with the exceeding liberalitie of *Pythius*, did not only refuse his treasure offered, but commanded that seuen thousand *Dariis* should be giuen him to make vp his foure Millions; of which, so many thousands were wanting when he made the present. But soone after, when *Pythius* belought him to spare one of his five sonnes from his attendance into Greece (because himselfe was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his owne sonne) *Xerxes* most barbarously caused the young man, for whom his father sought exemption, to be sundred into two parts, commanding, that the one halfe of his carcase should be layd on the right, and the other halfe on the left hand of the common way by which the Armie marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea side. The one was a passage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount *Athos*, making the same (which the halfe Island or Headland, whereon it stood) to be an entire Island, fundering thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* five Cities, besides the Mountaine and the *Chersonesus* or Necke of Land it selfe a worke of more ostentation than of vyle, and yet an enterprise of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent hauing but twelue furlongs (which make about a mile and halfe) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough onely for two Gallies to passe in front. The Cities so seuered from the maine, were *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thylus*, and *Cleone*.

He also gaue order, that a Bridge vpon Boats should be made over the Hellespont betwene *Abidos* and *Sestos*, the Sea there hauing a yle of breadth, wanting an eight part; which after the finishing, was by a Tempest torne asunder and disfigured: where with *Xerxes* being more enraged than discouraged, commanded those to be slaine that were masters of the worke, and caused fixe hundred three score and foure score

foure score Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and indultry of the *Phenicians* was so well anchored to resist both winds blowing into and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the same being well boorded and rayled, the whole Armie of seuentene hundred thousand foot, and foure score thousand Horse, with all the Moyles and Carriages, pass ouer it into Europe in seuen daies and seuen nights, without intermission. This transportation of Armies did *Caesar* afterward vse. And *Caligula* that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Armie brought neere to the Sea side, *Xerxes* tooke a view of all his Troupes, assembled in the Plains of *Abidos*, being carried vp, and seated on a place ouer-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adjoining: and after he had gloried in his owne happinesse, to behold and command so many Nations, and so powerfull an Armie and Fleet, he suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into teares, moued with this contemplation, That in one hundred yeeres there should not any one suruive of that marvellous multitude: the cause of which sudden change of passion when he vttered to *Artabanus* his vncle, *Artabanus* spake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great Troupe within that number of yeeres by the King remembered is, That the life it selfe which we enioy is yet more miserable than the end thereof: for in those few daies giuen vs in the world, there is no man among all these, nor elsewhere, that euer found himselfe to accompany with happinesse, but that he oftentimes pleased himselfe better with the desire and hope of death, than of liuing; the incident calamities, diseases, and sorowes whereto mankind is subiect, being so many and inuitable, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appeare vnto vs ouerlong; to auoide all which, there is neither refuge nor rest but in desired death alone.

With this melancholy discourse, *Xerxes* being not much pleased, prayed *Artabanus* not to ouer-cast those ioyes which they had now in pursuit with sad remembrances. And holding til a doubtful conceit, that *Artabanus* utterly condemned the inuasion of Greece, against which he had formerly giuen many strong reasons, desired him to deale freely with him, Whether he were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprise of Greece could not be prosperous? Or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Vision, he was confident of good success? *Artabanus*, notwithstanding that he assured himselfe of the Kings resolution to go on, and dared not by any new Arguments to batter the great purpose it selfe, yet he told the King, That there were two things which marvellously affrighted him, and which the King should finde, as he feared, to be most aduers; to wit, the Sea and the Land. The Sea, because it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of so great a Fleet: in so much, as if any tempest should arise, all the Continent of Greece could hardly receive them, nor all the Hauens thereof afford them any shelter: and therefore when such shelter shall bee wanting vnto them, he prayed him to vnderstand, that in such a case of extremity, men are left to the will and disposition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and disposition of men. The Land, besides other incommodities, will be found by so much the more an enemy, by how much the vnsatiate desire of man to obtaine more and more thereof, doth leade him forward: for were there no man found to giue resistance, yet the want of meates to feede such an Army, and the Famine, which cannot be prevented, will without any other violence offered disfigure and consume it. By these Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to haue diuerted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to vtter what indeed he most feared; to wit, the ouerthrow of the Armie it selfe both by Sea and Land, which soone after followed. These Cautions were exceedingly weightie, if *Xerxes* his obstinacie had not misperfed them. For to inuade by Sea vpon a perillous Coast, being neither in possession of any Port, nor secured by any party, may better fit a Prince presuming on his fortune, than enriched with vnderstanding.

derilanding. Such was the enterprife of *Philip* the second, vpon *England* in the yeere 1588. who had belike neuer heard of this Counsell of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point, it was veric likely, that *Xerxes* his Armie, which could not haue lesse in it than two millions of Soules, besides his beastes for Seruice and Carriage, should after a few dayes suffer famine, and vsing *Macchabeus* words, *Mourire sans coustee; die without a knife*. For it was impossible for *Greece*, being a ragged, strait and mountainous Countrey, to yeeld food (besides what serued themselves) for twenty hundred thousand strangers, whom they neuer meant to entertaine but with the sharpened points of their weapons, destroying withall whatsoeuer they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may belecue *Herodotus*, the Armie of *Xerxes*, being reviewed at *Thermopylae*, consisted of fife millions, two hundred eightie three thousand, two hundred twentie men, besides *Laundresses*, *Harlots* and *Horses*, and was therefore likely to endure a speedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his answer was, That it was impossible to provide for all things; and that whofoeuer should enterprife any great matter, if he gaue the hearing to all that could be objected of accidental inconueniences, hee should neuer pursue the same farther, than the dispute and consultation: which if his Predecessors, the *Persian* Kings, had done, they had neuer growne to that greatnesse, or possessed so many Kingdomes and Nations as now they did, and therefore concluded, That great enterprises were neuer undertaken without great perils. Which resolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any necessity had enforced him to that warre. But seeing the many Nations newly conquered, which hee already commanded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull prosperity of the *Persians* endured, and that *Greece* was separated by the Sea from the rest of *Xerxes* Dominions (of whose resolution his father *Darius* had made a deare experience) the fruit of this warre was answerable to the plantation, and the successfull and endurable to the weake counsell whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his owne judgement not sufficient (for he gathered in marching on, all the strength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to feare the *Greekes* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution, whom he conducted. For it is wisely said of those vncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent sed pondus, & impedimenta potius sunt quam auxilium; They are great in bulke, but weake in force, and rather a luggage than an aide*.

Besides, as it was impossible to marshal such a world of men in one Armie, so the diuers Nations, speaking diuers languages, bred the same confusion among the *Persian* commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel*, when they came to towne. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his fife millions compounded tenne Armies of fiftie thousand chosen souldiers in each, and sent them yeerely into *Greece* well victualled and furnished, he had eyther prepayled by the sword, or forced them to forsake their territory, or brought them in obedience by necessity and famine, which cannot be resisted. But while *Xerxes*, resolved to cut down the banks of *Greece*, and to let in a sea of men vpon them, he was deceived both in his owne hopes, and in their hearts whom he employed, and beaten by the *Greekes*, both by Land and Sea; yea, he himselfe, conducted by his feare, fled shamefully into *Asia*. A great part of his Armie was buried in *Greece*: the remainder whereof, which wintered in *Thessalie*, and led by *Mardonius*, who perswaded the Enterprife, was in the Summer following vterly defeated, and himselfe slaine.

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§. III.

§. III.

Of the fights at *Thermopylae* and *Artemisium*.

After such time as *Xerxes* had transported his Armie ouer the *Helle-spont*, and landed in *Thrace*, (leaving the description of his passage as long as that Coast, and how the River of *Lissus* was drunke drie by his multitudes, and the Lake nere to *Pissyrus* by his cattell, with other accidents in his marches towards *Greece*) I will speake of the encounters he had, and the shamefull and incredible ouerthrowes which he receiued: As first at *Thermopylae*, a narrow passage of halfe an acre of ground, lying between the Mountains which diuide *Thessalie* from *Greece*, where sometime the *Phocians* had rayled a wall with gates, which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedemonians*, assisted with one thousand *Tegeates* and *Mantheans*, one thousand *Aradians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole, besides one thousand *Phocians*, four hundred *Thebans*, seven hundred *Thepians*, and all the forces (such as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*, defended the passage two whole daies together against that huge Armie of the *Persians*. The valour of the *Greekes* appeared so excellent in this defence, that in the first dayes fight, *Xerxes* is said to haue three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Armie by one handfull of those men, whom not long before he had vterly despised: and when the second dayes attempt vpon the *Greekes* had prooued vaine, hee was altogether ignorant how to proceede further, and so might haue continued, had not a run-agate *Grecian* taught him a secret way, by which part of his Armie might ascend the ledge of Mountains, and set vpon the backs of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the *Persian* Armie had almost inclosed the small forces of the *Greekes*, then did *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, with his three hundred, and seven hundred *Thepians*, which were all that abode by him, refuse to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not onely resist that world of men which charged them on all sides; but issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well bee called vanquishers, though all of them were slaine vpon the place. *Xerxes* hauing lost in this last fight, together with twentie thousand other Souldiers and Captaines, two of his owne brethren, began to doubt what inconuenience might befall him by the vertue of such as had not bene present at these batailles, with whome hee knew that hee shortly was to deale. Especially of the *Spartans* he stood in great feare, whose manhood had appeared singular in this trial, which caused him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring into the field. It is reported of *Dioneces* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to haue terrified him by saying, That the flight of the *Persian* arrows was so thicke as would hide the Sunne: he answered thus; It is very good news: for then shall we fight in the coole shade.

Such notable resolution hauing as freely bene expressed in deedes, as it was uttered in words, caused the *Persian* to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the Citie of *Sparta* could arme well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedemonians*, though inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counsell of *Demaratus*, a banished King of the *Spartans*, who had alwaies well aduised and instructed him in the things of *Greece*, what course were fittest to bee taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces would assemble together to defend the *isthmus*, that straight necke of ground which joyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Continent. For which cause he aduised, That three hundred shippes well manned should be sent vnto the Coast of *Laconia*, to spoyle the Countrey, and to hold the *Lacedemonians* and neigh-

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neigh-

neighbours bulied at home; whilst *Xerxes* at his leasure having subdued the reit, might afterward bring his whole power vpon them, who remaining destitute of succour, would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Demaratus* further aduised, that the said fleet of three hundred ships should seize vpon the Island then called *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, which lying neere to the Coast of *Laconia*, might serue as a fit place of Rendezvous vpon all occasions either of their own defence or endamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient speech of *Chilon* the *Lacedemonian* should be verified, that it were better for his Countre-men to haue that Ile drowned in the sea, than stand so inconveniently as for them it did. What effect this counsell might haue taken had it been followed it is not easie to guesse. But a contrarie opinion of *Achamenes* brother to King *Xerxes* was preferred as the safer. For the *Persian* fleet had bin sorely vexed with a grieuous tempest which continued three whole dayes together, wherein were lost vpon the coast of *Magnesia* foure hundred ships of war, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foretold, that if any such calamity should ouertake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to giue them succour. Therefore *Achamenes* perswaded his brother not to disperse his fleet; for if (said he) after the losse of foure hundred shippes we shall send away other three hundred to seeke adventures, then will the *Greekes* be strong enough by sea to encounter the rest of the Naue, which holding altogether is invincible. To this counsell *Xerxes* yielded, hoping that his Land-armie and fleet should each of them stand the other good stead, whilst both held one course, and lay not farre asunder. But herein he was farre deceived; for about the same time that his armie had felt the valour of the *Greekes* by Land, his Naue likewise made a sorrowfull prooue of their skill and courage at Sea. The *Grecian* fleet lay at that time at *Artemisium* in the straits of *Euboea*, where the *Persians* thinking to incompass them, sent two hundred sayle about the Island to fall vpon them behind, wing a like stratagem to that which their King did practise against *Leonidas* in a case not vnlike, but with far different successe. For that narrow channell of the sea which diuideth *Euboea* from the maine, was in the same sort held by a Nauy of two hundred threecore and eleuen sayle against the huge *Persian Armada*, as the straits of *Thermopylae* had formerly been maintained by *Leonidas*; till he was so circumvented as this Naue might haue been, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships that were sent about the Island, and the cause of their voiage, was too well knowne in the *Persian* fleet, and soone enough disclosed to the *Greekes*, who setting saile by night, met them with a counter-surprise, taking and sinking thirtie vessels, inforcing the rest to take the Sea, where being ouertaken with foule weather, they were driven vpon the rocks & cast alway. Contrariwise, the Naue of the *Greekes* was increased by the arrivall of fiftie three *Athenian* ships, and one *Leonian*, which came to their partie in the last fight. As these new forces encouraged the one side: so the feare of *Xerxes* his displeasure stirred vp the other to redeme their losse with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their vnfortunate policie, they resolved in plaine fight to repaire their honour, and casting themselves into the forme of a Crescent, thought so to inclose the *Greekes*, who readily did present them battell at *Artemisium*.

The fight endured from noone till night, and ended with equall losse to both parts. For though more of the *Persians* ships were sunke and taken, yet the lesser losse fell altogether as heauie vpon the *Greekish* fleet, which being small could worfe beare it. Herein onely the *Barbarians* may seeme to haue had the worke, that they forooke the place of fight, leauing the wracke and spoiles to the enemy, who neuertheless were faine to abandon presently even the passage which they had vnderaken to defend, both for that many of their ships were sorely crulst in the battail, and especially because they had receiued aduertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylae*. Before they waied anchors, *Themistocles* general of the *Athenians* engraued vpon stone at the watering place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either

they should reuolt vnto the *Greekes* or stand neutrall; which perswasion, he hoped would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the *Persians*.

§. IIII.

The attempt of *Xerxes* vpon *APOLLOE*'s temple: and his taking of *Athens*.



When *Xerxes* had passed the straits of *Thermopylae*, he wasted the country of the *Phocians*, and the regions adioyning: as for the inhabitants, they chose rather to flie, and referre themselves to a day of battell, than to aduerture their liues into his hands, vpon hope of sauing their wealth by making proffer vnto him of their seruice. Part of his armie he sent to spoile the temple of *Delphi*; which was exceeding rich by means of many offerings that had there bene made by diuers Kings and great personages; Of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inuentorie than of the goods left in his owne Palace. To make relation of a great astonishment that fell vpon the companies which arriued at the Temple to haue sacked it, and of two Rocks, that breaking from the mount *Parnassus*, ouerwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peradventure somewhat superstitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who liued not long after, saith, That the broken Rocks remained euen to his memorie in the Temple of *Minerva*, whither they rowled in their fall. And surely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for seeing hee beleued that *Apello* was a god, hee should not haue dared to entertaine a couetous desire of enriching himselfe by committing sacriledge vpon his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that licence to chastise his impietie, in such manner as is reported, was granted vnto the Diuel, by that Holy one, who saith, *Will a man spoile his gods?* and elsewhere, *Haue any nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the Iles of Kittim, and behold, and send to Ke-*

Malac. c. 23. v. 24. Ierem. c. 2. v. 9, 10.

der, and take diligent heed, and see whether there be any such things. Now this impietie of *Xerxes* was the more inexcusable, for that the *Persians* alledged the burning of *Cybeles* Temple by the *Athenians*, when they set fire on the Citie of *Sardis* in *Asia*, to be the ground and cause of the waite which they made in burnings of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeed, in the enterprize against *Delphos*, this Vizzor of holy and zealous reuenge falling off, discovered the face of couetousnesse so much the more vglie, by how much the more themselves had professed a detestation of the offence which the *Athenians* had committed in that kind by mere mischance.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expressed briefly thus: He came to *Athens*, which finding forsaken, he took & burnt the Cittadel & temple which was therein. The Cittadel indeed was defended a while by some of more courage than wisdom, who literally interpreting *Apello*'s Oracle; that *Athens* should be safe in wooden walls, had fortified that place with boords and *Palisades*: too weake to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might haue yielded it vpon tolerable conditions, had they not vainely relied vpon the prophetic: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of *Themistocles*, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the present neede, than fashioning the businesse to words.

¶ V.

How THEMISTOCLES the Athenian drew the Greekes to fight at Salamis.

THe Athenians had, before the coming of *Xerxes*, remooued their wiues and children into *Twazene*, *Agina*, & *Salamis*, not so highly prizing their houses and lands, as they should doe, and the common libertie of Greece. Neuertheless, this great zeale, which the Athenians did shew for the generall good of their Countrey, was ill requited by the other Greekes, who with much labour were hardly intreated to stay for them at *Salamis*, whilst they remooued their wiues and children out of the Citie. But when the Citie of *Athen* was taken, it was presently resolved vpon, that they should forsake the Ile of *Salamis*, and with-draw the fleet to *Isthmus*: which neck of land they did purpose to fortifie against the *Persians*, and so to defend *Peloponnesus* by Land, and Sea, leaving the rest of Greece, as indefensible, to the furie of the enimie. So should the Ilands of *Salamis* and *Agina* haue bene abandoned, and the Families of the Athenians (which were there bestowed as in places of securitie) haue bene giuen ouer to mercilesse bondage. Against this resolution *Themistocles*, Admirall of the Athenian fleet, very strongly made opposition; but in vaine. For the *Peloponnesians* were so possessed with feare of losing their owne, which they would not hazard, that no persuasions could obtaine of them, to regard the estate of their distressed friends and Allies. Many remonstrances *Themistocles* made vnto them, to allure them to abide the enimie at *Salamis*; As first in priuate vnto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedemonian*, Admirall of the whole fleet; That the selfe same feare which made them forsake those coasts of Greece, vpon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the first) cause them also to disseuer the fleet, and euerie one of the Confederates to with-draw himselfe to the defence of his owne Citie and estate: Then to the Councell of Warre which *Eurybiades* vpon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might worke in them hereafter) he shewed that the fight at *Isthmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, hauing the fewer ships, to determine the matter in the Straights; and that, besides the safeguard of *Agina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they should by abiding, where they then were, sufficiently defend *Isthmus*, which the *Barbarians* should not so much as once looke vpon, if the Greekes obtained victorie by sea; which they could not so well hope for else where, as in that present place which gaue them so good advantage. All this would not serue to retaine the *Peloponnesians*, of whom one, vnworthe of memorie, ybraided *Themistocles* with the losse of *Athen*, blaming *Eurybiades* for suffering one to speake in the Councell, that had no Countrey of his owne to inhabit. A base and shamefull obiection it was, to lay as a reproch that losse, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignitie did exasperate *Themistocles*, and put into his mouth a reply so sharpe, as auailed more than all his former persuasions. Hee told them all plainly, That the Athenians wanted not a fairer Citie, than any Nation of Greece could boast of; hauing well-neere two hundred good ships of Warre, the better part of the *Grecian* fleet, with which it was easie for them to transport their Families and substance into any part of the World, and settle themselves in a more secure habitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremitie had refused to stand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a towne in *Italie* belonging of old to the State of *Athen*, of which towne hee said an Oracle had fore-told, That the Athenians in proceesse of time should build it a-new, and there (quoth he) will we plant our selues, leauing vnto you a sorrowful remembrance of my words, and

and of your owne vnthankfulness. The *Peloponnesians* hearing thus much, began to enter into better consideration of the Athenians, whose affaires depended not, as they well perceiued, vpon so weak terms, that they should bee driuen to crouch to others; but rather were such, as might inforce the rest to yeeld to them, and defende euen to the vttermost of their owne demands.

For the Athenians, when they first embraced that Heroical resolution of leaving their grounds and houses to fire and ruine, if necessarie should inforce them so far, for the preservation of their libertie; did imploy the most of their priuate wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great Nauie. By these means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no such calamitie should befall them by land, as might not well be counterpoised by great advantages at sea: Knowing well, that a strong fleet would either procure victorie at home, or a secure passage to any other Countreys. The other States of Greece held it sufficient, if building a few new ships, they did somewhat amend their Nauie. Whereby it came to passe, that, had they been vanquished, they could not haue expected any other fortune than either present death, or perpetuall slavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the assistance of the Athenians, whose forces by sea did equall all theirs together; the whole consisting of more than three hundred and fourescore bottomes. Wherefore these *Peloponnesians* beginning to suspect their owne condition, which would haue stood vpon desperate points, if the fleet of *Athen* had forsaken them; were some perswaded, by the greater feare of such a bad euent, to forget the lesse, which they had conceiued of the *Persians*; and laying aside their former brauerie, they yeelded to that most profitable counsaile of abiding at *Salamis*.

¶ VI.

How the Persians consulted about giuing battaile: and how THEMISTOCLES by policy held the Greekes to their resolution; with the victorie at Salamis thereupon ensuing.

IN the meane season the *Persians* had entred into consultation, whether it were conuenient to offer battell to the Greekes, or no. The rest of the Captains giuing such aduice as they thought would best please the King their Master, had soon agreed vpon the fight; but *Artemisia* Queene of *Halicarnassus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this war in person, was of contrarie opinion. Her Counsell was, that the King himselfe directly should march toward *Peloponnesus*, whereby it would come to passe, that the Greeke Nauie (vnable otherwise to continue long at *Salamis* for want of prouision) should presently be disseuered, and euerie one seeking to preserve his owne Citie and goods, they should, being diuided, proue vnable to resist him, who had wonne so far vpon them when they held together. And as the profit will bee great in forbearing to giue battell; so on the other side, the danger will bee more (said shee) which we shall vnder-goe, than any need requireth vs to adventure vpon; and the losse in case it fall vpon vs, greater than the profit of the victory which we desire. For if we compell the enemies to flee, it is more than they would haue done, we sitting still: but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put vs to the worst, the iourney to *Peloponnesus* is utterly dashed, and many that now declare for vs, will soone resolue vnto the Greekes. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had sent for that purpose to the fleet, related vnto his Master the common consent of the other Captaines, & withall this disagreeing opinion of *Artemisia*. The King well pleased with her aduice, yet resolved vpon following the more generall, but farre-worse counsaile of the rest; which would questionlesse haue bene the same which *Artemisia* gaue, had not feare and flatterie made all the Captaines vtter that, as out of their owne iudgement, which they

they thought most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeede that *Xerxes* had entertained a vaine persuasion of much good, that his owne presence vpon the shore to behold the conflict, would worke among the Souldiers. Therefore he incamped vpon the Sea-side, pitching his owne Tent on the mount *Ægaleus*, which is opposit vnto the Ile of *Salamis*, whence at ease hee might safely view all which might happen in that action, hauing Scribes about him to write downe the acts and behaviour of euery Capitaine. The neere approach of the *Barbarians*, together with the newes of that timorous diligence, which their Countreymen shewed in fortifying the *Isthmus*, and of a *Persian* Armie, marching apace thither, did now againe so terrifie and amaze the *Peloponnesians*, that no intreatie, nor contellation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it meere madness to fight for a Countrey already lost, when they rather should endeavour to saue that which remained vnconquered; propounding chiefly to themselves what miserie would befall them, if losing the victorie, they should be driuen into *Salamis*, there to be shut vp, and besieged round in a poore desolate land.

Hereupon they resolu'd forth-with to set saile for *Isthmus*: which had presently bene done, if the wisdome of *Themistocles* had not prevented it. For he perceiving what a violent feare had ropt vp their eares against all good counsaile, did practise another course, & forth-with labour to prevent the execution of this vnwholsome decree; not suffering the very houre of performance to find him busie in wrangling alteration. As soone as the Councell brake vp, hee dispatched secretly a trustie Gentleman to the *Persian* Capitaines, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their Naue about the Island, which incompassing the *Greekes*, might prevent their escape, giuing them withall a false hope of his assistance. The *Persians* no sooner heard than belueued these good newes, well knowing that the victorie was their owne assured, if the *Athenian* fleet ioyned with them; which they might easily hope, considering what abilitie their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Capitaines with rich rewards, and the People with restitution of their Citie, and Territories. By these means it fell out, that when the *Greekes* very early in the morning were about to waigh Anchor, they found themselves inclosed round with *Persians*, who had laboured hard all night, sending many of their ships about the Ile of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in reare, and landing many of their men in the Ile of *Psittalea*, which lyeth ouer-against *Salamis*, to saue such of their owne, and kill such of the *Græcian* partie, as by any misfortune should be cast vpon the shore. Thus did meere necessitie enforce the *Greekes* to vndertake the battaile in the Straights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable victorie, stemming the foremost of their enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling foule one vpon another, could neither conveniently fight nor flee. I do not finde any particular occurrences in this great battaile to be much remarkable. Sure it is that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearisome taske of writing downe many disasters that befell the *Persian* fleet, which ill acquitted it selfe that day, doing no one peece of seruice worthe the presence of their King, or the registering of his Notaries. As for the *Greekes*, they might wel seeme to haue wrought out that victorie with equall courage, were it not that the principall honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Ægina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did flee towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-armie of *Xerxes* lay, the ships of *Ægina* hauing possessed the Straights, did sink or take them, whilst the *Athenians* did valiantly giue charge vpon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of things following after the battaile of *Salamis*: and of the flight of *XERXES*.

After this victorie, the *Greekes* intending, by way of securitie, to determine which of the Capitaines had bene merited of them, in all this great seruice; euery Capitaine, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write downe his owne name, but in the second place as best deseruing next vnto himselfe, almost euery Suffrage did concur vpon *Themistocles*. His priuate affection yielded vnto vertue, as soon as her own turne was serued. The *Persian* King, as not amazed with this calamitie, began to make new preparation for continuance of warre; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might easily discern his faint heart, through his painted looks. Especially *Mardonius*, Author of the warre, began to cast a wari' eye vpon his Master, fearing lest his counsell should be rewarded according to the euent. Wherefore purposing rather to aduenture his life in pursuit of the victorie, than to cast it away by vnder-going his Princes indignation; he aduised the King to leaue vnto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces he promised to reduce all *Greece* vnder the subiection of the *Persian* Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to sooth *Xerxes* with many faire words; telling him, that the cowardise of those *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like metall, nothing better than slaues, who had so ill bebaued themselves in the late Sea-seruice, did not concerne his honour, who had alwaies been victorious, and had already subdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athens* it selfe, against which the Warre was principally intended. These words found very good acceptance in the Kings eare, who presently betooke himselfe to his journey homewards, making the more haste, for that he vnderstood, how the *Greekes* had a purpose to saile to *Hellepont*, and therto to breake downe his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was that the *Greekes* had no such intent, but rather wished his hastie departure, knowing that hee would leaue his Armie not so strong, as it should haue bene, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did *Eurybiades* giue counsel, that by no means they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, lest necessitie should enforce the *Persians* to take courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beasts. Wherefore *Themistocles* did, vnder pretence of friendship, send a false aduertisement to this timorous Prince, aduising him to conuay himselfe into *Asia* with all speed, before his bridge were discolued: which counsell *Xerxes* tooke verie kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that hee found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into *Asia*; or whether it were in sunder by tempests, and he thereby driuen to imbarke himselfe in some obscure vessel, it is not greatly materiall; though the *Greekes* did most willingly embrace the later of these reports. Howsoeuer it were, this flight of his did well ease the Countrey; that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as Locusts, had before ouerwhelmed it.

§. VIII.

The negotiations betwene *Mardonius* and the *Athenians*, as also betwene the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, after the flight of *XERXES*.

*M*ARDONIUS with his three hundred thousand had withdrawn himselfe into *Thessalie*, whence he sent *Alexander*, the sonne of *Amintas* King of *Macedonia*, as Embassadour to the *Athenians*, with promise of large amends for all their losses receiued; and of extending their Territories as farre as their owne desires; allowing them to retaine the

their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and assist him in that Warre.

The *Athenians* had now reentred their Citie, but not as yet brought backe their wives and children; for as much as they well perceived that the place could not be secure, till the Armie of *Mardonius* were broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians*, vnderstanding what faire conditions this Embassadour would propound, were perplexed with very great feare, lest hee should finde good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, they likewise very speedily dispatched their Embassadours for *Athens*, who arriving, before the *Macedonian* had audience, vsed the best of their perswasion to retaine the *Athenians* firme. They alleadged, that neither *Xerxes* 10 nor *Darius* had any pretence of Warre against the rest of *Greece*, but had onely threatned the subuersion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themselves in defence of that Citie, were drawne into the quarrell, wherein the *Athenians* without much crueltie of iniustice could not leaue them. Wee know, said they, that yee haue endured great calamities, losing the fruit of the grounds, and being driuen to forsake the Towne, the houses whereof bee ruined, and vnfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we vnderstand to maintaine as our owne, your wives and children amongst vs, as long as the war shall continue, hoping that yee, who haue alwaies procured libertie to others, will not now goe about to bring all *Greece* into slaue and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promises are large, but their words and oathes are of no assurance. It was needlesse to vse many argu- 20 ments to the *Athenians*, who gaue answer to *Alexander* in presence of the *Spartan* Embassadours; That whilest the Sunne continued his course, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither gold nor any riches, with which he might seek to make purchase of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wives and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustaine themselves, only desiring the *Lacedemonians*; that with all speede they would cause their Armie to march, for as much as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long sit still in *Thessalie*, hauing once receiued such a peremptorie answer. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readinesse to invade *Attica*, they found themselves nothing deceived. For hee, as 30 soone as *Alexander* had returned their obstinate purpose of resistance, did forthwith leade his Armie towards them, and their Citie: they hauing now the second time quitted it, and conveyed themselves into places of more securitie abroad in the Countrie, where they expected the arriuall of their Confederates.

From *Athens* he sent his Agent vnto them with instructions, not only to perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principall of them to his partie. His hope was that either the people, wearied with forsaking their houses so often, would be desirous to preserve them from fire, and to haue those which were already laid waste, reedified at the Kings charges: Or if this affection took no place with them, but that needes they 40 would relie vpon their old Confederates, whose succours did very slowly aduance forwards, yet perhaps the Leaders might bee wonne with great rewards, to draw them to this purpose; all which projects if they should faile, the destruction of *Athens* would be a good meane to please his Master, King *Xerxes*, who must thereby needes vnderstand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the strongest part of their owne Countrie. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the *Athenians* so little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demosthenes* calls him) *Cyreus*, aduised the Senate to accept the conditions, and propound them to the people; all the *Senators*, and as many as abiding without the Counsaile-house heard what he had said, immediately set vpon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were feare or money, that had moued him to utter such a vile sentence. Yea, the women of *Athens*, in the Ile of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counsaile, and bad end, assembling together, did enter his house there, & put his wife and children to the like execution. All

All this brauerie notwithstanding, when they perceyued the slacknesse of the *Peloponnesians* in giuing them aide, they were faine to betake themselves to *Salamis* againe, the old place of their securitie. Remaining there, and seeing little forwardnesse in those whom it most concerned to assist them, they sent verie seuerie messengers to *Sparta*, complaining of their slacknesse, & threatening withal, to take such course as might stand best with their owne good, seeing that the common estate of all was so little regarded. These messengers were at the first entertained with dilatorie answers, which every day grew colder, when as the *Peloponnesian* Wall, builded a- 10 thwart the *Isthmus*, was almost finished. But as the *Lacedemonians* waxed carelesse and dull, so the *Athenians* hotely pressed them to a quick resolution, giuing them plainly to vnderstand, that if they should hold on in those dilatorie courses, it would not be long ere the Citie of *Athens* tooke a new course, that should little please them. All this while the *Persian* fleet lay vpon the coast of *Asia*, not daring to draw neerer vnto *Greece*, as being now too weak at Sea. Likewise the *Greekish* Nauie contained it selfe within the Harbours vpon *Europe* side; both to doe seruice where neede should require at home; and withall to thinne the danger which might haue befallen any part of it, that being distracted from the rest, had aduentured ouer far. So mutual feare preferred in quiet the Islands lying in the middle of the *Aegean* Seas. But it was well and seasonably obserued by a Councilsman of 20 *Sparta*, that the wall vpon *Isthmus* would serue to little purpose for the defence of *Peloponnesus*, if once the *Athenians* gaue care to *Mardonius*: considering that many dores would be opened into that Demic-land, as soone as the Enemy should by winning the friendship of *Athens*, become the Master of the Seas about it. The *Lacedemonians* vpon this admonition, making better perfall of their owne dangers, were very careful to giue satisfaction to the *Athenian* Embassadours, who not brooking their delaies, were vpon point of taking leaue, yea as it seemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore dispatching away five thousand *Spartans* in the evening, vnder conduct of *Pausanias*, they gaue audience the next day to the Embassadours, whose complaints they answered with vehement protestations of their readinesse; 30 deeply swearing that the Armie of *Sparta* was already farre vpon the iourney; and giuing them leaue to take vp other five thousand *Lacedemonians*, out of the Region adioyning, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though distastful such want of grauitie, in a matter so important, were neuertheless contented with the final conclusion; and leuying the number appointed of *Lacedemonian* Souldiers, made what haste they could to incampe in *Attica*. The other *Graecians* were nothing slacke in sending forth Companies, whose neere approach caused *Mardonius* to forsake *Attica* as a rough Countrie, and therefore of much disadvantage to Horse, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure he burnt the Citie of *Athens*, beating downe the wals of it, and rui- 40 ning all that had formerly escaped the fury of Warre.

¶ IX.

The great battaile of *Plataea*.

IT were too long a rehearse to shew all that hapned in many skirmishes betwene the *Greekes* and him, in the Countrie of *Beotia*, which *Mardonius* had chosen to be the place of that Warre. Much time was spent before the quarrell was decided by trial of one maine 50 battaile: for both parties did stand vpon their guard, each expecting when the other should assaile them.

The Armie of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosen out of *Xerxes* his Armie; to whom were adioyned the forces of *Thessalies*, *Macedonie*, *Thessalie*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now siding with the *Persians*, furnished

furnished his Campe with fiftie thousand men. Against these the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had leauied an Armie of one hundred and ten thousand, of which fortie thousand were waightily armed, the rest were only assistants to these fortie thousand, being armed more slightly, as rather to make excursions and giue chase, than to sustaine any strong charges.

These two Armies hauing eleuen daies confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of seruice; *Mardonius*, whose victuals beganne to faile, resolved to begin the fray. The *Greekes* were promised victorie by an Oracle, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plaine of *Ceres* & *Proserpina*, making prayers vnto certain gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphs. But it was hard to finde the certaine place which the Oracle deligned. For the plaine of *Ceres* was indeede in the Territorie of *Athens*; but there was also an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, neere vnto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewise the memorials of those Nymphs, and Demi-gods, were in the same place, vpon Mount *Cithæron*, and the ground serued well for foot-men against horie; onely the Land belonged vnto the *Plataens*, and not vnto the *Athenians*.

Whilest the *Greekes* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtful Oracle; the *Plataens*, to make all cleere, did freely bestow their land on that side the Towne vpon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Plataens* caused *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to reedifie their Citie, which was ruined in the *Peloponnesian* warres.

All things being readie for battaile; the *Lacedæmonian* Generall thought it most meete, that the *Athenians* should stand opposite that day to the *Medes* and *Persians*, whom they had formerly vanquished at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, should entertaine the *Thebans* and other *Greekes* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and hauing beaten them often-times before. This being agreed vpon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedæmonians*; which *Mardonius* vnderstanding (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whose valour the *Medes* and *Persians* had felt heauie proofe, or desiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the bravest Souldiers of *Greece*) hee did also change the order of his battaile, and oppose himselfe to *Pausanias*. All the *Greekes* might well perceiue how the Enemy did shift his wings, and *Pausanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did also the like. So one whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the *Persians* made that day with their Archers on horse-back, who did so molest the *Greekes* at their watering place, that they were faine to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not without much losse to themselves, and none to the enemy, lie neere to that Fountaine which did serue all the Camp. Hauing therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge; and part of the Armie being sent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceiued their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him seemed to proceede out of mere cowardise) he charged them in reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valor, That the *Lacedæmonians* being ouer-taken by the Enemies horie, and ouerwhelmed with great flights of Arrowes, did quietly sit stil, not making any resistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slaine, and some of especiall marke lost, before any signe of good successe appeared in the entrailes.

But as soone as *Pausanias* had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the superstition of that Age and Countrey accounted fortunate; hee gaue the Signall of battaile: and therevpon the Souldiers, who till then did sit vpon the ground, as was
 of their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage received the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging vpon them without any feare of such notable resistance. The rest of the *Greece* Armie that was in march, being renoked by *Pausanias*, came in a-pace to succour the *Lacedæmonians*: onely that part of the Armie
 which

which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arrive vnto the place of the great battaile, because the *Thebans*, and other *Greekes* confederate with the *Persians*, gaue them checke by the way. Neuerthelesse, the *Spartans* with other their Assistants, did so well acquite themselves, that the *Persians* were vanquished, and *Mardonius* with many thousands more slaine in the field; the rest fledde into the Campe, which they had fortified with wooden walls, and there defended themselves with such courage as desperate necessitie inforced them vnto, holding out the longer, because the *Lacedæmonians* were not acquainted with the manner of assaulting Fortresses, and Walls. In the meane season, the *Athenians* hauing found strong opposition of the *Thebans* and *Thessalians*, did with much labour and courage obtaine victorie, which hauing not long pursued, they came to helpe the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found wearily busied in assaulting the Campe, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themselves vnder-tooke it, and in short space forced a passage through the Wall, at which breach first, and then on all sides, the *Greekes* entred with such furie, and iust desire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand they are said not to haue left three thousand aliuie, excepting those who fled away with *Artabazus*, when the *Persian* Armie first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especiall cause of it was the foolish retreat, or rather flight into the Campe. For though it were so, that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who calt themselves into it, greater than of the Assailants; yet they being of severall Nations and Languages, and hauing lost their Generall with other principall Commanders, it was vnpossible that they in such a terror and astonishment should make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemy Countrey, against an Armie of men, farre more valiant then themselves, and enslaved with present victorie. Therefore the same wall which for a few houres had preserved their liues, by holding out the Enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the slaughtering furie of vnpitefull Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Thessalie*, and other Countries in his way, that hee was sent by *Mardonius* vpon some piece of seruice:
 For hee well knew, that had they vnderstood any thing of that great discomfiture, all places would haue been hostile vnto him, and fought with his ruine to purchase fauour of the vanquishers. Therefore making so large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behinde and lost, hee came to *Byzantium*, whence hee shipped his men ouer into *Asia*. Such was the end of the vaine-glorious expedition, vnder-taken by *Xerxes* against the *Greekes*, vpon hope of honour, and great Conquest, though sorting otherwise, accordingly as *Artabazus* had fore-seene, and rather worse, for as much as it began the quarrell, which neuer ended, before the ruine of the *Persian* Empire was effected by that Nation of the *Greekes*, despised and sought to haue bene brought into slavery. Hereby it may seme, that the vision appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himselfe, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subuersion of the *Persian* Monarchie by the *Greekes*, who, thus prouoked, entred into greater consideration of their owne strength, and the weakenesse of their Enemies.

p. X.

The battaile of Mycale, with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and examples of the like.

THe same day on which the battaile was fought at *Platae*, there was another battaile fought at *Mycale*, a Promontorie, or Head-land in *Asia*, where the *Persian* fleet rode.

Leutyches the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admiralls of 10 the *Greece* Naue, at the request of some Ilanders and *Ionians*, did faile into those parts, to deliuer the *Samians*, and procure the *Ionians* to revolt from the *Persian*. *Xerxes* himselfe at this time lay at *Sardis*, a Citie in *Lydia*, not farre from the Sea-side, hauing left threecore thousand vnder the command of *Tigranes* for defence of *Ionia* and the Sea-coast. Therefore when *Artyntes* and *Libramites*, Admiralls of the *Persian* fleet, vnderstood that the *Greekes* bent their course towards them; they did forth-with draw their ships a-ground, fortifying with *Palissades* and otherwise, as much ground as did seem needfull for the encamping of al their Land and Sea-forces. *Leutyches* at his arriual, perceiuing that they meant to keepe 20 within their strength, and refusing to force them out of it, rowed with his Gallie close aboard the shore, and called vpon the *Ionians* (who more for feare then good wil were encamped among the *Persians*) exhorting them in the *Greece* tongue to remember libertie, and vnto the faire occasion which they now had to recouer it. Here- in he did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Euboea*; trulling that either these persuasions would preuaile, or if the *Persians* did happen to vnderstand them, that it would breed some ielousie in them, causing them to fight in feare of their owne Companions. It neede not seeme strange, that this very same stratageme, which little or nothing auailed *Themistocles*, did now very happily succcede. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficultie, to perswade those Inhabitants of *Asia* to revolt; who now, in his declining estate, gaue a willing 30 eare to the sweet sound of libertie. The *Persians* likewise, who in their former brauerie, little regarded and lesse feared any treason, to be contriued by their Subiects, were now so warie, that from the *Samians* which were amongst them, they tooke away their armes; the *Milesians*, whom they did suspect, but would not seeme to mistrust, they placed farre from them, as it were for defence of the straight passages of *Mycale*; pretending that these *Milesians* did best of all others know those places. But these deuices little auailed them. For the *Samians* perceiuing that they were held as Traitors, tooke courage in the heate of the fight, and laying hold vpon such weapons as came to hand, assailed the *Persians* manfully within the Campe; 40 which example the *Ionians* presently followed, being very glad to haue found some that durst beginne. It is said that while the *Greekes* were yet in a march towards the Enemies campe, a rumour suddenly ranne in the Armie, that *Mardonius* was overthrowne in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was giuen out by the Captaines to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battaile of *Platae* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the euening of the same day.

The like report of that great battaile, wherein *Paulus Emilius* overthrew *Perseus* the last king of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in foure daies, as *Liuius* with others doe record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kinde. As that of the battaile by the River *Sagra* in *Italie*, which was heard of the same day in *Peloponnesus*: That of the battaile against the *Tarquinius* and the *Latines*, presently 50 noised at *Rome*: And (which is most remarkable) the victorie obtained against *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebelle to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germanie*, had corrupted his Armie with gifts and promises,

promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himselfe Emperour; which newes much troubling the Citie of *Rome*, with feare of a dangerous Warre; it was suddainly reported that *Antonius* was slaine, and his Armie defeated.

Hereupon many did offer sacrifice to the gods, and shew all manner of publike ioy, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquirie was made, and the Author of these tidings could not be found; the Emperour *Domitian* betooke himselfe to his journey against the Rebelle; and being with his Armie in march, hee received aduertisement by Post, of the Victorie obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembering the rumour noised before in *Rome*, of the selfe-same victorie, hee found that the report and victorie were borne vpon one day, though twentie thousand furlongs (which make about fife and twenty hundred miles) a-funder. It is truly said of *Plutarch*, that this last example giues credit vnto many the like. And indeede it were very strange, if among so many rumours, begotten by forgerie or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination; there should not be found (as happens in dreames among many thousand vaine and frivolous) a fewe precisely true. Howbeit wee may finde, that God himselfe doth sometimes vnto terrifie those who presume vpon their owne strength, by these light meanes of tumultuous noises; as hee raised the siege of *Samarita*, by causing a 20 sound of Horses and Chariots to affright the *Assyrites*; and as hee threatened *Sennacherib*, saying: Behold, I will send a blast vpon him, and hee shall heare a noise, and retorne to his owne Land. Wherefore it may well haue bene true, that God was pleased by such a meane as this, to animate the *Greekes*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heauie hearts, being in great feare, left their owne adventure should by no meanes fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their Countrie of *Greece*, which was ready to be subdued by *Mardonius*, whilest they went wandering to seeke out enemies a-far-off, vpon the coast of *Asia*. But the same of the battaile fought at *Platae* being noised among them; euery man desired that his owne valour in the present fight, might be some helpe to worke out the 30 full deliuerance of *Greece*. In this alacritie of spirit, they diuided themselves into two Battalions, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the plaine, directly towards the enemies campe; the *Lacedemonians* conducted the other, by the Mountaines and straight passages, to winne the higher ground. The *Athenians* did first set vpon the Campe (ere the *Lacedemonians* could arriue on the other part) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselves, did so forcibly assault it, that they brake way through the *Palissades* and Gabions, and made themselves Masters of the place, slaying all that could not saue themselves by flight. In this fight the *Samians* did good seruice, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Milesians*, who vpon the like ielousie, were placed by the *Persians* on 40 the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the passages; did now (as if they had bene set of purpose to keepe them from running away) put as many to the sword as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except a very few, that fled through by-patches. The *Lacedemonians* that day did little seruice, for the businesse was dispatched ere they came in: Only they broke such companies as rettyred in whole troups; making them flee disperfed in very much disorder, whereby the *Milesians* were enabled to doe the greater execution vpon them. This was the last fight of that huge Armie leauied against *Greece*, which was now vtterly broken, and had no meanes left to make offensive Warre.

§. XI.

Of the barbarous qualitie of XERXES: with a transition from the Persian affaires to matters of Greece, which from this time grew more wortheie regard.

XERXES lay at Sardis, not farre from the place of this battaile; but little minde had hee to reuenge either this or other his great losses, 10 being wholly giuen ouer to the loue of his Brothers Wife: with whom when he could not preuaile by intreatie, nor would obtaine his desire by force, because he respected much his Brother her husband, hee thought it best to make a match betwene his owne Sonne Darius, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that meanes to finde occasion of such familiaritie as might worke out his desire. But whether it were so, that the chastitie of the Mother did still reiect him, or the beauty of her Daughter allure him; hee soone after fell in loue with his owne Sonnes wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to gouerne himselfe in peace, as to guide his Armie in Warre. This yong Ladie hauing once desired the King to giue her the Garment which hee 20 then wore, being wrought by his owne Wife; caused the Queene thereby to perceiue her husbands conseruation with her, which shee imputed not so much to the beautie of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon shee conceiued extreme hatred. Therefore at a Royall feast, wherein the custome was that the King should grant their request, shee craued that the Wife of *Masistes*, her husbands Brother, the yong Ladies Mother, might bee giuen into her disposition. The barbarous King, who might either haue reformed the abuse of such a custome, or haue deluded the importunate crueltie of his Wife, by threatening her selfe with the like, to whatsoever shee should inliet vpon the innocent Ladie, granted the request; and sending for 30 his brother, perswaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seemes, that hee vnderstood how villainously that poore Ladie should be intreated, whom hee knew to bee vertuous, and whom himselfe had loued. *Masistes* refused to put her away; alleging his owne loue, her deseruing, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Sonne, as reasons important to moue him to keepe her. But in most wicked manner *Xerxes* reuiled him; saying, That hee now should neither keepe the Wife which hee had, nor haue his Daughter whom hee had promised vnto him. *Masistes* was much grieued with these wordes, but much more, when returning home, hee found his Wife most butcherly mangled by 40 the Queene *Amestris*, who had caused her Nose, Lippes, Eares, and Tongue to be cut off, and her Breasts in like manner, which were cast vnto Dogges. *Masistes* enraged with this villanie, tooke his way with his children, and some Friends, towards *Bactria*, of which Prouince hee was Gouvernour, intending to rebell and auenge himselfe. But *Xerxes* vnderstanding his purpose, caused an Armie to be leauied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the sword. Such was the Tyrannicall condition of the Persian Governement; and such are generally the effects of Luxurie, when it is ioyned with absolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that hee was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore 50 *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his ouerthrowne, and lying vpon the ground, said, That hee doubted, whether in regard of his vertue, hee should againe erect it, or, for the mischief done by him to Greece, should let it lie.

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But surely whatsoever his other good qualities were, hee was foolish, and was a coward, and consequently mercelless.

Therefore wee may firmly beleue, that the vertue of *Cyrus* was very great, vpon which the foundation of the Persian Empire was so surely laid, that all the wickednesse and vanities of *Xerxes*, and other worse Princes, could not ouerthrow it, vntill it was broken by a vertue almost equall to that which did establish it. In warres against the *Egyptians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the first it had bene very good; but against the generall estate of Greece, neither hee, nor any of his posteritie, did euer make offensiu warre, but receiued many losses in Asia, to which the last at *Myale* serued but as an introduction; teaching the 10 *Greekes*, and especially the *Athenians*, that the Persian was no better Souldier at his owne doores, than in a forraigne Countrey: whereof good triall was made forth with, and much better proofe as soone as the affaires of *Athens* were quietly settled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the Historie of Greece, taking in the matters of Persia, as also the estate of other Countreies, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the Persian estate continued in her greatnesse, many Ages following, in such wise that the knowne parts of the World had no other Kingdome, representing the Maiestie of a great Empire.

20 But this greatnesse depended only vpon the riches and power that had formerly bene acquired, yielding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excessive Luxurie, where-with both it, and all, or the most of Empires that euer were, haue bene enuironed, made vnweldie, and (as it were) fattened for the hungrie swords of poore and hardie Enemies. Hereby it came to passe, that *Xerxes* and his successours were faine to defend their Crownes with money and base policies; very seldome or neuer (vnlesse it were with great aduantage) daring to aduenture the triall of plaine battaile with that little Nation of Greece, which would soone haue ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not priuate malice and ielousie vrged euery

30 Citie to enuie the height of her Neighbours walls, and thereby diuerted the swords of the *Greekes* into their owne bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* beganne verry well, and might better haue continued, to hew out the way of conquest, on the side of Asia.

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CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian Warre, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

§. I.

How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.



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THAT the Medes and Persians had received their last blow, and were utterly beaten at Mycale: Leotychides, who then commanded the Grecian Armie, leaving the pursuit of the warre to the Athenians, assisted by the revolted Iones, returned with the Lacedemonians and other Peloponnesians to Sparta and other places, out of which they had been leauied. The Athenians in the meane while besieged Sestos, a Citie on the strait of the Hellespont, betweene which and Abydos, Xerxes had lately fastned his Bridge of Boats: where the inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the Greekes, who entertained themselves the Winter following on that side the Hellespont. In the Spring they drew homeward, and hauing left their wiues and children, since the inuasion of Attica, and the abandoning of Athens, in diuers Islands, and at Troezen, they now found them out, and returned with them to their owne places.

And though the most part of all their houses in Athens were burnt and broken downe, and the walls of the Citie ouer-turned, yet they resolved first on their common defence, and to fortifie their Citie, before they cared to couer themselves, their wiues and children, with any priuate buildings: Whereof the Lacedemonians being aduertised, and misliking the fortifying of Athens, both in respect that their owne Citie of Sparta was vnwalled, as also because the Athenians were growne more powerful by Sea, than either themselves, or any other State of Greece, they dispatched messengers to the Athenians to dissuade them; not acknowledging any priuate mislike or ielousie, but pretending, that if the Persians should returne to inuade Greece a third time, the Athenians being in no better state to defend themselves than heretofore, the same would serue to recciue their enemies, and to be made a Seate for the Warre, as Thebes had lately bene. To this the Athenians promised to giue them satisfaction by their owne Embassadors very speedily. But being resolved to goe on with their workes by the aduice of Themistocles, they held the Lacedemonians in hope of the contrarie, till they had rayfed their walls to that height, as they cared not for their milikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gaine time) they dispatched Themistocles towards Lacedemon, giuing him for excuse, that he could not deliuer the Athenians resolutions, till the arrivall of his fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the Lacedemonians expectation being conuerted into ielousie (for by the arrivall of diuers persons out of Attica, they were told for certaine, That the walls of Athens were speedily growne vp beyond expectation) Themistocles prayed them not to beleue reports and vaine rumors, but that they would be pleased to send some of their own trustie Citizens to Athens, from whose relation they might resolue themselves, and deter-

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mine accordingly. Which request being graunted, and Commissioners sent, Themistocles dispatched one of his owne, by whome hee aduised the Athenians, first to entertaine the Lacedemonians with some such discourse as might retaine them a few dayes, and in conclusion to hold them among them, till himselfe and the other Athenian Embassadors, then at Sparta, had their libertie also to returne. Which done, and being also assured by his associates and Arifides, that Athens was already defensible on all parts, Themistocles demanding audience, made the Lacedemonians know, That it was true that the walls of Athens were now rayfed to that height, as the Athenians doubted not the defence of their Citie; praying the Lacedemonians to beleue, That whensoever it pleased them to treat with the Athenians, they would know them for such, as right well vnderstood what appertained to a Commonweale and their owne safetie, without direction and aduice from any other: That they had in the warre of Xerxes abandoned their Citie, and committed themselves to the wooden walls of their shippes, from the resolution of their owne counsels and courage, and not thereto taught or perswaded by others; and finally, in all that perillous warre against the Persians they found their owne judgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferior, or lesse fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Commonweale among the Greekes; And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Masters and Iudges of their owne Affairs, and thought it good reason, that either all the Cities confedered within Greece should be left open, or else that the walls of Athens should be finished and maintained.

The Lacedemonians finding the time vnfit for quarrell, dissembled their millike, both of the fortifying of Athens, and of the diuision, and so suffered the Athenians to depart, and received backe from them their owne Embassadors.

The walls of Athens finished, they also fortified the Port Pyreus, by which they might vnder couert imbarke themselves upon all occasions.

§. II.

The beginning of the Athenian greatnesse, and prosperous warres made by that State upon the Persian.



THE Athenians hauing settled things in good order at home, prepared thirtie Gallies for the pursuit of the warre against the Persians, to which the Lacedemonians added other twentie; and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities of Greece confederated, they set sayle for Cyprus, vnder the conduct of Pausanias the Lacedemonian; where after their landing hauing possesed themselves of many principall places, they imbarked the Armie againe, and tooke land in Thracie, recouering from the Persians by force the Citie Bizantium, now Constantinople: from whence Pausanias, behauing himselfe more like a Tyrant than a Captaine, especially towards the Ionians lately revolted from Xerxes, was called backe by the counsell of Lacedemon, and not onely accused of many insolent behaviors, but of intelligence with the Medes, and Treason against his Countrey. In his stead they employed Dacres, who either gaue the same cause of offence; or else the Athenians, who affected the first commaundement in that warre, practised the souldiours to complaine, though indeed the wife and vertuous behavior of Arifides, General of the Athenian forces, a man of rare and intonsurable sincerity, had bene able to make a good Commandeur seeme ill in comparison of himselfe; and therefore was much more available, in rendering those detested, whose viues afforded little matter of excuse. Howsoever it were, the Lacedemonians being no lesse wearie of the warre, than the Athenians were eage to pursue it, the one obtained their ease, and the other the execution and honor which they desired: for all the Greekes (those of Peloponnesus excepted) willingly subjected themselves to the commandement of the Athenians, which was both the beginning of

of their greatnesse in that present age, and of their ruine in the next succeeding. For the charge of the warre being now committed vnto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities, they appointed Receiueurs and Treasurers, and beganne to leuie money, according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the generall defence of *Greece*, and for the recovering of those places on *Europe* side, in *Asia* the lesse, and the Islands, from the *Persians*. This tribute (the first that was euer payed by the *Greekes*) amounted to foure hundred and threescore Talents; which was rayed easily by the honest care of that iust man *Aristides*, to whose discretion all the confederates referred themselves, and no one man found occasion to complaine of him. But as the vertue of *Aristides*, and other worthy Citizens, brought vnto the *Athenians* great commoditie; so the desire which they conceiued of encreasing their commoditie, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the generall loue, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their Citie to the defence of her treasure, which with her in the next age perished. For it was not long ere these foure hundred & threescore Talents were rayed to fixe hundred, nor long, after that, ere their couetous Tyrannie had converted their followers into slaues, and extorted from them yeerely threene hundred Talents. The Isle of *Elos* was at the first appointed for the Treasure-house wherein these summes were layd vp; and where, at the generall assemblie, the Capitaines of those forces, sent by the confederates, were for forme sake called to consultation. But the *Athenians*, who were stronger by sea than all *Greece* besides, had lockt vp the common treasure in an Island, vnder their owne protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterward they did.

The generall Commander in this Warre was *Cimon*, the sonne of *Antistides*, who first tooke *Etona*, vpon the Riuer *Strimon*; then the Isle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they maltreated the *Carsij*, and brought into seruitude the *Naxij*, contrarie to the forme of the confederacie: So did they other the inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they fayled of their contribution, or disobeyed their commandements; taking vpon them and vsurping a kind of soueraigne authority ouer the rest: which they exercised the more assuredly, because they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be resisted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, wearie of the warre in their owne persons, and giuen vp altogether to their ease, made choise rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of warre, or in shippes; leauing the prouision of both to the *Athenians*. Heereby the one grew weake in all their defences, and in the exercise of the Warres; the other greatly strengthened their Nauie and their experiences, being alwayes armed and employed in honourable Seruices, at the cost of those, who hauing listd them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-money, leuied vpon these their confederates, employed so well by the *Athenians* at the first (as ill proceedings are often founded vpon good beginnings) that no great cause of repining was giuen. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admirall scouring the Asiaticke Seas, tooke in the Citie of *Phaselis*; which hauing formerly pretended neutralitie, and refused to relieue, or any way assist the *Greekes*, were enforced to pay tenne Talents for a fine, and so to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yeerely contribution.

From thence hee set sayle for the Riuer *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Persian* Fleet rode, being of fixe hundred sayle, or (according to the most sparing report) three hundred and fiftie, and hauing a great Land-Armie, encamped vpon the shoare; all which forces hauing bene prouided for aduancing the Kings affaires in *Greece*, were vterly defeated in one day, and two hundred shippes taken by the *Athenians*, the rest being broken to pieces, or sinke, ere euer they had swomme in the *Greekish* Seas. *Cimon* hauing in one day obtained two great victories, the one by the Sea, and the other by Land, was very soone presented with a third.

third. For fourescore sayle of *Phoenicians* (who were the best of all Sea men, vnder the *Persian* command) thinking to haue joyned themselves with the Fleet before destroyed, arriued vpon the same Coast, ignorant of what had passed, and fearing nothing lesse than what ensued. Vpon the first notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, & meeting them at an head-Land, called *Hydra*, did so amaze them, that they only sought to runne themselves on ground; by which meane preserving few of their men, they lost all their shippes. These losses did so breake the courage of the *Persian*, that, omitting all hope of preuailling vpon *Greece*, he condescended to whatsoeuer Articles it pleased the *Athenians* to propound, granting libertie vnto all the *Greekes* inhabiting *Asia*; and further couenanted, That none of his shippes of Warre should sayle to the Westward of the Isles, called *Cyanea* and *Chelidonia*.

This was the most honourable peace that euer the *Greekes* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any warre that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till such time as, vnder *Alexander*, they ouerthrew the Empire of *Persia*; in which Warre few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but serued altogether vnder the *Macedonians*.

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§. III.

The death of XERXES by the treason of ARTABANVS.

BE sides these losses, which could not easily haue bene repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time such, as gaue iust cause to the *Persian* of seeking peace vpon any termes not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus*, the vnckle of *Xerxes*, perceiuing, that the King his master did easily take small occasions to leade the bloud of such, as in kindred or place were neere vnto him, beganne to repose lesse hope of safetie in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soueraignetie, by destroying a Prince that was so hated for his crueltye, and despised for his cowardise and misfortunes. Hauing conceiued this Treason, he found meanes to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in such close manner, that (as if he himselfe had bene innocent) he accused *Darius* the sonne of *Xerxes*, and caused him to suffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickednesse he got the Kingdome, and held it seuen moneths; or whether intending the like euill to *Artaxerxes* the sonne of *Xerxes*, he was by him preuented and surprisid, it were hard to affirme any certaintie. But all Writers agree vpon this, That taken he was, and with his whole familie put to death by extreme torments, according to the sentence, whereof the truth is more auncient than the Verse.

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*Raro antecedentem scelustum
Deseruit pede patna claudo.*

Seldome the villaine, though much haste he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance failes to ouer-take.

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§. IIII.

§. IIII.

The banishment of THEMISTOCLES: His flight to ARTAXERXES
newly reigning in Persia; and his death.

AR TAXERXES being established in his Kingdome, and having so compounded with the *Athenians*, as the present necessity of his affaires required, began to conceiue new hopes of better fortune against the *Greekes*, than he or his predecessors had euer hitherto found. For the people of *Athens*, when the *Persians* were chased out of Greece, did so highly value their owne merites in that seruice, that they not onely thought it fit for themselves to become the Commanders ouer many Townes and Islands of the *Greekes*, but, euen within their owne wals, they would admit none other forme of Government than merely *Democratia*. Herein they were so insolent, that no integritie nor good desert was able to preferue the estate of any such as had borne great office, longer than, by flattering the rascall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deedes to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themistocles*; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatnesse vpon popularitie, yet now presuming vpon his good seruices done to the State, hee thought that with great reason they might graunt him the libertie to checke their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearing the benefites which they had receiued from him, that they layed vpon him the punishment of *Ostracisme*, whereby he was banished for tenne yeeres, as a man ouer-burthen some to the Commonwealt.

Before the time of his returne was halfe expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the *Lacedemonians*, who charged him of consulting with *Pausanias*, about betraying the whole Countrey of Greece vnto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themistocles* finding no place of securitie against the malice of two such mightie Cities, was driuen, after many trouble some flights, and dangerous remouings, to aduenteure himselfe into *Persia*; where he found *Artaxerxes* newly settled, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceiued of aduancing his affaires by the counsell and assistance of *Themistocles*, proued altogether fruitlesse. For when the *Athenians*, in fauour of *Inarus* the *Libyan*, (who infected *Egypt*, causing it to rebell against the *Persian*) had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Armie in *Egypt*, and scowring those Easterne Seas, to the great hinderance of *Artaxerxes*, and (for ought that I can vnderstand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King send his Letters to *Themistocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had giuen, of assuring the *Persian* estate against the *Greekes*.

But whether *Themistocles* perceiued much vnlikelesse of good successe, in leading a great Armie of dastardly *Persians* against the warlike people of Greece; or else (as in fauour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the loue of his Countrey would not permit him to seeke honour by the ruine of it: sure it is; that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to undertake the conduct of great forces against the *Athenians*, hee decided the great conflict betwene thankfulness to his well-deseruing Prince, and naturall affection to his owne ill-deseruing people, by finishing his life with a cup of poyson.

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§. V.

§. V.

How the Athenians, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they
had made with the Persians, were shamefully beaten
in Egypt.

HEN was *Artaxerxes* driuen to vse the seruice of his owne Captaines in the *Egyptian* warre, wherein it appeared well, that a just cause is a good defence against a strong enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred saile strong was sent forth vnder *Cimon*, to take in the Isle of *Cyprus*: which conquest seemed easie both to make and to maintaine, the *Persian* being vtterly broken at Sea, and thereby vnable to relieue the Island. Now although it were so, that a peace had bene concluded, which was likely to haue bene kept sincerely by the *Persian*, who had made so good proofe of the *Grecian* valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any shippes of Warre (without which the *Greekes* could receiue no harme from him) whereof if any one should be found sayling towards Greece, the peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole estate; yet all the Sea-coast (no small part of his Dominions) exposed to the walle of an enemy too farre ouer-matching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, lest the league which in his owne worser fortunes hee had made with them, he would breake in theirs; and therefore fought to get such assurance into their hands, as might vtterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their revenues and power, by adding that rich and great Island to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profit; they thought it the wisest way, to take whilst they might, whatsoeuer they were able to get and hold, and he vnable to defend.

The Ile of *Cyprus* lying in the bottome of the Straights betwene *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, is very fitly seated for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either seeke to enrich himselfe by trade with those Countreies, or to infect one or more of them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpose of the *Athenians*, their Ambition which had already deuoured, in conceit, this Island, was on the sodaine well-nigh choaked with a greater morcell, to smatch at which, they let *Cyprus* alone, which they might easily haue swallowed and digested. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians* confining *Egypt*, hauing found how greatly the Countrey was exhauished by the late warres, and how weakly defended by very slender *Persian* garrisons, conceived rightly, that if such small forces as the *Satrapa* or *Viceroy* could make on the sodaine of his owne *Gardes*, or leue out of the ordinarie *Garrisons*, were by him defeated, the naturalls of the Countrey, not long since oppressed by *Cambyses*, and after a reuolt very lately subdued by *Xerxes*, would soone breake faith with him who had no other title to that kingdome than a good sword. Further, he perswaded himselfe that the people, vnable to defend themselves against the *Persians* without his assistance, would easily be drawne to accept him, the author of their deliuerance for king. Neither did this hope deceiue him. For hauing taken and cruelly slaine *Achamenes* the *Viceroy*, diuers Cities forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclayming him king, shewed the most of their endeavour for prosecution of the warre. But hee considering his owne weaknesse, and that the manes of the *Egyptians* his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceiued well, that to resist the power of *Artaxerxes*, farre greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price soeuer he obtained them. Therefore hee hearing of the great *Athenian* fleet, and knowing well the vertue of the souldiers therein embarked; hee invited the Commanders to share with him the kingdome of *Egypt*, as a farre greater reward of their aduenteure, than such an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their estate. Whether hee orthely (if things had wholly sorted according to their expectation) would haue bene contented with an equall share, and

not

not haue fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a diuination vnnecessarie. Hee was possessed of the peoples loue, they were of moit power. But the issue of those affaires was such as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally. Yet had the beginnings of their enterprise very good and hopefull successe: For they entred the Land as farre as to *Memphis*, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it selfe they tooke two parts: to the third part, which was called the White wall, they layd such hard siege, that neither those forces of the *Persians*, which then were in *Egypt*, were strong enough to repoue them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well deuise what meanes to vfe for the recovery of that which was lost, or for the preservation of the remainder. The best of his hope was by 10 setting the *Lacedemonians* vpon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to looke home-wards, to their owne defence. This was the first time that the *Persian* sought to procure assistance of the *Greekes* one against the other, by stirring them vp with gold to the entertainment of private quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpose he sent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* with much Treasure; who, after great expence, finding that the *Lacedemonians* were nothing forward in employing their whole force against the *Athenians*, whome in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their Armie in *Egypt*; he thought it his wisest way to employ the rest of his money & meanes to their reliefe, who had now the space of sixe yeeres defended his matters right in 20 *Egypt*. Therefore he hastily dispatched another of his name, the sonne of *Zopyrus*, who arriving in *Egypt*, was first encountered by the revolted people; ouer whome he obtained a victorie, which made him master of the Countrey, whilst the *Athenians* lay busied about *Memphis* the great Citie. It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a strange ayre, and want of supply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: sure it is, that when *Megabazus*, having reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it selfe, whether his former successe had amended the courage of the *Persians*, or want of necessities made the *Athenians* inferior to themselves, he chased them out of *Memphis*, and pursued them so neere, as they were for to fortifie themselves in the Ile of *Prosopites*, where *Megabazus*, after eightene 30 moneths siege, turning away one part of the Riuer by diuers Trenches, assaulted the *Athenian* without impediment of waters, tooke their Gallies, and put all to the sword, saue a few that saued themselves by flight into *Lybia*; the same entertainment had fiftie other Gallies which they sent to the succour of the first two hundred. For those *Athenians* hauing heard nothing that their Fleet and Armie was consumed, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesum*, and fell vnawares among the *Phanician* Gallies and the *Persian* Armie; so as the *Persians* recovered all *Egypt*, but that part held by *Amyrtaeus*, and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia*, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* sixe yeeres warre in *Egypt*, and the reward of their vanitie and indiscretion to undertake many enterprises at 40 once.

Prosopites an
Iland between
the Riuer of
Taly and *Phar-*
matius, two
of the out-lets
of *Nilus*, go-
wards *Alex-*
andria.
Mendesum is
an Iland in
the mouth of
Nilus, between
the out-let cal-
led *Prosopites*
and *Dulcis*.
But the branch
of *Nilus*, called
Mendesum,
runneth into
the Sea by the
Citie *Pand-*
orphia.

§. VI.

Of other Warres made by the *Athenians* for the most part with good
successe, about the same time.

Notwithstanding these ouerthrowes in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home-warres waded through many difficulties, and held there-putation of their forces against the *Lacedemonians*, *Corinthians*, and 50 others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten neere vnto *Halia* by the *Corinthians* & *Epidaurians*, so they obtained two great victories soone after; the one ouer the *Peloponnesians*, neere vnto *Cecephalia*; the other ouer the *Eginets*, neere vnto *Egina*; where they funke and 40 carried

carried away three score and ten Gallies of their Enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the suddaine, and besieged *Egina*, from whence they could not be moved, notwithstanding that the *Corinthians*, to diuert them, invaded *Megara*; where, after a great fight, with equall losse, the *Corinthians*, when they returned againe to set vp their *Trophiæ*, as Victors in the former battaile, were vterly broken and slaughtered by the *Athenian* Garrisons, and *Megara*ns, to their great losse and dishonour.

Again, as the *Athenians* were discomfited neere to *Tanagra*, by the *Lacedemonians*, who returned from the succour of the *Dorians* against the *Phocians*, (at which 10 time the *Theban* horse-men turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought against them) so about three score daies after, the *Athenians* entred *Boeotia* vnder the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they wanne *Phocis* on the gulfe *Ocean*, and cuncted the walls of *Tanagra* to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Egina* to render vpon most base conditions; as to beat downe the walls of their Citie, and to giue them hostages for Tribute; the siege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and attempts else where. Besides these victorie they sacke and spoiled many places vpon the Sea coast of *Peloponnesus*, belonging to the *Lacedemonians*; wan vpon the *Corinthians*, and ouerthrow the *Sicyonians* that came to their succour. These were the undertakings of the *Athenians*, and 20 their Allies, during the time of those sixe yeeres that a part of their forces made warre in *Egypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Thebes*, perswaded thereunto by *Orestes*, but were resisted by the King *Pharjalus*, who had chased *Orestes* out of his Dominions. They also landed in *Asia*, and had victorie ouer those that resisted, after which they made truce with the *Peloponnesians* for sixe yeeres, and sent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ships, but they were againe allured by *Amyrtaeus* one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Marit & Woodie parts of *Egypt* from the *Persians*, to whom they sent sixtie of their ships. The rest of their Armie failing in their enterprise of *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coasted the land, encountered a fleet of the *Phar-* 30 *nicians* and *Cilicians*; ouer both which Nations they returned victorious into *Greece*: as also those returned safe which were sent into *Egypt*.

§. VII.

Of *ARTAXERXES LONGIMANVS*, that he was *ANASHVEROSHI*
the husband of *QUEENE HESTER*.

THe *Egyptian* troubles being ended, the raigne of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable, wherof the length is by some restrained into twenty yeeres, but the more and better Authors giue him fortie, some allow vnto him foure and fortie. He was a Prince of much humanitie, and noted for many examples of gentleness. His fauour was exceeding great to the *Jewes*, as appeareth by the Histories of *Esdas* and *Nehemias*, which fell in his time.

To proue that this was the King who giue countenance and aide to that great worke of building the Temple, it were a needlesse trouble; considering that all the late Diuines haue taken very much paine, to shew that those two Prophets were licensed by him, and succoured in that building, in such sort as appears in 30 their writings.

This was likewise that King *Abasuerus* who married *Hester*. Wherof if it be needfull to giue proofe, it may suffice; That *Abasuerus* bliued in *Susa*, raigning from *India* to *Ethiopia*, and therefore must haue bene a *Persian*; That he liued in peace, as appears by the circumstances of the Historie, and vfed the counsaile of the seuen 40 Princes,

Princes, the authoritie of which Princes beganne vnder *Darius*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*, wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyses*.

The continuall Warres which exercised King *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, together with the certainty of his marriages with sundry wives, from none of whom he was diuorced, but left his first wife *Aossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, aliue in great honour, thence being mother to *Xerxes* the succeeding King; doe manifestly proue that *Hester* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo the Jew*, That at the perswasion of *Marдохeus*, *Ioiachim* the high Priest the sonne of *Iesua*, caused the feast of *Purim* to be instituted in memorie of that deliuerance. Now the time of *Ioiachim* was in the raigne of *Artaxerxes*, at the comming of *Esdra*s, and *Nehemias*: *Iesua* his 10 father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The lame continuance of warres, with other his furiours and tragical loues, wherewith *Xerxes* did consume such little time, as hee had free from warre, are enough to proue, that the *Glorie* of *Hester* pertained not vnto the time of *Xerxes*, who liued but one and twentie yeeres, whereas the two & thirtieth of *Ahasuerus* or *Artaxastha* is expressed by *Nehemias*. Again, it is well knowne, that *Xerxes* in the sequenth yeere of his raigne (wherein this marriage must haue been celebrated) came not neere to *Susa*. Of the Princes that succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to proue that none of them could be *Ahasuerus*, it is enough to say, that *Marдохeus* hauing bene carried from *Hierusalem* captiue, with *Iechonia*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was 20 vnlikely to haue liued vnto their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he liued in *Susa*, taigned from *India* to *Aethiopia*, liued in peace, was contemporarie with *Ioiachim* the high Priest: and further he had happily by his Licutenants reclaimed the rebellious *Egyptians* in that sequenth yeere of his raigne; which good fortune might well giue occasion to such a Royall feast, as is described in the beginning of the booke of *Hester*. This is the summe of the arguments, brought to proue the age of *Hester*'s *Glorie* by the learned and diligent *Krentzheimius*, who addes the authorities of *Iosephus*, affirming the same, and of *Philo*, giuing to *Marдохeus* eightene yeeres more than *Isaac* the *Patriarch* liued, namely, one hundred fourescore and eightene yeeres in all, which ex- 30 pires in the five and thirtieth yeere of this *Artaxerxes*, if we suppose him to haue bene carried away captiue, being a Boy of ten yeeres old.

§. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece, foregoing the Peloponnesian Warre.

BVt it is fit that we now returne to the affaires of the *Greekes*, who from this time forward, more vehemently prosecuting their ciuill warres, suffered the *Perians* for many ages to rest in peace: this *Egyptian* ex- 40 pedition being come to nought. Soone after this, the *Lacedemonians* vnderooke the warre called, Sacred, recovered the Temple and Ile of *Delphos*, and deliuered both to the inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the same, and gaue it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the meane while the banished *Boeotians* reentred their owne Land, and maistrd two of their owne Townes posselt by the *Athenians*, which they soone recovered againe from them; but in their returne towards *Athens*, the *Boeotians*, *Euboeans*, and *Locrians*, (Nations opprest by the *Athenians*) set vpon them with such resolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight allaine or taken, whereby the *Boeotians* recovered their former libertie, restoring to the *Athenians* their prisoners. The Ilanders of *Euboea* tooke such courage vpon this, 50 that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was aduertised that the *Megarians*, (who first left the *Lacedemonians*, and submitted themselves to *Athens*) being now wearie of their yoke, had laine the *Athenian* Garrisons, and ioyned themselves with the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and

Epi-

Epidaurians. These newes hastened *Pericles* homeward with all possible speede; but ere he could recouer *Attica*, the *Peloponnesians*, led by *Philoanax*, the sonne of *Pausanias*, had invaded it, pillaged, and burnt many parts thereof; after whole returne *Pericles* went on with his first intent and recouered *Euboea*. Finally, the *Athenians* beganne to treat of peace with the *Peloponnesians*, and yielded to deliuer vp all the places which they held in the Country of *Peloponnesus*; and this truce was made for thirtie yeeres. After fixe of these yeeres were expired, the *Athenians* (fauouring the *Mylesians* against the *Samians*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*, and after many repulses, and some great losses, both by Sea and Land, the citizens were forced to yeeld themselves vpon most lamentable conditions; Namely, to deliuer vp all their ships, to breake downe their own walls, to pay the charge of the warre, and to restore whatsoever had bene taken by themselves, or by their practice, from the *Athenians*. In the necke of which followed that long and cruell *Peloponnesian* Warre, whereof I haue gathered this bricfe following: the same contention taking beginning fiftie yeeres after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But because there was no Citie thereof, which either in the beginning of this warre, or in the continuance of it, was not drawne into the quarrell: I hold it conuenient now at the first to shew briefly the estate of the Countre at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, *Athens*, and *Sparta*, vpon which all the rest had most dependance.

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CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian Warre.

§. I.

Vpon what termes the two principall Cities of Greece, *Athens* and *Sparta*, stood, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.

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GREECE was neuer vniued vnder the gouernement of any one Prince or Estate, vntill *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to a Vnion and League against the *Perians*, whereof they were Captaines, than into any absolute subiection. For euery Estate held their owne, and were gouerned by Lawes farre different, and by their owne Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yeld obedience no otherwise than as to such, who were (perforce) their leaders in the *Perian* warre (deemed the General quarrell of *Greece*) and tooke the profit and honor of the victorie, to their owne vse and increafe of greatnesse. But the Kings which afterwards raigned in *Macedonia*, did so farre enlarge their authoritie, that all *Greece* was by them brought vnder such obedience, as differed little from seruitude; very 50 few excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with armes, and sometimes with gifts, preserve their liberty; of whom the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* were chiefe: which two people deserued best the plague of tyrannie, having first giuen occasion thereunto, by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Countre by perpetual Warre. For vntill these two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* distracted

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all

all Greece, drawing every State into the quarrell, on the one or other side, and so gave beginning to the *Peloponnesian* warre (the effects whereof in true estimation ceased not, before the time that *Philip* had ouer-mastred all, forasmuch as euery conclusion of one warre afforded hencefoorth matter to some new distraction of the whole Countrey) the warres, commenced betweene one Citie of Greece and another, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controuersies were soone decided, either by the authoritie of the *Amphictiones*, who were the generall Council of Greece; or by the power of the *Lacedemonians*, whose aide was commonly held as good as the assurance of victorie.

These *Lacedemonians* had liued about foure hundred yeeres vnder one forme of Government, when the *Peloponnesian* warre beganne. Their education was onely to practise leates of Armes; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equall to very great numbers of any other people. They were poore, and cared not much for wealth; euery one had an equall portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintaine him in such manner of life as they vsed. For brauery they had none, and curious building or apparell they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinarie meales being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They vsed money of yron, whereof they could not be couetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they liued *Utopian*-like, saue that they vsed no other occupation than Warre, placing all their felicitie in the glory of their valour. Heereby it came to passe that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all Greece followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrarie to this. For they sought wealth, and measured the honors of their victories by the profit; they vsed mercenarie Souldiers in their warres, and exacted great tribute of their Subjects, which were for the most part Islanders, compelled to obey them, because the *Athenian* fleet was great.

As in forme of policy, and in course of life, so in conditions naturall, the difference betweene these two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, suddaine in their conclusions, and as hastic in the execution; The *Lacedemonians* very slow in their deliberations, full of grauitie, but very resolute, and such as would in cold blood performe what the *Athenians* did vsually in flagrant. Whereby it came to passe, that the *Lacedemonians* had all the Estates of Greece depending vpon them, as on men firme and assured, that sought honour and not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by such as obeyed them perforce, being held in straight subiection. But the Signorie of the *Athenians* was nothing large, vntill such time as the *Persian Xerxes* had invaded Greece, pretending onely a quarrel to *Athens*: For then the Citizens perceiving well, that the Towne of *Athens* could not be defended against his great Armie of seuentene hundred thousand men, bestowed all their wealth vpon a Naue, and (assisted by the other *Grecians*) ouerthrew the fleet of *Xerxes*, whose Land-forces were soone after discomfited by them, and the *Greekes*, who all serued vnder conduct of the *Spartans*. After these victories, the *Athenians* being now very mightie in fleet, reduced all the Ilands of the *Greekish* Seas vnder their obedience; imposing vpon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of warre against the *Persian*; though indeede they employed their forces chiefly, to the conquest of such Ilands, and haue-Townes, of their owne Countreymen, as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the *Lacedemonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in expeditions to be made farre from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much ielousie, and were very apt to quarrell with them; but much more willing to breed contention betweene them and other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Thebans* would haue oppressed the *Plataeans*, when they of *Plataea* repaired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other aide, than this aduice, That they should seeke helpe at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought,

was thought, that the *Athenians* should be intangled in a long and tedious Warre, with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proued otherwise; for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did onely serue to increase their honour and puissance.

§. II.

How *Sparta* and *Athens* entred into warre.

10 **E**uerthelesse many Estates of Greece were very ill affected to *Athens*, because that Citie grew very insolent vpon suddaine prosperitie, and maintaining the weaker Townes against the stronger, incroched apace vpon their Neighboures, taking their dependants from them. Especially the *Corinthians* were much enraged, because the people of the Iland *Corcyra*, their Colonie which had rebelled against them, and giuen them a great ouerthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who desired to increase their fleet by adioyning that of *Corcyra* vnto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby impeached of that reuenge which else they would haue taken. Now how-
20 soeuer it were so, that these dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly against the conditions of peace agreed vpon among the *Greekes*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* so vehement, that (though with much ado) they concluded to redresse by warre the iniuries done to their Allies.

First therefore seeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certaine offences committed against the gods; whereto hauing for answer, That they themselves should expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*; they beganne to deale plainly, and required that the people of some Townes, oppressed by the Estate of *Athens*, should be set at libertie; and that a decree made against those of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the
30 *Athenians*, should be reuerfed. This last point they so earnestly pressed, that if they might obtaine it, they promised to abstain from their purpose of making Warre.

This they desired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by seeming to haue obtained somewhat, they might preserve their reputation without entering into a warre, which threatened them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to vnder-goe.

But the *Athenians* would yeeld to nothing; for it was their whole desire that all Greece should take notice, how farre they were from feare of any other Citie. Hereupon they prepared on both sides verie strongly, all that was needfull to the Warre; wherein the *Lacedemonians* were Superiour, both in number and qualitie,
40 being assisted by most of the Cities in Greece, and hauing the generall fauour, as men that pretended to set at libertie such as were oppressed: but the *Athenians* did as farre exceede them in all prouisions of Money, Shipping, Engines, and absolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held; and afterward found of greater vse in such neede, than the willing readinesse of friends, who soone grow wearie, and are not easily assembled.

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§. III.

§. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.

THe first and second yeeres expedition was very grievous to the Citie of *Athens*. For the fields were wasted, the Trees cut downe; the Countrey people driuen to flie, with Wiues, Children, and Cattel, into the Towne; whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the Citie, such as before they had neither felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the revolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the Ile of *Lesbos*, and the siege of *Plataea* their confederated Citie, which they durst not adventure to raise, besides some small overthrowes received. The *Lacedaemonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countrey of *Attica*, and therein abide, vntill victuals beganne to faile, wasting and destroying all things round about: The *Gouernours* of the *Athenians* would not suffer the peoples to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their Enemies; but vsed to send a fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which waited as fast all the Sea-coast of their Enemies, whilst they were making warre in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, wanne the Towne of *Plataea*, which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mightie by Sea, did subdue *Mytilene* which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that warre, the *Lacedaemonians* beganne to perceiue how vnfit they were to deale with such enemies. For after that *Attica* was thoroughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equal to such harme as they themselves might, and did receive. Their Confederates beganne to set forward very slowly in their expeditions into *Attica*; perceiuing well that *Athens* was plentifully relieved with all necessities, which came by the Sea from the Ilands that were subiect vnto that Estate; and therefore these invaders tooke small pleasure in beholding the walls of that mighty Citie, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a patterne of the calamities, with which their owne Territorie was the whilst afflicted. Wherefore they beganne to set their care to build a strong Naue, wherein they had little good successe, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships, and were so skilfull in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst undertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

§. IIII.

Of the great losse which the Spartans received at *Pylos*.

AMong other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea; they received 40 at *Pylos* a verie fore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A fleet of *Athenian* ships bound for *Coreyra*, waiting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of *Laconia*, and all the halfe Ile of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrarie windes detained at *Pylos*, which is a ragged Promontorie, ioyning to the maine, by a strange necke of Land. Before it there lies a small barren Iland of lesse than two miles compasse, and within that a creeke, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being borne off by the head Land and Ille. This Promontorie the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in haste they might; and what was wanting in their artificiall fortification, was supplied by the naturall strength and sit of the place. By holding this piece of ground, 50 and haue, they in reason expected many aduantages against their enemies. For the Countrey adioyning was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient time had held very strong and cruell warre with *Sparta*; and (though quite subdued) they were held in straight subiection, yet was not the old hatred so extinguished, that

by

by the neere neighbourhood and affiance of the *Athenians*, it might not bee reuied. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedaemonians*, and as many of their bond slaues as could escape from them, would repaire to *Pylos*, and from thence make daily excursions into *Laconia*, which was not farre off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this haue, lying almost in the mid-way betwene them and *Coreyra*, make them able to sur-round all *Peloponnesus*, and waste it at their pleasure: The newes of these doings at *Pylos*, drew the *Peloponnesians* thither in all haile out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few daies before with their whole Armie: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Naue, to recouer this place, which how bad a neighbour it might prove in time, they well foresaw, little fearing the grievous losse at hand, which they there in few daies received. For when they in vaine made a generall assault on all sides, both by Sea and Land; finding that small Garrison which the *Athenians* had left, very resolute in the defence: they occupied the haue, placing foure hundred and twentie choise men all of them, Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channell, that leads into the Port; but so narrow, that only two ships in front could enter betwene the Ille and *Pylos*; likewise but seven or eight ships could enter at once by the further channell, betwene the Iland and the Main. Having thus taken order to shut vp this new Towne by Sea, they sent part of their fleet to fetch wood, and other stuf, wherewith to fortifie round about, and blocke 20 the piece on all sides. But in the meane season, the *Athenian* fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylos*, returned thither, and with great courage entering the haue, did breake and sinke many of their Enemies vessels; tooke five, and enforced the residue to runne themselves a ground.

Now was the Towne secure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iland as good as lost. Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from *Sparta* to the camp (as was their custome in great dangers) to aduise what where best for the publike safetie; who when they did perceiue that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the Ile, then by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* 30 about peace, taking truce in the meane while with the Captaines at *Pylos*. The conditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedaemonians* should deliuer vp all the ships which were in the coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the Towne, nor the *Athenians* against the camp: That a certaine quantitie of Bread, Wine, and Flesh, should be daily carried into the Ille, but that no ships should passe into the Iland secretly: That the *Athenians* should carrie the *Lacedaemonian* Embassadors to *Athens*, there to treat of peace, and should bring them backe, at whose returne the truce should end, which if in the meane time it were broken in any one point, should be held vtterly void in all: That when the truce was expired, the *Athenians* should restore the *Peloponnesian* ships, in as good case as they received them. The 40 Embassadors coming to *Athens*, were of opinion, that as they themselves had begunne the warre, so might they end it when they pleased. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedaemonians* did sue to them for peace, aduising them to make an end of warre, whilst with such reputation they might. But they found all contrarie to their expectation: For in stead of concluding vpon euen termes, or desiring of meeke recompence for losse sustained; the *Athenians* demanded certaine Cities to bee restored to them, which had bene taken from them by the *Lacedaemonians* long before this warre beganne, refusing likewise to continue the treatie of peace, vnlesse the *Spartans* which were in the Ile, were first rendered vnto them as prisoners. Thus were the Embassadors returned without effect; at which time the truce being ended, it was desired from the *Athenian* Captaines, that they should, according to their coucnant, restore the ships, which had bene put into their hands. Whereto answer was made, that the condition of the truce was, That if any one article were broken, all should be held void; now (said the *Athenians*) yee haue assaulted our Garrisons; and

and thereby are we acquitted of our promise to restore the ships. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meer shifts; yet profit so farre our-weighed honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedæmonians* driven to vie many hard meanes, for conuiance of victuals into the Isle, which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to *Athens*, where it was decreed, that when the *Peloponnesians* next invaded *Attica*, these prisoners should all be slaine. Whether fearing the death of these men, or withheld by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell vpon them; the *Lacedæmonians* were now so farre from waisting *Attica*, that they suffered their owne Countrie to be continually ouer-runne, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their coast, and by those which issued out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendezous of all that were ill-affected vnto them.

§. V.

How the Lacedæmonians hardly, and to their great disadvantage, obtained a peace, that was not well kept.

Therefore they inducoured greatly to obtaine peace; which the *Athenians* would not harken vnto. For they were so puffed vp with the continuance of good successe, that hauing sent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold vp a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrells; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Ile were taken away, and their bands returned without either gaine or losse, they banished the Captaines, as if it had beene merely through their default, that the Ile of *Sicilie* was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it selfe, no whit inferior vnto *Peloponnesus*. Yet was this their ouer-weening much abated shortly after, by some disasters receiued, especially in *Thrace*, where in a battaile which they lost at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon*, and *Brasidas*, Generalls of the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* forces, were both slaine; which two had most bene aduersaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their losses were taught moderation; so the *Lacedæmonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Naue which they had receiued at *Pylus*, were faine to proceede lamely in the warre, against such as, through commoditie of their good fleet, had all aduantage that could be found in expedition, were feruently desirous to conclude the businesse, ere Fortune by any new fauour should reuiue the insolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a consideration of their present estate, that vrged them to bring the treatie of peace to good and speedy effect; but other dangers hanging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which vnlesse they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to auoide. The estate of *Argos*, which had ancient enmitie with them, was now, after a truce of thirtie yeeres well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their present troubles, by ioyning with those who alone found them worke enough. *Argos* was a rich and strong Citie, which though inferior to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not so vnwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the *Lacedæmonians* could euer farre preuaile vpon it, when they had little else to doe. This was a thing that in the beginning of this Warre had not beene regarded. For it was then thought, that by waisting the Territories of *Athens* with sword and fire, the quarrell should easily and in short time haue beene ended, whereby not only the *Athenians* should haue beene brought to good order, but the *Corinthians* and others, for whose sake the warre was vnder-taken, haue beene so firmly knit to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they should for lone of them haue abandoned the *Argives* to their owne fortunes. But now the vanitie of those hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready money, and meanes

to raise more, were able to secure themselves by a strong fleet, from any great harme, that the *Peloponnesians* wanting wherewith to maintaine a Naue, could doe vnto them, yea as Masters of the Sea, to wearie them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither warre nor peace; their daily trauailes, and many losses had so wearied and incensed them. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* were glad to vie the occasion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a final peace, which with much a-doe they procured, as seemed equal and ealie; but were indeede impossible to be performed, and therefore all their trauaile was little effectuell.

10 The restitution of prisoners and places taken being agreed vpon; it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedæmonians* should restore first. These had won more townes vpon the continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had wonne, they had not won absolutely. For they had restored some Towns to such of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; some, and those the most, they had set at libertie (as reason required) which had opened their gates vnto them, as to their friends and deliuerers, & not compelled them to breake in as Enemies. Now concerning the Townes which were not in their owne hands, but had beene rendred vnto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found meanes to giue some satisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retain others, which they had gotten in the warre; as for the rest, they promised more than afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to heare of being abandoned, neither would they by any meanes yeeld themselves into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by reuolting, notwithstanding whatsoever articles were drawne, and concluded, for their securitie, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing those things which on their part were required; so that restoring only the prisoners which they had, they deferred the rest, vntill such time as they might receive the full satisfaction, according to the agreement. But before such time as these difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrell, the *Lacedæmonians* entred into a more straight alliance with the *Athenians*, making a league offensive and defensive with them. Hereunto they were moued by the backwardnesse of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to haue succd for peace at their hands, as soone as things were once compounded betwene *Athens* and *Sparta*; did then themselves plainly vnwilling to giue eare to any such motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* succour, they should make sure worke, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound vnto them by well-deserving in the late warre, or found so troublesome, that their enmitie (if perhaps they durst let it appeare) were little worse than friendship. It bred great 40 jealousy in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceive such a conjunction betwene two so powerfull Signories; especially one clause threatening euery one, that was any thing apt to feare, with a secret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of subduing the whole Countrie, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For besides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutual consent adde new conditions, or alter the old at their owne pleasures. This impression wrought so strongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, & other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had borne to the *Athenians* their professed Enemies, was violently throwne vpon the *Lacedæmonians* their vnjust friends: whereby it came to passe, that they who had lately borne chiefe sway in *Greece*, might haue beene abandoned to the discretion of their Enemies, as already in effect they were, had the Enemies wisely vied the aduantage.

§. VI.

§. VI.

*Of the negotiations, and practices, held betwene many States of Greece,
by occasion of the peace that was concluded.*

THe admiration wherein all Greece held the valour of *Sparta* as vnresistible, and able to make way through all impediments, had bene so excellenc, that when by some sinister accidents, that Citie was compelled to take and seeke peace, vpon termes not sounding very honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happens vsually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was neuer thought that any *Lacedemonians* would haue endured to lay downe his weapons and yeeld himselfe prisoner, nor that any misfortune could haue bene so great, as should haue drawne that Citie to relieue it selfe otherwise than by force of Armes. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were some of especiall make, being ouer-laid by enemies, in the Iland before *Pylus*, had rather chosen to liue in captiuitie, than to die in fight; and that *Pylus* it selfe, sticking as a thorne in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred such anguish in that Estate, as vterly wearying the accustomed *Spartan* resolution, had made it sit downe, and seek to refresh it selfe by dishonourable ease: then did not only the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* beginne to conceiue basely of those men which were vertuous, though vnfortunate; but other lesser Citiees joyning with these in the same opinion, did cast their eyes vpon the rich and great Citie of *Argos*, of whose abilitie, to doe much, they conceiued a strong belief, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition, which through foolish enuie is become almost naturall in the greater part of mankind. We curiously search into their vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we should haue discerned only the vertues; and comparing injuriously our best parts with their worst, are iustly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers which we know to be wanting to our selues.

The first that published their dislike of *Sparta* were the *Corinthians*, at whose vehement entreaty (though moued rather by enuie at the greatness of *Athenes* dayly encreasing) the *Lacedemonians* had entred into the present warre. But these *Corinthians* did only murmur at the peace, alledging as grieuances, that some townes of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Mantineans*, who during the time of warre, had procured some part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forsake their dependency vpon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely & readily discouer themselves; feare of reuenge to come working more effectually, than indignation at things already past. The *Argines* feeling the gale of prosperous Fortune that began to fill their sailes, prepared themselves to take as much off it as they could stand vnder; giving for that purpose vnto twelue of their citizens, a full and absolute commission to make alliance betwene them and any freecities of Greece (*Athenes* and *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding euery particular businesse to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were set thus open to all comers; the *Mantineans* began to lead the way, and many Cities of *Peloponnesus* following them entred into this new confederacy; some incited by private respects, others thinking it the wisest way to doe as the most did. What inconuenience might arise to them by these courses, the *Lacedemonians* easily discerned, and therefore sent Embassadors to stoppe the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the mischief had bene hatched. These Embassadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough disposition, with a grauity expressing the opinion which they had conceiued of their present advantage ouer *Sparta*. They had caused all Citiees which had not entred yet into the alliance with *Argos*, to send their Agents to them, in whose presence they gaue audience to the *Lacedemonians*; the purport of whose Embassie was this:

this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not forsake the alliance, which they had long since made with *Sparta*, and that reason did as well binde them to hold themselves contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their auncient confederacy, forasmuch as it had bin agreed betwene the *Spartans* and their associates, that the content of the greater part, (which had yielded vnto peace with *Athenes*) should binde the lesser number to performe what was concluded; if no Diuine impediment withstood them. Heere vnto the *Corinthians* made answer, that the *Spartans* had first begun to do them open wrong, in concluding the warre wherein they had lost many places, without prouision of restitution; & that the very clause, alledged by the Embassadors, did acquite them from any necessity of subscribing to the late peace, forasmuch as they had sworne vnto those people whom they perswaded to rebell against *Athenes*, that they would neuer abandon them, nor willingly suffer them to fall againe into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themselves bound both in reason and religion to vse all meanes of vpholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no lesse to be accounted a Diuine impediment, than were pestilence, tempest, or any the like accident, hindring the performance of things vnderaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they said that they would doe as they should finde cause. Hauing dismissed the Embassadors with this answer, they made all halt to ioyne themselves with *Argos*, and caused the States to doe the like; so that *Sparta* and *Athenes* were in a manner left to themselves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being also vpon the point to haue entred into this new confederacie. But as the affections were diuers, which caused this hasty confluence of sudden friends to *Argos*, it so likewise came to passe that the friendship it selfe, such as it was, had much diuersitie both of sinceritie & of continuance. For some there were that hated or feared the *Lacedemonians*: as the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*: these did firmly betake themselves to the *Argines*, in whom they knew the same affection to be inueterate; others did only hate the peace concluded; & these would rather haue followed the *Spartans* than the *Argines* in warre, yet rather the *Argines* in war than the *Lacedemonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like vnto themselves, dealt with them to enter into the societie of the *Argues*, as they had done; but the different formes of government, vsed in *Thebes* and *Argos*, caused the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by joyning with such as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This businesse hauing ill succeeded, the *Corinthians* beganne to bethinke themselves of their owne danger, who had not so much as any truce with *Athenes*, and yet were vnprepared for warre. They fought therefore to come to some temporarie agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians*, who had dealt with all Greece at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment, with one Citie that shewed against them more stomach than force; but gaue them to vnderstand that they might be safe enough from them, if they would claime the benefit of that alliance, which *Athenes* had lately made with *Sparta* and her dependants; yet finally they granted vnto these *Corinthians* (which were loth to acknowledge themselves dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they desired; but into private confederacie they would not admit them, it being an article of the league betwene them and the *Spartans*, That the one should not make peace nor warre without the other.

Heerein, as in many other passages, may clearly be seene the great advantage which absolute Lords haue as well in peace as in warre, ouer such as are serued by voluntaries. We shall hardly finde any one Signorie, that hath bene so constantly followed as *Sparta* was by so many States, and some of them little inferior to it selfe, being all as free; whereas contrariwise, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulsiue meanes gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themselves as Tyrants.

But

But in performance of conditions agreed vpon, the *Athenians* were able to make their wordes good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacie, and giuing vp such places as were agreed vpon: of which the *Lacedemonians* could doe neither the one nor the other. For such Townes as their old Allies had gotten by their meanes in the late warre, could not bee restored without their consent, which had them in present possession; and particularly the Towne of *Panaste*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no meanes be obtained from them by the *Lacedemonians* (who earnestly desired it; that by restitution thereof vnto the *Athenians*, as earnestly demanding it, themselves might recover *Pylus*) vnlesse they would agree to make a priuate alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were faine to doe, though knowing it to be contrarie to the last agreement betweene them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedemonians* having broken one article of the league made betweene them and the *Athenians*, that by so doing they might enable themselves to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not giue vp the Towne of *Panaste*, till first they had vtterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to the *Athenians*. This was sought to haue bene excused by the *Lacedemonian* Embassadors, who comming to *Athens* (whether they be sent home all prisoners that had bene detained at *Thebes*) hoped with gentle wordes to salue the matter; saying, That from henceforth noemie to *Athens* should nestle in *Panaste*, for it was destroyed. But these Embassadors had not to deale with tame foolles. For the *Athenians* told them in plaine termes, That of three principall conditions agreed vpon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but vtied such bale collusion as stood not with their honour: hauing made priuate alliance with the *Thebans*; hauing destroyed a Towne that they should haue restored; and not hauing forced their dependants by warre, to make good the covenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed the Embassadors with rough wordes, meaning with as rough deedes to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time, both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, chosen for that yeere, in *Sparta*; and *Alcibiades* a powerfull yong Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though desiring to renew the warre, yet wished that first they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendered to them by couenant, especially *Pylus* that had so sorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whose Nobilitie, riches, and fauour, with the people, made him desire warre, as the meanes, whereby himselfe might procure some honourable employment, vsed all meanes to set the quarrell on foot, whilst the *Athenians* had yet both aduantage enough, as not hauing rendred ought saue their prisoners, and pretence enough to vie that aduantage of breaking the peace, by reason that the *Lacedemonians* (though indeede against their wills) had broken all covenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retaine *Pylus*, and to performe nothing that the *Lacedemonians* should, and might require, vntill they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all articles wherunto they were bound, euen to the vtmost point. This was enough to make them sweat, who hauing already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the deliuerie of their Citizens, which were prisoners. But *Alcibiades* wishing a speedie beginning of open warre, sent priuily to the *Argines*, and gaue them to vnderstand how fitly the time serued for them to associate themselves with *Athens*, which was enough to giue them securitie against all Enemies.

The *Argines* vpon the first confluence of many Estates vnto their societie, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should haue had the conduct of all *Greece* against the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as hauing ill vsed it, and thereby leauing their old enemies in case of much contempt and disability. But these suddaine apprehensions of vaine joy, were suddainely changed into as vaine feare; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately bene conceived of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refused their alliance; when the *Corinthians*

Athens had sought securitie from *Athens*; and when a false rumour was noised abroad, *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement vpon all points of difference; then beganne the *Argines* to let fall their crests, and sue for peace vnto the *Lacedemonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their grauity, and were not ouer-hallie to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the misse of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argines*, which were not now confusking how to become the chiefe of all others, but how to saue themselves. Wherefore they sent away presently to *Athens*, their owne Embassadors, accompanied with the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*, to make a league offensive, and defensive, betweene 10 the Estates and the *Athenians*.

Of this businesse the *Lacedemonians* knew not what to thinke: for well they saw, that such a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to preuent it; but to keepe the loue of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was already done, than stood with their honour, or profit; others held it the wisest way, hauing done so much, not to stick vpon a little more, but rather by giuing full satisfaction, to retaine the friendship of that State, which was more to be valued then all the rest of *Greece*. This resolution preuailling, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the peace, who comming to *Athens* with full commission to make an end of all controuersies, did earnestly labour in the Council-house, to make the truth of things appeare, saying; that their Confederacie with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recouerie of *Panaste*; concerning which Towne, or any other businesse, that it much grieved the *Lacedemonians*, to see things fall out in such wise as might giue to the *Athenians* cause of displeasure; but that all should be done which in reason might bee required for making matters euen betweene them; to which purpose they shewed that themselves had absolute commission. Wherefore they desired that *Pylus* might be restored vnto them, and especially for the present, that the negotiation with the *Argines* might be called a-side. Favourable audience was giuento this proposition, the rather because they which promised amends, had power to make their wordes good. But all 30 this faire likelihood of good agreement was dashed on the suddaine, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who, secretly dealing with the *Lacedemonian* Embassadors, perswaded them well of his friendship towards their Citie, and aduised them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of *Sparta*, might not be knowne to the Communitie of *Athens*, lest the insolent multitude should thereupon grow preumptorie and yeelde to nothing, vnlesse they could draw them to vnreasonable conditions. The Embassadors beleued him, and sanctioned their tale in the assembly of the people, as hee had aduised them. Hereupon the same *Alcibiades* taking presently the aduantage, which their double dealing afforded, inueighed openly against them, as men of no fincintie, that were 40 come to *Athens* for none other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthening themselves with friends, meaning to draw the *Argines* and their adherents to their owne alliance, as (contrarie to their oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The people of *Athens*, whom a pleasing errand would hardly haue satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the *Lacedemonians*, (whose honest meanings had so ill bene seconded with good performance) were now so incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadors, and the strong perswasions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with *Argos*. Yet for the present so farred did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, preuaile with them, that the businesse was put off, till he himselfe with other Embassadors might fetch a 50 better answer from *Sparta*.

It may seeme a great wonder, how so poore a trick of *Alcibiades* was able to carrie a matter of such importance, when the *Spartan* Embassadors might haue cast the load vpon his owne shoulders, by discouering the truth:

But the grauitie which was vually found in the *Lacedamonians*, hindred them (perhaps) from playing their game handfomely against so nimble a wit; and they might wel haue been thought vntrusty men, had they professed themselves such as would say and vn-say for their most aduantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a fowre message to deliuer at *Sparta*, being emptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, that the *Lacedamonians* should take the paines to rebuild *Panaste*, and should immediately renounce their alliance made with the *Thebans*; letting them vnderstand that otherwise the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into confederacie with the *Argines*, and their Adherents. The *Ephors* at *Sparta* had no minde to forsake the *Thebans*, assured friends to their State; but wrought so hard, that the anger of the *Athenians* was suffered to breake out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would doe no more, than only (at the request of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not seeme to haue effected nothing) sweare a-new to keepe the articles of the league betweene them and *Athens*. Immediately therefore vpon returne of the Embassadors, a new league was made betweene the *Athenians*, *Argines*, *Mantineans*, & *Eleans*, with verie ample prouision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedamonians* were passed ouer with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this confederacy did bend it self chiefly against them, as in short while after was proued by effect.

At this time the *Lacedamonians* were in ill case, who hauing restored all that they could vnto the *Athenians*, and procured others to doe the like, had themselves recovered nothing of their owne (prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disable them, was the losse of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late warre by misfortunes, than in fundrie passages betweene them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keepe whole Amicitie, they had left fundrie of their old friends to shift for themselves. Contrariwise the *Athenians*, by the treatie of peace, had recovered the most of that which they lost in warre; all their gettings they had retained; and were strengthened by the access of new Confederates.

§. VII.

How the peace betweene *Athens* and *Sparta* was ill kept, though not openly broken.

IT was not long ere the *Argines* and their fellowes had found busines wherewith to let the *Athenians* on worke, and make vse of this conjunction. For presuming vpon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So many acts of hostilitie were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did (as principals) infect each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aide of their seuerall friends.

By these occasions the *Corinthians*, *Baotians*, *Phocians*, *Laerians*, and other people of *Greece*, beganne a-new to range themselves vnder the *Lacedamonians*, and follow their ensignes. One victorie which the *Lacedamonians* obtained by their meere valour in a set battaile, neere to *Mantineas*, against the *Argine* side, helped well to repaire their decayed reputation, though otherwise it yielded them no great profit. The ciuill disension arising shortly after within *Argos* it selfe, betwene the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almost throwne downe the whole frame of so the new combination. For the chiefe Citizens getting the vpper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded so farre as to renounce the amity of the *Athenians* in expresse words, and forced the *Mantineans* to the like.

space

space of time the multitude preuailing, reuerled all this, and hauing chased away their ambitious Nobilitie, applied themselves to the *Athenians* as closely as before.

Beside these vprores in *Peloponnesus*, many assaies were made to raise vp troubles in all parts of *Greece*, and likewise in *Macedon*, to the *Athenians*; whose forces and readinesse for execution, preuented some things, reuenged other, and requited all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter of quarrell, and the *Lacedamonians* growing wearie, they beganne to be quiet, retaining still that enmitie in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discouered in effects, though not as yet breaking out into termes of open warre.

§. VIII.

The *Athenians* sending two fleets to sacke *Siracuse*, are put to flight and utterly discomfited.

DVING this intermission of open warre, the *Athenians* re-intertained their hopes of subduing *Sicily*, whether they sent a fleet so mighty as neuer was set forth by *Greece* in any Age before or after.

This fleet was very well manned, and furnished with all necessaries to so great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades* Author of that voyage, & one of the Generalls of their fleet, was driuen to banish himselfe, for feare of such iudgement, as else he was like to haue vnder-gone, among the incensed people; partly by the inuasion which the *Lacedamonians* made vpon *Attica*, whilst the forces of that State were so farre from home. Hereunto was added the aide of the King of *Persia*, who supplied the *Peloponnesians* with money.

Neither was the luccesse of things in *Sicilia* such, as without helpe from *Athens*, could giue any likelyhood of a good end in that warre. For although in the beginning the enterprize had so well succeeded, that they besieged *Siracuse*, the chiefe Citie of the Iland, and one of the fairest Townes which the *Greekes* inhabited, obtaining the better in sundry battailes by Land and Sea; yet when the Towne was relieved with strong aide from *Peloponnesus*, it came to passe that the *Athenians* were put to the worse on all sides, in such wise that their fleet was shut vp into the haven of *Siracuse*, and could not issue out.

As the *Athenian* affaires went very ill in *Sicily*, so did they at home stand vpon hard termes, for that the *Lacedamonians*, who had bene formerly accustomed to make wearisome yeerely iournies into *Attica*, which hauing pilld and foraged, they returned home; did now by counsell of *Alcibiades*, (who seeking reuenge vpon his owne Citizens was fled vnto them) fortifie the Towne of *Duceia*, which was neere to *Athens*, whence they ceased not with daily excursions to harrie all the Countrey round about, and sometimes giue alarme vnto the Citie it selfe.

In these extremities, the peruerse obstinacie of the *Athenians* was very strange; who leauing at their backs, and at their owne doores, an enemy little lesse mighty than themselves, did yet send forth another fleet into *Sicily*, to inuade a people no lesse puissant, which neuer had offended them.

It often happens, that prosperous euents makes foolish counsaile seeme wiser than it was, which came to passe many times among the *Athenians*, whose vaine conceits *Pallas* was said to turn vnto the best. But where vnfound aduice, finding bad proofe, is obstinately pursued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be iustly blamed for a miserable issue. This second fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might haue serued to conuey home the former, that was defeated; after some attempts made to small purpose against the *Siracusians*, was finally (together with the other part of the *Nauie*, which was there before) quite vanquished, and bard vp into the haven of *Siracuse*.

use, whereby the campe of the *Athenians*, vtterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, was driuen to breake vp, and flie away by Land, in which flight they were ouer-taken routed, and quite ouerthrow in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischiefe well deserued fell vpon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Pthodorus* Generalls, formerly sent into that Ile, pretending that they had taken money for making peace in *Sicily*, whereas indeede there was not any meanes or possibilitie to haue made warre. Hereby it came to passe, that *Nicias*, who had the chiefe command in this vnhappy enterprise, did rather choose to hazard the ruine of his Countrey by the losse of that Armie, wherein it consisted little lesse then all the power of *Athens*; then to aduenture his owne estate, his life, and his honour, vpon the tongues of shamelesse accusers, and the sentence of Iudges before his triall resolved to condemne him, by retiring from *Syracuse*, when wisdom and necessitie required it. For (said he) they shall giue sentence vpon vs, who know not the reason of our doings, nor would giue ear to any that would speake in our behalfe, but altogetherarken to suspicious and vaine rumours that shall be brought against vs, yea thescour Souldiers who now are so desirous to returne in safetie, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd and insolent multitude.

This resolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man to doe what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth, and to measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report and censure of others) yet it may bee excused; since he had before his eyes the iniustice of his people; and had well understood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact, as being held a president and patterne, whereby oppression beginning vpon one, is extended as warrantable vpon all. Therefore his feare of wrongfull condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily haue ouer-mastered; but when afterwards the Armie, hauing no other expectation of safetie then the faint hope of a secret flight, he was so terrified with an Eclipse of the Moone, happening when they were about to dislodge, that he would not consent to haue the camp break vp till seuen and twentie daies were past. His timorousnesse was euen as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not haue thought that the power of the Heauens, & the course of Nature, would be vnjust as his *Athenians*, or might pretend lesse euill to the stockfull, than to such as did their best. Neither doe I thinke that any Astrologer can allege this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armes destruction, other wise then as the follie of men did, by application, turne it to their owne confusion. Had *C. Cæsius* the Roman, he, who slew *Julius Cæsar*, imitated this superstition of *Nicias*, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, he retrying, the broken remainder of *Crassus* his Armie defeated by the *Parthian* Archers was aduised, vpon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sunne were past the signe of *Scorpio*; he made answer that he stood not in such feare of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So aduenturing rather to abide the frowning of the Heauens, then the neerer danger of Enemies vpon earth, hee made such a safe and honourable retreat, as did both their his noble resolution, and giue a faire example to that good rule;

— *Sapiens dominabitur astris.*

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily works by a concatenation of meanes, deprives the Gouernours of vnderstanding, when he intends euill to the multitude; and that the wickednesse of vnjust men is the readie meane to weaken the vertue of those who might haue done them good.

§. IX.

§. IX.

Of the troubles where into the State of Athens fell, after the great losse of the Fleet, and Armie, in *Sicilia*.

19 The losse of this Armie was the ruine of the *Athenian* Dominion, and may bee well accompted a very little lesse calamitie to that Estate, than was the subuersion of the walls, when the Citie about seuen yeeres after was taken by *Lysander*. For now began the subiects of the *Athenian* Estate to rebell, of whom, some they reduced vnder their obedience; others held out; some for feare of greater inconuenience were set at libertie, promising only to be their good friends, as formerly they had bene their Subiects; others hauing a kind of libertie offered by the *Athenians*, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect libertie by force. Among the se troubles it fell out very vnseasonably, that the principall men of *Athens* being wearied with the peoples insolencie, tooke vpon them to change the forme of that Estate, and bring the gouernement into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Captaines which were abroad, they caused them to set vp the forme of an Aristocratic in the Townes of their Confederates; and in the meane time, some that were most likely to withstand this inuolution, being slaine at *Athens*, the Commonaltie were so dismayd, that none durst speake against the Conspirators, whose number they knew not, but euerie man was afraid of his Neighbour, lest he should be a member of the league. In this generall feare the Maiestic of *Athens* was vltured by 400. men, who oblitering in shew the ancient forme of proceeding, did causall matters to be propounded vnto the people, and concluded vpon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were onely such as were first allowed in priuate among themselves; neither had the Commonaltie any other libertie, than only to approue and giue consent: for whosoever presumed any further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no inquirie made of the murder. By these meanes were many decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new Authoritie, which neuertheless indured not long. For the Fleet and Armie which then was at the Ile of *Samos*, did altogether detest these dealings of the foure hundred vsurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they reuoked *Alcibiades* out of banishment, & by his assistance procured that the supplies which the *Persian* King had promised vnto the *Lacedæmonians*, were by *Tissaphernes* his Lieutenant, made vnprofitable, through the slow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the first bene very well entertained in *Sparta*, whilst his seruice done to that State was not growne to be the obiect of enuie. But when it appeared that in counsaile and good performance he so farre excelled all the *Lacedæmonians*, that all their good successe was ascribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principall Citizens wearie of his vertue; especially *Agis* one of their Kings, whose wife had so far yielded her selfe to the loue of this *Athenian*, that among her inward friends shee could not forbear to call her yong child by his name. Hercupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* should be killed out of the way. But he discouering the *Spartan* trecherie, conueighed himselfe vnto *Tissaphernes*, whom he so bewitched with his great beautie, sweet conuersation, and found wit, that hee soone became the Master of that barbarous Vice-roys affections, who had free power to dispose the great Kings treasures and forces in those parts. T hen beganne he to aduise *Tissaphernes*, not so farre forth to assist the *Lacedæmonians*, that they should quite ouerthrow the State of *Athens*, but rather to helpe the weaker side, & let them one consume another, whereby all should fall at length into the hands of the *Persian*. By this counsaile he made way to other practices, wherein by strength of his reputation (as the only fauourite

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of

of so great a Potentate) hee played his owne game, procuring his restitution. At length his banishment being repelled by the Armie, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the foure hundred) hee laboured greatly to reconcile the Souldiers to the Gouernors; or at least to diuert their heat another way, and turne it vpon the Common Enemie. Some of the foure hundred approued his motion, as being wearie of the tyrannie wherof they were partakers, partly because they saw it could not long endure, & partly for that themselves, being lesse regarded by the rest of their companions, than stood with their good liking, sought to acquit themselves of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to obtaine peace of the *Lacedemonians*, desiring chiefly to maintaine both their owne authority, and the greatnesse of their Citie; if they might: but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preferre their owne power, or safetie at least, then the good Estate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made sundrie ouertures of peace to the *Lacedemonians*, desiring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be trusted than the wavering multitude; especially considering that the Citie of *Sparta* was governed by an *Aristocratie*, to which form they had now reduced *Athens*. All these passages betwene the foure hundred (or the most and chiefe of them) and the *Lacedemonians*, were kept as secret as might be. For the Citie of *Athens*, hoping, without any great cause, to repaire their losses, was not inclined to make composition, from which vpon iustler ground the enemie was much more averse, trusting well that the discord of the *Athenians* (not vnknowne abroad) might yeeld some faire opportunitie to the destruction of it selfe, which in effect (though not then presently) came to passe. And vpon this hope King *Agis* did sometimes bring his forces from *Decelea* to *Athens*, where doing no good, hee receiued some small losses. Likewise the Naue of *Peloponnesus* made shew of attempting the Citie, but seeing no likelihood of successe, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better Fortune of the *Athenians* might more lightly haue bene regarded, then in this their decayed estate. Yet it seemes, without any disparagement to their wildome, they should rather haue forborne to present vnto the Citie, or to the Countries neere adioyning any terror of the warre. For the dissension within the walls might sone haue done more good then could be receiued from the Fleet or Armie without, which indeed gaue occasion to set the Citizens at vnitie, though it lasted not very long. The foure hundred, by means of these troubles, were faine to resigne their authority, which they could not now hold, when the people hauing taken armes to repel forraigne enemies, would not lay them downe, till they had freed themselves from such as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of government a full restitution of the soueraigne command vnto the people, or whole body of the Citie, but onely to five thousand; which company the foure hundred (when their authority beganne) had pretended to take vnto them as assistance: herein seeming to doo little wrong or none to the Commonalty, who seldome assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeede into the hands of so many, it was soone agreed that *Alcibiades* and his Companions should bee recalled from exile, and that the Armie at *Samos* should be requested to vndertake the gouernement: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers desire.

§. X. 30

§. X.

How ALCI BI A D E S wanne many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile; made their Generall, and againe depoyed.



His establishment of things in the Citie, was accompanied with some good successe in the warres. For the *Lacedemonians* were about the same time ouerthrowne at Sea, in a great battaile, by the *Athenian* fleet, which had remained at *Samos*, to which *Alcibiades* after was joyning such forces as he could raise, obtained many victories. Before the Towne of *Abydos*, his arriual with eightene ships, gaue the honour of a great battaile to the *Athenians*; he ouerthrew and utterly destroyed the fleet of the *Lacedemonians*, commanded by *Mindarus*, tooke the Townes of *Cyzicus*, and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrians* ranforme their Citie, and fortified *Crypsopolis*. Hereupon letters were sent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians*, intercepting, found to containe the distresse of the Armie in these few words: *All is lost; MINDARVS is slaine; the Souldier want victuals; we know not what to doe.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* ouerthrew the *Lacedemonians* in fight by Land at *Chalcedon*, tooke *Selymbria*, besieged and wane *Byzantium*, now called *Constantinople*, which euen in those dayes was a goodly, rich, and very strong Citie. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made high Admirall of all the Naue.

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and he driuen to banish himselfe againe; only because his Lieutenant, contrary to the expresse command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the fleet.

The second banishment of *Alcibiades* was to the *Athenians* more harmful than the first; and the losse which thereupon they receiued, was (though more heauie to them, yet) lesse to be pittied of others, than that which ensued vpon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had sought reuenge vpon his owne Citie; now, as inured to aduersitie, he rather pittied their furie, who in time of such danger had cast out him that should haue repaired their weake estate, than sought by procuring or beholding the calamitie of his people, to comfort himselfe after iniurie receiued. Before they, who were instituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arriued at the fleet, he presented battaile to *Lyfander* the *Lacedemonian* Admirall, who was not so confident vpon his former victorie, as to vndertake *Alcibiades* himselfe, bringing ships more in number (notwithstanding the former losse of fiftene) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had bene vnder his Lieutenant. But when the decree of the people was published in the Naue, then did *Alcibiades* with-draw himselfe to a Towne vpon *Hellefpoint*, called *Bizanzie*, where hee had built a Castle.

§. XI.

The battaile at Arginusa, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captaines by the people.



After this time, the *Athenians* receiving many losses & difcomfitures, were driuen to flie into the Hauen of *Mytelene*, where they were straighly besieged both by Land and Sea. For the raising of this siege necessity inforced them to man all their Vessells, and to put the vttermost of their forces into the hazzard of one battaile. This battaile

was

was fought at *Arginusæ*, where *Callicratidas*, Admirall of the *Lacedæmonians*, losing the honor of the day, preferred his owne reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well haue bene expected, that the ten Capitaines, who jointly had command in chiefe ouer the *Athenian* fleet, should for that good daies seruice, and so happy victorie, haue receiued great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwise they were forth-with called home, and accused, as if willfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken and sunke, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessels to take them vp, they might haue saued them from being drowned. Hereto the Capitaines readily made a very iust answer; That they pursuing the victorie, had left part of the fleet, vnder sufficient men, to saue those that were wrack; which if it were not well accomplished, it was, because a tempest arising about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse auailed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who said, That he himselfe escaping in a meale-rubbe, had bene intreated by those who were in perill of drowning, to desire of the people reuenge of their deaths vpon the Capitaines. It was very strange, that vpon such an accusation maintained with so slender euidence, men that had well deserved of their Countrey should bee overthrown. But their enemies had so incensed the rascall multitude, that no man durst abolsue them, save only *Socrates* the wife and vertuous Philosopher, whose voice in this judgement was not regarded. Sixe of them were put to death, of whom one 20 had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much a-doe relieued by other vessells in the storme: but the Capitaines which were absent escaped, for when the furie of the people was ouer-past, this judgement was reuerfed, and the accusers called into question for hauing deceiued and peruered the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themselves from the infamie of iniustice; but the diuine iustice was not a-sleepe, nor would be so deluded.

§. XII.

The battaile at *Egos-Potamos*, wherein the whole State of *Athenes* was ruined, with the end of the *Peloponnesian* Warre.



He *Peloponnesian* fleet vnder *Lysander*, the yeere next following, hauing scoured the *Egean* Seas, entred *Hellepont*, where (landing Souldiers) he besieged and tooke the Towne of *Lampascus*. Hereupon all the Naue of *Athenes*, being an hundred and fourescore saile, made thither in haste, but finding *Lampascus* taken before their coming, they put in at *Sestos*, where hauing refreshed themselves, they failed to the Riuer called, *Egos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Gates-brooke*, or the Riuer of the *Gates*; being on the Continent, opposite to *Lampascus*: and theretey cast Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lysander*, who rode at *Lampascus* in the harbour. The next day after their arriual they presented fight vnto the *Peloponnesians*, who refused it, whereupon the *Athenians* returned againe to *Egos-Potamos*, and thus they continued five dayes, brauing euery day the Enemy, and returning to their owne harbour when it drew towards euening.

The Cable of *Alcibiades* was not farre from the Naue, and his power in those places was such as might haue greatly auailed his Countreimen, if they could haue made vse of it. For he had waged Mercenaries, and making warre in his owne name 30 vpon some people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. He perceiving the disorderly course of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired vnto them, and shewed what great inconuenience might grow, if they did not soone fore-see and preuent it. For they lay in a roade subject to euery

weather, neither neere enough to any Towne where they might furnish themselves with necessaries, nor so farre off as had bene more expedient. *Sestos* was the next Market-Towne; thither both Souldiers and Mariners resorted, flocking away from the Naue euery day, as soone as they were returned from brauing the Enemy. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lie at *Sestos*, which was not farre off, or at the least to consider better how neere their enemy was, whose feare proceeded rather from obedience to his General, than from any cowardise. This admonition was so farre despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his owne matters, and to remember that his authoritie was out of date. Had it not bene for these opprobrious words, hee could (as hee told his familiars) haue compelled the *Lacedæmonians*, either to fight vpon vnequall termes, or vterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that hee might so haue done by transporting the light-armed *Thracians* his Confederates, and others his Followers ouer the Straights, who assaulting the *Peloponnesians* by Land, would either haue compelled them to put to Sea, or else to leaue their ships to the mercy of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counsaile no better than hath bene rehearsed, he left them to their fortune, which how cull it would be he did prognosticate.

Lysander all this while defending himselfe by the aduantage of his Hauen, was not carelesse in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was to send forth some of his swiftest Vessels after them, who observing their doings, related vnto him what they had seene. Therefore vnderstanding in what carelesse fashion they romed vp and downe the Countrey; he kept all his men a-board after their departure, and the fifth day gaue especiall charge to his Scouts, That when they perceived the *Athenians*; disembarking, as their custome was, and walking towards *Sestos*, they should forth with returne, and hang vp a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lysander* being in a readinesse; made all speed that strength of Oares could giue, to *Egos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies a-board their Ships, not many neere them, and all in great confusion vpon the newes of his approach.

Inasmuch that the greatest indurtrie which the *Athenians* then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine ships; which knowing how much that losse imported, gaue ouer *Athenes* as desperate, and made a long flight vnto the Ile of *Cyprus*, all the rest were taken, and such of the Souldiers as came in to the rescue cut in pieces. Thus was the warre which had lasted seuen and twentie yeeres, with variable successe concluded in one houre, and the glory of *Athenes* in such wise eclipsed, that she neuer afterward shone in her perfect light.

Immediately vpon this victorie *Lysander*, hauing taken such Townes as readily did yeeld vpon the first fame of his exploit, set sayle for *Athenes*, and ioyning his forces with those of *Agis* and *Paulanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, summoned the Citie, which finding too stubborne to yeeld, and too strong to bee wonne on the sudden, hee put forth againe to Sea, and rather by terror than violence, compelling all the Ilands, and such Townes of the *Ionians*, as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to submit themselves to *Sparta*, hee did therewith cut off all prouision of vituals, and other necessaries, from the Citie, and enforced the people by meere famine to yeeld to these conditions: That the long walles, leading from the Towne to the Port, should bee throwne downe; That all Citie subiect to their Eilate, should be set at libertie; That the *Athenians* should bee Masters only of their owne Territories, and the fields adioyning to their Towne; And that they should keepe no more then twelue Ships; That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the same, whom the *Lacedæmonians* did, and follow the *Lacedæmonians* as Leaders in the Warres.

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These articles being agreed vpon, the walls were throwne downe with great rejoycing of those who had borne displeasure to *Athen*; and not without some consultation of destroying the Citie, and laying waste the Land about it. Which aduice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirtie *Gouernours*, or rather cruell *Tyrants*, appointed ouer the people, who recompensed their former insolencie and iniustice ouer their Captaines, by oppressing them with all bale and intolerable slaerie.

The only small hope then remaining to the *Athenians*, was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repaire what their owne folly had ruined. But the thirtie *Tyrants* perceiving this, aduertised the *Lacedemonians* thereof, who continued, and (as it now domineering in euery quarter) soone effected his suddaine death.

Such end had the *Peloponnesian Warre*. After which the *Lacedemonians* abusing the reputation, and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to all *Greece*, and by Combination of many Cities against them, were dispossessed of their high authoritie, euen in that very Age, in which they had subdued *Athen*. The greatest foile that they tooke was of the *Thebans*, led by *Epaminondas*, vnder whom *Philip* of *Macedon*, Father to *Alexander* the Great, had the best of his education. By these *Thebans*, the Citie of *Sparta* (besides other great losses received) was sundrie times in danger of being taken. But these haughtie attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing; for the seuerall Estates and Signories of *Greece*, were growne so jealous one of anothers greatnesse, that the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, *Argines*, and *Thebans*, which were the mightiest, associating themselves with the weaker partie, did so counterpoize the stronger, that no one Citie could extend the limits of her iurisdiction so farre as might make her terrible to her Neighbours. And thus all parts of the Countrey remained rather euenly balanced, than well agreeing, till such time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*, (whose forefathers had become dependants, and followers, yea almost meere Vassalls to the Estates of *Athen* and *Sparta*) found meanes, by making vse of their factions, to bring them all into seruitude, from which they neuer could be free, till the *Romanes* presenting them with a shew of libertie, did themselves indeede become their Masters.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponnesian Warre, or shortly following it.

§. I.

How the affaires of Persia stood in these times.



10 DURING the times of this *Peloponnesian Warre*, and those other lesse expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, having peaceably enjoyed a long raigne ouer the *Persians*, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the *Bastard*, whom the *Greece* Historians (lightly passing ouer *Xerxes* the second, and *Sogdianus*, as Vsurpers, and for their short raigne little to be regarded) place next vnto him, or to *Xerxes* the second, who, and his brother *Sogdianus* after him (seeming to haue bene the sonnes of *Hester*) held the Kingdome but one yeere betweene them, the younger succeeding his elder brother. It is not my purpose (as I haue said before) to pursue the Historie of the *Persians* from henceforth, by rehearfall of all the particulars, otherwise then as they shall be incident to the affaires of *Greece*. It may therefore suffice to say, That *Xerxes* the second, being a vicious Prince, did per-
 30 ther *Sogdianus*. Likewise of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruell, he slew vnjustly *Bagoraxus* a principall *Eunuch*, and would haue done as much to his brother *Darius* the *Bastard*, had not hee foreseene it, and by raising a stronger Armie than this hated King *Sogdianus* could leaue, seized at once vpon the King and Kingdome. *Darius* hauing slaine his brother, held the Empire sinetene yeeres. *Amyrtam* of *Sais* an *Egyptian* rebelled against him, and hauing partly slaine, partly chased out of the Land the *Persian* Garrisons, allied himselfe so firmly with the *Greekes*, that by their aide he maintained the Kingdome, and deliuered it ouer to his posteritie, who (notwithstanding the furie of their ciuill Warres) maintained it against the *Persian*, all the daies of this *Darius*, and of his sonne *Artaxerxes*
 40 *Menemon*. Likewise *Amorges*, a subject of his owne and of the *Rollall* bloud, being Lieutenant of *Caria*, rebelled against him; confederating himselfe with the *Athenians*. But the great calamitie, before spoken of, which fell vpon the *Athenians* in *Sial*, hauing put new life into the *Spartians*, and giuen courage to the flanders and others, subject to the State of *Athen*, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage: It fell out well for *Darius*, that the *Lacedemonians* being destitute of money, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Nauie, without which it was impossible to aduance the warre against the State of *Athen*, that remained powerfull by Sea, were driuen to craue his assistance, which he granted vnto them, first vpon what conditions best pleased himselfe, though afterwards the articles of the league
 50 betweene him and them were set downe in more precise termes; wherein it was concluded, That he and they should make warre joyntly vpon the *Athenians*, and vpon all that should rebell from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of *Asia*, which had formerly bene his, or his Predecessours, should returne to his obedience. By this Treatie, and the warre en-
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saing (of which I haue already spoken) he recovered all that his Grand-father and Father had lost in *Asia*. Likewise by assistance of the *Lacedaemonians* he got *Amorges* a-lie into his hands, who was taken in the Citie of *Iesus*; the *Athenians* wanting either force or courage to succour him. Neuertheless *Aegypt* still held out against him; the cause whereof cannot bee the employment of the *Persian* forces on the parts of *Greece*, for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with gold, which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, and his naturall enemies, what the valour of his owne Subjects was insufficient to performe. *Darius* had in marriage *Parysatis* his owne sister, who bare vnto him (besides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Memnon*, that is to say, the Mindfull, or the Rememberer, who succeeded him in the Kingdome; and *Cyrus* the younger a Prince of singular vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that euer *Persia* bred after *Cyrus* the Great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leave vnto his elder sonne *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of that great Empire, did cast a jealous eye vpon the doings of young *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower *Asia*, tooke more vpon him than befit a Subject: for which cause his father sent for him, with intent to haue taken some very sharpe course with him, had not his owne death prevented the coming of his younger sonne, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the warre betweene these brethren, and summarily of *Artaxerxes*, we shall haue occasion to speake somewhat in more conuenient place.

§. II.

How the thirtie Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

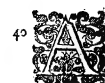
Hold it in this place most conuenient to shew the proceedings of the *Greekes*, after the subuersion of the walls of *Athens*, which gaue end to that warre called the *Peloponnesian* warre, but could not free the vnhappy Countie of *Greece* from ciuill broiles. The thirtie Gouernours, commonly called the thirtie Tyrants of *Athens*, were chosen at the first by the people to compile a body of their Law, and make a collection of such ancient Statutes, as were meetest to be put in practice: the condition of the Citie standing as it did in that so sodaine alteration. To this charge was annexed the supreme authoritie, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessity of the times did so require it, wherein the Law being vncertaine, it was fit that such men should giue iudgement in particular causes, to whose iudgement the Lawes themselves, by which the Citie was to bee ordered, were become subiect. But these thirtie hauing got great power in their hands, were more carefull to hold it, than to deserve it, by faithfull execution of that which was committed to them in trust.

Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellowes, as were odious to the citie, though not punishable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approved, who considered their lewd conditions, but did not without thinke themselves, how easie a thing it would be vnto these thirtie men, to take away the liues of Innocents, by calling them perturbors of the peace, or what else they listed, when condemnation without due trial and proofe had bene once well allowed. Hauing thus plausibly entred into a wicked course of gouernement, they thought it best to fortifie themselves with a sure guard, ere they brake out into those disorders, which they must needs commit for the establishing of their authoritie. Wherefore dispatching two of their owne companie to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedaemonians*, that it was the full intent of the thirtie, to keepe the City free from all rebellious motions, to which purpose it behoued them to cut off such as were seditious; and therefore desired the *Lacedaemonians* to send them

them a Garrison, which they promised at their owne cost to maintain. This motion was well approved, and a guard sent, the Captaine of which was so well entertained by the thirtie, that none of their misdeedes could want his high commendations at *Sparta*. Hereupon the Tyrants beganne to take heart, and looking no more after base and deserv'd persons, invaded the principall men of the City, knding armed men from House to House, who drew out such as were of great reputation, and likely, or able to make any head against this wicked forme of gouernement: whereby there was such effusion of blood, as to *Theramenes* (one of the thirtie) seemed very horrible, and vnable to escape vengeance. His dislike of their proceedings being openly discovered, caused his fellowes to berinke themselves, and provide for their owne security, and his destruction, lest he should make himselfe a Captaine of the discontented (which were almost the whole Citie) and redeme his owne peace with their ruine. Wherefore they selected three thousand of the Citizens, whom they thought meetest, and gaue vnto them some part of publicke authority; the rest they disarm'd; and hauing thus increased their owne strength, and weakened their opposites, they began a-fresh to shed the blood, not only of their priuat enemies, but of such whose money, or goods, might enrich them, and enable them for the payment of their guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that every one of them should name one man, vpon whose goods he should seize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* uttered his detestation of so wicked intent; then did *Critias*, who of all the thirtie was most tyrannicall, accuse him to the Councell, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one maine priuiledge of the three thousand was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirtie, but haue the accustomed trial) he took vpon him to strike out of that number the name of *Theramenes*, and so reduced him vnder the triall and sentence of that order. It was well alleaged by *Theramenes*, that his name was not more easie to be blotted out of the Catalogue, than any other mans, vpon which consideration, he aduised them all to conuie no other wife of his case, than as of their owne, who were liable to the same forme of proceeding: but (every man choosing rather to preserve his owne life by silence, than presently to draw vpon himselfe the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would neuer come neerer him) the Tyrants interpreting silence as consent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drinke poison.

§. III.

The conspiracie against the thirtie Tyrants, and their depositor.



After the death of *Theramenes*, the thirtie began to vse such outrage, as excelled their former villanies. For hauing three thousand (as they thought) firme vnto them, they robbed all others without feare or shame, despoiling them of lands and goods, and causing them to flie into banishment, for safeguard of their liues. This flight of the Citizens procured their libertie, and the generall good of the City. For the banished Citizens, who were fled to *Thebes*, entred into consultation, and resolved to hazard their liues in setting free the Citie of *Athens*. The very thought of such a practice had bene treason at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seuentie men, or thereabout, were the first undertakers, who with their Captaine *Thrasybulus* tooke *Phyla*, a place of strength in the Territorie of *Athens*. No sooner did the thirtie heare of their exploit, than secke meanes to prevent further dangers, assembling the three thousand, and their *Lacedaemonian* guard, with which force they attempted *Phyla*, but were with some losse of their men repelled. Finding the place too strong to be taken by assault, they intended to besiege it; which purpose came to nought by means of snow that fell, and other stormie weather,

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weather, against which they had not made provision. Retiring therefore to the Citie, which about all they were to make good, they left the most of their guard, and two companies of Horse, to wearie out them which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying siege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thraſybulus* were increased from ſeventy to ſeven hundred, which adventured to give charge vpon theſe guards, of whom they cut off about an hundred & twenty. Theſe ſmall, but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of thoſe in *Phyla*, who now with a thouſand men got entrance into *Piræus*, the ſuburbe of *Athenes*, lying on the Port. Before their coming, the thirtieth had reſolved to ſiſte the Towne of *Eleuſine*, to their owne uſe, whereto they might make an eaſie retreat, and ſaue themſelves from any ſudden perill. It may well ſeeme ſtrange, that whereas their barbarous manner of gouernment had brought them into ſuch danger, they were ſo farre from ſeeking to obtaine mens good wil, that contrariwiſe, to aſſure themſelves of *Eleuſine*, they got all of the place who could beare armes into their hands by a traine, and wickedly (though vnder forme of iuſtice) murdered them all. But, *ſcleribus tutum per ſclera eſt iter*, the miſchiefs which they had already done were ſuch, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparant likelihood of ſafety, than by extending their crueltie vnto all, ſeeing few or none were left, whom they could truſt. When *Thraſybulus* and his fellows, who as yet were termed conſpirators, had taken the *Piræus*, then were the three thouſand armed againe by the Tyrants, and brought to aſſault it; but in this enterpriſe *Thraſybulus* had the better, and repelled his enemies, of whom althoough there were ſlaine to the number of ſeuentie, onely yet the victory ſeemed the greater, becauſe *Critias*, & one other of the thirty, periſhed in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the ſtout defence of *Piræus*, together with ſome exhortations vſed by *Thraſybulus* to the Citizens, wrought ſuch effect, that the thirtieth were depoſed. Neuertheleſſe there were ſo many of the three thouſand, who hauing communicated with the thirty in their miſdeeds, feared to be called to a ſharpe account, that no peace, nor quiet forme of gouernment could be eſtabliſhed. For Embaſſadors were ſent to *Sparta*, who crauing aide againſt *Thraſybulus*, and his followers, had favourable audience, and a power ſent to their aſſiſtance, both by Land and Sea, vnder the conduct of *Lyſander*, and his Brother; whom *Pauiſanias* the *Spartan* King did follow, raiſing an Armie of the Cities confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*. And here appeared firſt the iealouſie, wherein ſome people held the State of *Sparta*. The *Beotians*, and *Corinthians*, who in the late warres had been the moſt bitter enemies to *Athenes*, reſuſed to follow *Pauiſanias* in this expedition; alleging that it ſtood not with their othes, to make warre againſt that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing, indeede, leſt the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould annexe the Territorie of *Athenes* to their owne Demaines. It is not to be doubted, that *Pauiſanias* tooke this anſwere in good part. For it was not his purpoſe to deſtroy thoſe againſt whom he went, but only to croſſe the proceedings of *Lyſander*, whom he enuied. Therefore hauing in ſome ſmall ſkirmiſhes againſt them of *Thraſybulus* his party, made a ſhew of warre, finally wrought ſuch meanes, that all things were compounded quietly: the thirtieth men, and ſuch others, as were like to giue cauſe of tumult, being ſent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that tyrannicall faction, hauing with-drawne themſelves to *Eleuſine*, were ſhortly after found to attempt ſome inuolution; wherevpon the whole Citie riſing againſt them, took their Captaines, as they were coming to Parlie, and ſlew them: which done, to auoid further inconuenience, a law was made, that all iniuries paſt ſhould be forgotten, and no man called into queſtion for wrongs committed. By which order, wiſely made, and carefully obſerued, the Citie returned to her former quietneſſe.

CHAP. X.

Of the expedition of CYRVS the younger.

§. I.

The grounds of CYRVS his attempt againſt his brother.



THE matters of Greece now ſtanding vpon ſuch termes, that no one Eſtate durſt oppoſe it ſelfe againſt that of *Lacedæmon*; young *Cyrus* brother to *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, hauing in his fathers life time very carefully proteſtuted the warre againſt *Athenes*, did ſend his meſſengers to *Sparta*, requeſting that their loue might appear no leſſe to him, than that which he had ſhewed towards them in their dangerous warre againſt the *Athenians*. To this requeſt, being general, the *Lacedæmonians* gaue a ſutable anſwere, commanding their Admirall to performe vnto *Cyrus* all ſeruiſe that hee ſhould require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly diſcovered himſelfe, and the *Lacedæmonians* bent their whole power to his aſſiſtance, very like it is, that either the Kingdom of *Persia* ſhould haue been the recompence of his deſerts, or that he periſhing in battaile, as after he did, the ſubuerſion of that Empire had forthwith enſued. But it pleaſed God, rather to ſhew vnto the *Greekes* the waies, which vnder the *Academonian* Enſignes, the victorious foot-ſteps of their poſteritie ſhould meaſure; and opening vnto them the riches, and withall the weakeneſſe of the *Persians*, to kindle in them both deſire and hope of that conqueſt, which he referred to another generation; than to giue into their hands that mightie Kingdom, whoſe houre was not yet come. The loue which *Pariſatis*, the Queene-Mother of *Persia* bare vnto *Cyrus* her yonger ſonne, being ſeconded by the earneſt fauour of the people, and ready deſires of many principall men, had moued this yong Prince, in his fathers old age, to aſpire after the ſucceſſion. But being ſent for by his Father (as hath before bene ſhewed) whoſe meaning was to curb this ambitious youth; hee found his elder brother *Artaxerxes* eſtabliſhed ſo ſurely by the old Kings fauour, that it were not ſafe to attempt any meanes of diſplanting him, by whoſe diſfauour, himſelf might eaſily loſe the place of a Viceroy, which he held in *Aſia* the leſſe, and hardly be able to maintaine his owne life. The neereſt neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower *Aſia*, was *Tiſſaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardice, treacherie, craft, and all vices which accuſtomably branch out of theſe. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, vſing by the way all faire ſhewes of friendſhip, as to a Prince, for whom it might well be thought, that Queene *Pariſatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mightie Empire. And it was very true, that *Pariſatis* had vſed the beſt of her endeavour to that purpoſe, alleging that (which in former ages had bin much auailable to *Xerxes*, in the like diſceparation with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was borne whileſt his father was a private man, but *Cyrus*, when he was a crowned King. All which not ſufficing; when the moſt that could be obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of ſome preſumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adioyning; then did this *Tiſſaphernes* diſcover his nature, and accuſe his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treaſon intended againſt his perſon. Vpon this accuſation, whether true or falſe, very

easily belcued, *Cyrus* was arrested, and by the most vehement intreatie of his Mother very hardly deliuered, and sent back into his owne Prouince.

§. II.

The preparations of *Cyrus*; and his first entrie into the Warre.

THe forme of gouernment which the *Persian* Lieutenants vsed in their seuerall Prouinces, was in many points almost Regall. For they made Warre and Peace, as they thought it meete, not onely for the Kings behoofe, but for their owne reputation; vsually indeede with the Kings enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their owne heads were held only at the Kings pleasure, which caused them to frame all their doings to his will, whatsoever it were, or they could coniecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being settled in *Lydia*, began to consider with himselfe, the interest that he had in the Kingdome; the small assurance of his brothers loue, held only by his Mothers intercession; the disgrace endured by his late imprisonment; and the meanes which he had by loue of his owne people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedemonians*, whom he had bound vnto him, to obtaine the Crowne for himselfe. Neither was it expedient that he should so long sit idle, as waighting till occasion should present it selfe: but rather enterprise somewhat whilst yet his Mother liued, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than only questionable. Hereupon he first beganne to quarrell with *Tissaphernes*, and seized vpon many Townes of his iurisdiction, annexing them to his owne Prouince; which displeased not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (besides that hee was of condition somewhat simple) being truly paid by *Cyrus* the accustomed Tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his brothers hot spirit exercised in priuate quarrels. But *Tissaphernes*, whose base conditions were hated, & cowardise despised, although he durst not adventure to take armes against *Cyrus*, yet perceiving that the *Milesiens* were about to giue vp themselves into the hands of that yong Prince, as many other townes of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terrour to preserve his reputation, and keepe the Towne in his owne hands. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing faire occasion to take armes, which was no small part of his desire. In leuying Souldiers he vsed great policie; for he took not only the men of his owne Prouince, or of the Countreys adioyning, whose liues were readie at his will; but secretly he furnished some *Gracian* Captaines with money, who being very good men of warre, entertained Souldiers therewith, some of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Thebais*, others elsewhere in *Greece*; but all of them ready to crosse the Seas, at the first call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had secret instructions to prolong their seuerall warres, that the Souldiers might be held in continuall exercise, and readie in armes vpon the sudden. *Cyrus* hauing sent a power of men to besiege *Miletus*, forthwith summoned these bands of the *Greekes*, who very readily came ouer to his assistance, being thirtene thousand very firme Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Armie, and that which he had leuied before, hee could very easily haue forced *Miletus*, and chased away *Tissaphernes* out of *Asia* the lesse: but his purpose was not so to lose time in small matters, that was to be imploied in the accomplishment of higher delignes. Pretending therefore that the *Pisidians*, a people of *Asie* the lesse, not subiect to the *Persian*, had invaded his Territory, he raised the siege of *Miletus*, and with all speed marched Eastward, leauing *Tissaphernes* much amazed, who had no leisure to reioyce that *Cyrus* had left him to himselfe, when he considered, that so great an Army, and so strong, was neuer leuied against the Routers of *Pisidia*, but rather against the great King his Master. For which

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cause taking a band of five hundred horse, hee posted away to carrie tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

§. III.

How *Cyrus* tooke his iourney into the higher Asia, and came vp close to his Brother.

THe tumult which his coming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queen *Statira*, against *Parisatis*, the Queene-Mother, whom she called the Author and occasioner of the warre. But whilst the King in great feare was arming the high Countreys in his defence, the danger hastned vpon him very fast. For *Cyrus* made great marches, hauing his numbers much increased, by the repaire of his Countymen, though most strengthened by the access of seue hundred *Greekes*, and of other foure hundred of the same Nation, who reuoluted vnto him from the King. How terrible the *Greekes* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by triall in a Muttier, which (to please the Queene of *Cilicia*, who had brought him aide) he made in *Phrygia*; where the *Greekes* by his direction making offer of a charge vpon the rest of his Armie, which contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Campe (not perceiving that this was but a brauerie) fled a-maine, the victuallers and baggagers forsaking their cabins, and running all away for very feare. This was to *Cyrus* a ioyfull spectacle, who knew very well, that his brother was followed by men of the same temper, and the more vnlily to make resistance, because they were prest to the warre against their will and dispositions, whereas his Armie was drawne a-long by meere affection and good will. Neuerthelesse he found it a very hard matter to perswade the *Greekes* to passe the Riuer of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had troden, wearied them with conceit of the tedious returne. Therefore he was driuen, being yet in *Cilicia*, to seeke excuses, telling them, that *Abrocomas*, one of the Kings principall Captaines, and his owne great enemy, lay by the Riuer, against whom he requested them to assist him. By such deuices, and excessive promise of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*, where some of the *Greekes* considering, That who so passed the Riuer first, should haue the most thanks, and might failely returne if the rest should refuse to follow them, they entred the Foorde, whereby were all finally perswaded to doe as some had beganne, and being allured by great hopes, they resolu'd to seeke out *Artaxerxes*, where soeuer he was to be found. The King in the meane time hauing raised an army of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident vpon this huge multitude, as to aduenteure them in triall of a plaine battaile. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thousand men, had vnder-taken to make good the Straights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong wall, and other defences of nature, and art, which made the place to seeme impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himself toward the Kings forces; not daring to look *Cyrus* in the face, who despairing to finde any way by Land, had procured the *Lacedemonian* fleet, by the benefit whereof to haue transported his Armie. I doe not finde that this cowardise of *Abrocomas*, or of his Souldiers, who arriued not at the Campe, till fuedaies were past after the battaile, receiued either punishment, or disgrace; for they, toward whom he with-drew himselfe, were all made of the same metall.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was vpon the point of retiring to the vttermost bounds of his Kingdome, vntill by *Teribazus*, one of his Captaines, he was perswaded not to abandon so many goodly Prouinces to the Enemy, who would thereby haue gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharpe disposition of Title to a Kingdome is most auailable) would haue growne superiour in reputation. By such aduice, the King resolu'd vpon meeting with his brother, who now began to be

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cure, being fully persuaded, that *Artaxerxes* would neuer dare to abide him in the field. For the King hauing cast vp a Trench of almost fortie miles in length, about thirtie foot broad, and eightene foote deepe, intended there to haue encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe, as to be farre distant from his enemies.

§. IIII.

The battaile betweene *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*.

THe Armie of *Cyrus* hauing overcome many difficulties of euil waies, and scarcitie of victuals, was much encouraged by perceiuing this great feare of *Artaxerxes*, & being past this trench, marched carelesly in great disorder, hauing bellowed their Armes in Carts, and vpon Beasts of carriage; when on the sudden one of their Vaunt-currors, brought newes of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselues, and had ranged their battailes in good order vpon the side of the River *Euphrates*, where they waited for the coming of their enemies, whom they saw not till it was after-noon. But when they saw the cloud of dust raised by the feete of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceiued by their neere approach how well they were marshalled, comming on very orderly, in silence, whereas it had bene expected, that rushing violently with loude clamours, they should haue spent all their force vpon the first brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were so vnequall in dissent, being all embattailed in one bodie and square, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Persian* manner) in the midst of his owne, did not with the corner, and vtmost point thereof, reach to the halfe breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battaile, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greekes* begin to distrust their owne manhood, which was not accustomed to make proofe of it self, vpon such excellent oddes. It was almost incredible, that so great an Armie should bee so easily chased. Neuerthelesse, it quickly appeared, that these *Persians*, hauing learned (contrary to their custome) to giue charge vpon their enemies with silence; had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receiue a strong charge with courage. Vpon the very first offer of on-set, made by the *Greekes*, all that beastly rabble of cowards fled amaine, without abiding the stroke, or staying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hookes and sithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twentie) did small hurt that day, because the drivers of them leaping downe, fled away on foot. This base demeanour of his enemies gaue so much confidence to *Cyrus*, and his Followers, that such as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certainly, the Title had bene assured vnto him that day, had not he fought how to declare himselfe worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiuing that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompass the *Greekes*, and to set vpon them in the reare, he aduanced with fixe hundred Horse, and gaue so valiant a charge vpon a Squadron of fixe thousand, which lay before the King, that he brake it, slaying the Capitaine thereof, *Artageses*, with his owne hands, and putting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whole companie of fixe hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chase, leauing *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiuing where the King stood in troupe, vncertaine whether to fight, or leaue the field, could not containe himselfe; but said; *I see the man*: and presently with a small handfull of men about him ranne vpon his brother, whom he strake through the Curace, and wounded in the brest. Hauing giuen this stroke, which was his last, he receiued immediately the fatal blow, which gaue period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded vnder the eye with a dart, throwne by a base-fellow, where with astonished, he

he fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was vnpossible to haue recovered him, though all which were with him, did their best for his safety; not caring afterwards for their owne liues, when once they perceiued that *Cyrus* their Master was slaine. *Artaxerxes* caufed the head and right hand of his brother to bee forthwith stricken off, and shewed to his people, who now pursuing them, fled apace, calling vpon the name of *Cyrus*, and desiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troups, & vterly dismayed such *Persian* Capitaines, as were now, euen in their owne eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Campe of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned, from whence *Artaxerxes*, making all speede, arriued quickly at the quarter of the *Greekes*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There hee met with *Tissaphernes*, who hauing made way through the battaile of the *Greekes*, was readie now to ioyne with his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the newes, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his brothers death, bene sufficient to counteruaile all disaisters receiued; the exploit of *Tissaphernes* in breaking through the *Greekes* would haue yielded little comfort. For *Tissaphernes* had not slaine any one man of the *Greekes*, but contrariwise, when he gaue vpon them, they opening their battaile, draue him with great slaughter through them, in such wise, that he rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the Squadron of the *Greekes*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greekes*, as Masters of the field, gaue chase to all that came in their sight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after these *Greekes*, intending to set vpon them in reare. But these good Souldiers perceiuing the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seeke honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being pursued vnto a certaine Village, that lay vnder a Hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a brauerie, than with purpose to attempt vpon these bold-fellows any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had secured his estate, whom he would seeme to haue slaine with his owne hand, thinking that fast alone sufficient to giue reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preferre wel enough, by shewing a manly looke, halfe a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he aduanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displayed on the top of a Speare. This ensigne might haue encouraged his people, had not some of the *Greekes* espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so neere them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discouraging their approach, fled vpon the spur; so that none remained in the place of battaile, saue only the *Greekes*, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondered that they heard no newes of *Cyrus*, but thinking that hee was pursuing the Armie, they thought it was fittest for them, hauing that day done enough, to returne to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings comming had giuen them no leisure to dine.

§. V.

The hard estate of the *Greekes* after the fight; and how *Artaxerxes* in vaine sought to haue made them yield vnto him.

Twas now about the setting of the Sunne, and they bringing home darke night with them, found their Campe spoiled, little, or nothing being left, that might serue for food: so that wanting victuals to satisfie their hunger, they refreshed their wearie bodies with sleepe. In the meane season *Artaxerxes* returning to his Camp, which he entered by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceiued

perceived that the baseness of his people, and weaknesse of his Empire, was now plainly discovered to the *Greekes*: which gaue him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shamefull demeanor of his Armie, should liue to carry tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole Signorie. Wherefore hee resolved, to trie all means, whereby hee might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carrie tidings of that which he had scene: to which purpose hee sent them a braue message the next morning; Charging them to deliuer vp their Armes, and come to his Gate, to awaite there vpon his Mercie. It seemes that he was in good hope to haue found their high courages broken, vpon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceiued in that thought. For the *Greekes* being aduertised that morning from *Arius*, a principall Comander vnder *Cyrus*, that his Master being slaine, he had retired himselfe to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to returne into *Ionia*, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, awaiting for them so long if they would joyne with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they sent answer back to *Arius*, that hauing beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Arius* himselfe in the Kings Throne, if he would joyne with them, and pursue the victorie. Before they received any reply to this answer, the Messengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the Campe, whose errand seemed to the Captaines very inuolent: One told them that it was not for the Vanquishers to yeeld their Weapons; another, that he would die ere hee yeelded to such a motion; at third asked, whether the King, as hauing the victorie, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesie hee meant to requite their kindnesse. To this question *Phalimus* a *Gracian*, waiting vpon *Tissaphernes*, answered; That the King hauing slaine *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdome, in the midst whereof he held them fast enclosed with great Riuers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold vp their throats, for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words, to them, who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told *Phalimus*, that hauing nothing left, but their Armes & Valour, whilest they kept their Armes, their Valour would be seruicable, but should they yeeld them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remaine their owne. Hereat *Phalimus* laughed, saying; This young man did seeme a Philosopher, and made a pretty speech; but that his deepe speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Armes, and his Valour, to preuaile against the great King. It seemes that *Phalimus* being a Courtier, and imploied in a businesse of importance, thought himself too profound a Statesman, to be checked in his Embassage by a bookish discoufser. But his wisdom here failed him. For whatsoever he himselfe was (of whom no more is knowne than that he brought an vn honest message to his owne Countreymen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons, & Liues, to the mercilesse *Barbarians*) this young Scholler by him despised, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principall Commanders were surprisid by treacherie of the *Persians*, being a private Gentleman, and hauing neuer scene the warres before, vnder-tooke the conduct of the Armie, which he brought safe into *Greece*, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than *Phalimus* could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithful to the King, as they had beene to *Cyrus*, offering their seruice in *Egypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might haue vse of them. But the final answer was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the King good as Friends, nor defend themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalimus* deliuered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilest they abode where they the were, denouncing Warre if they stirred thence; Whereunto hee required their answer. *Clearchus* the Generall told him, they liked it. How (saith *Phalimus*) must I vnderstand

stand you? as choosing peace if we stay, otherwise warre, said *Clearchus*. But whether warre or peace? quoth this politike Embassadour. To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose.) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him, no wiser than he came. All that day the *Greekes* were laine to feede vpon their Horfes, Asses, and other Beasts, which they rotted with arrowes, darts, and wooden targets, throwne away by the Enemies.

§. VI.

How the *Greekes* beganne to returne home-wards.



T night they tooke their way towards *Arius*, to whom they came at mid night; being forsaken by foure hundred foot, and forty horse, all *Thracians*, who fled ouer the King, by whom how they were entertained, I doe not finde. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces, for had they been kindly vsed, it may well bee thought that some of them should haue accompanied *Tissaphernes*, and serued as Stales to draw in the rest. *Arius* being of too base a temper, and birth, to thinke vpon seeking the Kingdome for himselfe, with such assistance as might haue giuen it vnto *Cyrus*, was very well pleased to make covenant with them for mutual assistance vnto the last: Whereunto both parts hauing sworn, he aduised them to take another way homeward, which should bee somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to relieue them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, hauing made a wearisome march, and tired the Souldiers, they found the Kings Armie which had coasted them, lodged in certaine Villages, where they purposed themselves to haue encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, because hee would not seeme by declining them to shew feare, or weaknesse. That the Kings men were contented to remoue, and giue place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behaviour; Nor strange, that the *Gracians* being wearie and hungrie, and lying among enemies in an vnknown Countre, should be very fearefull: but it is almost past beliefe, that the noise which was heard of these poore men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition inforced them to doe, should make the *Persians* flie out of their Campe, and so affright the great King, that in stead of demanding their Armes, he should craue peace of them. The next day very early, came messengers from *Artaxerxes*, desiring free access for Embassadours, to entreat of peace. Were it not that such particulars doe best open the qualitie of the persons, by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter, to runne ouer the general passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for battaile, because the *Greekes* (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to heare of truce till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* dissembling the indignitie, was contented sweetly to swallow downe this pill, sending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plentie of victuals to relieue them.

§. VII.

p. VII.

How TISSAPHERNES, vnder colour of peace, betrayed all the Captaines of the Greekes.



Therto the Greekes, relying vpon their owne vertue, had rather aduanced their affaires, than brought theſelues into any ſtraights or termes of diſaduantage. But now came vnto them the ſubtile Fox *Tiſſaphernes*, who circumventing the chiefe Commanders by fine ſleights, did miſchicouſly entrappe them, to the extreme danger of the Armie. 10 He told them, that his Prouince, lying neere vnto *Greece*, had cauſed him greatly to deſire, that their deliuerance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countreimen at home, would not be vnthankfull for ſuch a benefit. Herewithall hee forgot not to rehearſe the great ſerue that he had done to his Maſter, being the firſt that aduerted him of *Cyrus* his intent, and hauing not only brought him a good ſtrength of men, but in the day of battaile ſhewed his face to the Greekes, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Campe, and gaue chaſe to the Barbarians that flood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth hee) did I alledge to the King, entreating that he would giue me leaue to conſult you ſafe into *Greece*; in which ſuite 20 I haue good hope to ſpeede, if you will ſend a milde anſwere to him, who hath willed me to aſke you, for what cauſe yee haue borne Armes againſt him. The Captaines hearing this, were contented to giue gentle words, which *Tiſſaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly as he ſaid) that peace ſhould be granted: the conditions whereof were; That they ſhould paſſe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for what they tooke, and committing no ſpoile: yet that it ſhould be lawfull for them to take victuals by force, in any place that reſuſed to afford them an open Market. Hereunto both parties hauing ſworne, the League was concluded, and *Tiſſaphernes* returning to the King to take leaue, and end all buſineſſe, came vnto them againe after twentie daies, and then they ſet forward. This 30 interim of twenty daies, which *Tiſſaphernes* did ſpend at the Court, miniſtered great occaſion of miſtruſt to his new Confederates. For beſides his long abſence, which alone ſufficed to breede doubt; the Brethren, and Kindred of *Arius*, repairing daily to him, and other *Persians* to his Souldiers, did work him and them ſo with aſſurance of pardon, and other allurements, that hee daily grew more ſtrange to the Greekes, than formerly he had bene. This cauſed many to aduiſe *Clearchus*, rather to paſſe forward as well as he might, than to relye vpon couenants, and ſit ſtill whileſt the King laied ſnares to entrap them. But he on the contrarie perſwaded them, to reſtcontented whileſt they were well, and not to caſt themſelues againe into thoſe difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting 40 withall their owne wants, and the Kings means, but eſpecially the Oathes mutually giuen and taken, wherewith hee ſaw no reaſon why the chemic ſhould haue clogged himſelfe if hee meant miſchicfe, hauing power enough to doe them harme by a faire and open Warre.

Tiſſaphernes was a very honourable Man (if honour may bee valued by greatneſſe and place in Court) which cauſed his Oath to bee the more eſteemed; for as much as no enforcement, or baſe reſpect, was like to haue drawne it from him. But his falſhood was ſuch, both in ſubſtance and in ſucceſſe, he may fitly expound that ſaying, which proceeded from the fountaine of Truth, *I hate a rich man alway*. 50 A lye may finde excuſe when it growes out of feare, for that paſſion hath his originall from weakeneſſe. But when Power, which is a Character of the Almighty, ſhall be made the ſupporter of vntuſe, the falſhood is moſt abominable; for the offender, like proud *Zuſier*, aduancing his owne ſtrength againſt the diuine Iuſtice, doth commit that ſinne with an high hand, which commonly producem lamentable

table effects, and is followed with ſure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tiſſaphernes* found means to deſtroy all the Captaines, whom hee ſubtilly got into his power by a traine; making the General *Clearchus* himſelfe the meane to draw in all the reſt. The buſineſſe was continued thus: Hauing trauailed ſome daies together in ſuch wile, that the *Persians* did not encampe with the Greekes, who were very jealous of the great familiaritie, appearing betwene *Tiſſaphernes*, and *Arius*; *Clearchus* thought it conuenient to roote out of *Tiſſaphernes* his braines all cauſes of diſtruſt, whereof many had growne in that ſhort time. To which purpoſe obtaining priuate conference with him, he rehearſed the oath of Confederacie, which had paſt betwene them, ſhewing how religiously he meant to keepe it, and repeating the benefits, which the Greekes did receiue by the helpe of *Tiſſaphernes*, he promiſed that their loue ſhould appeare to him not vnfruitfull, if he would make vſe of their ſerue againſt the *Myſians* or *Pſidians*, who were accuſtomed to infeſt his Prouince, or againſt the *Egyptians*, who were then Rebels to the great King. For which cauſe he deſired him, that whereas al diuine and humane reſpects had linked them together, he would not giue place to any cloſe accuſation or ſuſpition, whereby might grow ſudden inconuenience to either of them, vpon no juſt ground. The laithleſſe *Persian* was very much delighted with this ſpeech, which miniſtered faire occaſion to the execution of his purpoſe. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him 20 wiſely conſidered, wiſhing him further to call to minde how many waies hee could haue vſed to bring them to conſuſion, without perill to himſelfe, eſpecially by burning the Countrey, through which they were to paſſe, whereby they muſt needs haue periſhed by meere famine. For which cauſe hee ſaid that it had bene great folly, to ſeake by perjury, odious to God and Man, the deſtruction of ſuch as were already in his hands; But the truth was, that his owne loue to them had moued him to worke their ſafetie, not only for thoſe ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleaſures that might redound to himſelfe, and the King, by their aſſiſtance: but for that he might by their friendſhip, hope to obtaine what *Cyrus* had miſt. Finally, hee invited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and ſent him away ſo well aſſured 30 of his good will, that he promiſed to bring all the Captaines with him to the ſame place, where, in preſence of them all, *Tiſſaphernes* likewiſe promiſed to tell openly, which of them had by ſecret information ſought to raiſe diſſenſion betwene them. *Clearchus* himſelfe being thus deceiued, with great importunitie drew all the chiefe Commanders, and many of the inferior Leaders, to repaire with him to the campe of *Tiſſaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers as it had bene to ſome common Faire. But being there arriued, *Clearchus* with other the ſiue principall Coronels, were called into the Tent, the reſt ſtaying without, where they had not waited long ere a ſigne was giuen, vpon which they within were apprehended, and the reſidue ſlaine. Forthwith certaine bands of *Persian* Horſe-men ſcoured the field, killing as many Greekes as they met, and riding vp 40 to the very Campe of the *Gracians*, who wondered much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cauſe, till one, elcaping ſorely wounded, informed them of all that had bene done. Hereupon the Greekes took Armes in haſte, thinking that the enemy would forthwith haue aſſailed their Campe. Anon they might perceiue the Embaſſadours of *Tiſſaphernes*, among whom were his owne brother, and *Arius*; followed with three hundred Horſe, who called for the principall men in the Armie, ſaying, that they brought a meſſage from the King, which *Arius* deliuered to this effect. That *Clearchus* hauing broken his faith, and the league made, was juſtly rewarded with death; that *Menon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the ſiue Coronels, for deteſting his treacherie, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to ſurrender their Armes, which were due to him, as hauing 50 belonged vnto his ſeruant *Cyrus*. When ſome alteration had followed vpon this meſſage, *Xenophon* told the Embaſſadours, that if *Clearchus* had in ſuch ſort offended, it was well that he was in ſuch ſort puniſhed: but he willed them to ſend back

Menon

Alexon and Proxenus, whom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greekes* might be aduised how to answer the *Persian*. Hereunto the Embassadors knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. *Clarchus*, and the other foure were sent to *Artaxerxes*, by whose commandment their heads were stricken off. I hold it not amiss to prevent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiousnesse of *Tissaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He saw his Province wasted by the *Greekes*, against whom receiving from his Master conuenient aide of men and money, hee did so ill manage his affaires, that neither subtiltie, nor perjurie (to which he failed not to haue recourse) auailing him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning head, and sent a new Lieutenant into those parts, who tooke it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treachery, which made him so mistrusted at home, that the seruice which he could not doe, he was thought vpon private ends to neglect, and so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to flye from the stroke, all the world being shut against him. But now let vs returne to the prosperitie, wherein hee triumphed without great cause, hauing betrayed brauer men than himselfe, and intending to bring the like mischiefe vpon the whole Armie.

§. VIII.

How *Xenophon* heartened the *Greekes*, and in despite of *Tissaphernes* went off safely.

GREAT was the heavinesse of the Souldiers, being now destitute of Leaders, and no lesse their feare of the euill hanging ouer their heads, which they knew not how to auoide. Among the rest, *Xenophon*, whose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deepe sadnesse of the whole Armie to be such, as hindred them from taking any course of preventing the danger at hand, began to aduise the vnder-Officers of *Proxenus* his companies, whose familiar friend he had bene, to betinke themselves of some meane, whereby their safetie might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: setting before their eyes what foucer might serue to giue them hope, and aboue all perswading them in no wise to yeeld to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they desired him to take vpon him the charge of that Regiment; and so together with him, the same night calling vp such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succede in the places of those who were slaine, or taken. This being done, and order set downe for disburdening the Armie of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselves for the losse of *Tissaphernes* his assistance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheap than he had bene wont to sell them; To which purpose they intended to take vp their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentifull Villages, and so to proceede, marching towards the heads of those great Riuer, which lay in their way, and to passe them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made vpon them by *Tissaphernes*, whom they, scruing: on foot, were not able to requite for the harme which they receiued by the *Persian* Archers, who shot at a farther distance than the *Greekes* could reach. For this cause did *Xenophon* prouide slings, wherewith he ouer-reached the enemy; and finding some Horses fit for seruice, that were imployed among the carriages, he set men vpon them; training likewise his Archers to shoote compassse, who had bene accustomed to the point blanke. By these meanes did hee beare off the *Persians* who assailed him; and sometimes gaue them chace with that band of fittie Horses, which being well backt, with a firme bodie of footmen, and seconded with troupes of the light-armed-foot and slingers, compelled the enemy to lie a-loose. *Tissaphernes* not daring to come to handie grips with these

these resolute men, did possess the tops of Mountaines, and places of aduantage, by which they were to passe. But finally, when their valour made way through all such difficulties, he tooke himselfe to that course, which was indeede the lastest, of burning the Countrie. With great sorrow did the *Greekes* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some aduised to defend the Countrie, as granted by the enemy himselfe to be theirs; others to make more fires, if so perhaps the *Persians* might be alhamed to doe that which were the desire of such as made passage in hostile manner; But these wereaine comforts. The best counsaile was, that being nere vnto the *Carduchi*, a people enemy to the *Persian*, they should enter into their Countrie passing ouer some high Mountaines which lay betweene them. This course they followed, which could not haue auailed them, if *Tissaphernes* had begunne sooner to cut off their victuals, rather then to seeke to force, or to circumuent them by his fine wit.

§. IX.

The difficulties which the *Greek* Armie found in passing through the Land of the *Carduchi*.

ENTERING vpon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountered with many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accustomed by force to defend themselves against the huge Armies of the *Persian*, were no way inferior to the *Greekes* in daring, but only in the Art of warre. They were verie light of foot, skilfull Archers; and vied the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Countrie were of much vse against these poore trauailers, afflicting them in seven daies which they spent in that passage, farre more than all the power of the great King had done. Betweene the Territorie of these *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ranne *Centrites* a great Riuer, vpon which the *Greekes* refreshed themselves one day, reioicing that they had so well escaped these dangers, and hoping that the remainder would proue easie. But the next morning they saw certaine troupes of Horse, that lay to forbid their passage. These were leauied by the Kings Deputies in those parts; *Tissaphernes* and his Companies hauing taken their way towards *Ionia*. The Riuer was broad and deepe, so that it was not possible for such as would enter it, to make resistance against those which kept the opposite banks. To increase these dangers the *Carduchi* following vpon them, lay on the side of a Mountaine, within lesse than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to discouer a Foord, by which the greater number of them passing ouer, did easily chafe away the Subiects of the *Persian*, and then sending backe the most expedite men, gaue succour to the Rearward, against which the *Carduchi* being slightly armed, could not on plaine ground make resistance hand to hand. These *Carduchi* seeme to haue inhabited the Mountaines of *Niphates*, which are not farre from the Spring of *Tygris*; though *Ptolomie* place them far more to the East vpon the Riuer of *Cyru* in *Media*, wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whose relation being grounded vpon his owne knowledge, doth best in this case deserue credit. Of the Riuer *Centrites* (as of many other Riuer, Townes, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a coniecture, which may endure the seueritie of a Critick. For *Ptolomie*, and the whole Nation of *Geographers*, adde small light to this expedition: only of this last, I thinke it the same which falleth into *Tygris*, not much about *Artasgaria* springing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Towne of *Sardena* in *Gordene*, a Prouince of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greekes* hauing passed *Centrites* did arriue.

§. X.

How TERIBAZUS Governour of Armenia, seeking to entrap the Greekes
with termes of fained peace, was disappointed and
shamefully beaten.

THe Armie finding in Armenia good prouision, marched without any disturbance about fiftie or three score miles to the heads of the Riuer *Tigris*, and passing ouer them, traualled as farre further without resistance, till they were encountered by *Teribazus* at the Riuer *Telebas*, 10 which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly water, though small; but *Ptolemy* and others omit it. *Teribazus* gouerned that Countrie for the *Perfian*, and was in great fauour with *Artaxerxes*, whose Court may seeme to haue bene a Schoole where the Art of fallhood was taught as wisdom. He desired peace of the *Greekes*, which was made vpon this condition, that they should take what they pleased, but not burne downe the Townes and Villages in their way. As soone as he had made this league, he leauied an Armie, & besetting the Straights of certaine Mountaines which they were to passe, hoped wel to make such benefit of their security, as might giue him the commendation of being no lesse craftily dishonest than *Tissaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of successe. For a great snow fell, which caused the *Greekes* 20 to make many fires, and scatter themselves abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* also made many fires, and some of his men wandred about seeking reliefe. By the fires he was discovered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken prisoner, the whole plott was reuealed. Heereupon the *Greekes*, taking this captiue with them for a guide, sought him out; and coming vpon his Campe, did so affright him, that before the whole Armie could arriue there, the shout which was raised by the *Vauncerurs*, chased him away. They tooke his Pavilion, wherein (besides many slaues, that were Artificers of voluptuousnesse) verie rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Armie went northward, and passing *Euprates*, not far below the springs thereof, traualled with much 30 difficulty through deepe snow, being followed aloofe by the enemy, who durst not approach them, but did cut off such as they found stragling behinde. The Inhabitants of the Countrie, through which they marched, had their wintring houfes vnder ground, wherein was found great plentie of victuals, and of cattaille, which likewise did winter in the same Cellars with the owners. Hauing refreshed themselves in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the miserable iourney, which had consumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-slaues, and taking away (besides other Horses and Cattaille) some Colts that were bred vp for the great King.

§. XI.

The passage of the Armie to *Trabizonde*, through the Countreies bordering
vpon the Riuer of *Phasis*, and other ob-
scure Nations.

SO without impediment they came to the Riuer *Phasis*, neere where-
vnto the people called *Phasian* *Taochi*, and *Chalybes* were scated, These
Nations ioyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mount-
taines, which the *Greekes* were to passe, made countenance of warre: 10
but some companies being sent by night to seize vpon a place of e-
quall height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground
which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to
lie, every one retrying to the defence of his owne. The first vpon whose Countrie
the

the *Greekes* did enter were the *Taochi*, who conuaying all their prouision of victuals
into strong holds, brought the Armie into much want, vntill with hard labour one
place was forced, wherein great store of cattaille were taken; the people, to auoide
captiuitie, threw themselves head-long downe the rocks, the very women throw-
ing downe first their owne children, and then casting themselves vpon them. Here
was taken a great bootie of Cattaille, which serued to feed them, traualing through
the land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The *Chalybes* were
a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encoun-
tered the *Greekes* hand to hand, killing as many as they tooke prisoners, and cutting
10 off their heads, which they carried away, flinging and dancing to the great griefe of
their companions liuing; who were glad, when after seuen daies iourney they e-
scaped from those continuall skirmishes, wherewith they had been vexed by these
Barbarians. Hence traualing through a good corne Countrie, inhabited by an ob-
scure Nation called the *Seythini*, they came to a rich Towne, the Lord wherof, and
of the Region adioyning, vsed them friendly, and promised to guide them to a
Mountaine, whence they might discouer the *Euxine*-Sea. From *Gymnias* (which
was the name of his Towne) he led them through the Territorie of his enemies,
desiring them to waste it with sword and fire. After five daies march, they came to
a Mountaine called *Teches*, being (as I thinke) a part of the Mountaines called *Ma-*
schici, whence their guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their
20 course, and passing friendly through the Region of the *Matrones*, (with whom by
meanes of an interpreter, found among themselves, who borne in that place had
beene sold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arriued in the Land of *Colchis*,
wherin stands the Citie of * *Trabizond*, called then *Trapezus*, a Colonie of the
Greekes. The *Colchi* entertaining them with hostility, were requited with the like;
for the Armie hauing now good leasure to repose themselves among their friends
the *Trapezuntians*, did spoile the Countrie thirte daies together, forbearing onely
the Borderers vpon *Trabizonde*, at the Citizens request.

Trabizond a
Colonie of the
Greekes, situate
in the bottom
of the *Euxine*-
Sea.

30

§. XII.

How the Armie beganne at *Trabizond* to prouide a Fleet, wherewith to returne
home by Sea: how it came into the Territorie of *Sinope*, and there
prosequuted the same purpose.



HAuing now found an Hauen Towne, the Souldiers were desirous to
take shipping, and change their tedious Land-iournies into an easie
Navigation. To which purpose *Cherifophus* a *Lacedemonian*, one of
the principall Commanders, promised by meanes of *Anaxibium* the
40 *Lacedemonian* Admirall, who was his friend, that he would prouide
Vessels to embarke them. Hauing thus concluded, they likewise tooke order for
the staying of such ships as should passe that way, meaning to vse them for their na-
uigation. Left all this prouision should be found insufficient for the transportation
of the whole Armie, *Xenophon* perswaded the Cities adioyning to clear the waies,
and make an easie passage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were vterly
unwilling to giue care, being desirous to returne by Sea, but the Countrie fearing
what inconuenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xe-*
*phon*s request. Two ships they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they man-
ned and sent to Sea: the one of them sailed directly into *Greece*, forsaking their
50 Companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port of *Trabizond*:
the other tooke Merchants and passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the
owners, but the Vessels were staid to increase the fleet. After long abode, when
victuals beganne to faile, by reason that all the Land of the *Colchi*, neere vnto the
Campe was alreadie quite wasted, they were faine to embarke their sickmen, with

the women, children, and such of the baggage as might be spared, in those few ships which they had already provided. The rest of the Armie tooke their way by Land to *Ceræsus*, a *Greece* Towne, where the fleet likewise arrived. Here the Armie being mustered, was found to consist of eight thousand and six hundred men. From hence they passed through the Countrey of the *Mosynaci*, who were divided into factions. The stronger partie, despising their friendship, caused them to joyn with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

a Mosynaci a Nation of Pontus Ca: padociani

b Coryora a Port Towne in the same Region.

c Sinope a Port Towne in Leucosyria, a Colonie of the Sygians.

The next place of their abode was *Coryora*, a *Greece* Towne likewise, and a *Colonie* of the *Sinopians*, as *Trapezus* and *Ceræsus* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sick-men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Towne by force, and (committing no outrage) bettowed those which were sicke in convenient lodgings, taking into their owne hands the custody of the Gates. Provision for the Armie they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territorie of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Towne. These newes were unwelcome to *Sinope*, whence Embassadors were sent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings, and threatening to joyn with the *Paphlagonians*, if redresse could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*, That mere necessity had enforced the Armie to teach those of *Coryora* good manners in so bad a method: letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them, and the *Paphlagonians* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonians* would be glad to take *Sinope* it selfe, to which, if cause were given, they would lend assistance. Upon this answer the Embassadors grew better advised, promising all friendship that the State of *Sinope* could shew, and commanding the Towne of *Coryora* to relieve the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with shipping, letting them understand how difficult the passage by Land would be, in regard of the many and great Rivers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which crossed their way. This good counsaile, and the faire promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Armie, which well perceived, that the Citie of *Sinope* would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would passe the rest of the way by Sea; provided that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serve to imbarke every one man of them, then would they not put from the shore.

§. XIII.

Of diffension which arose in the Armie; and how it was imbarked.



Therto the danger of enemies, and miseries of weather & wants, had kept the companie in firme vnitie; which now beganne to dissolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring aire of *Greece*, warming their heads with private respects to their severall ends and purposes. Whilest they, who were sent as Agents from the Campe, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* considering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunitie of the coast wheron they lay, thought it would be an honorable worke to build a Citie in those parts, which were soone like to prove great and wealthie, in regard both of their owne puillance, and of the great repaire of the *Greekes* into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Countrey, divining of his successe by the entrailles of beastes. The Sooth-sayer whom hee employed had received a great reward of *Cyrus*, for conjecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not give battaile in ten daies: hee therefore, having preferred his money carefully, was desirous to be soone at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpose of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diversitie of mens opinions; some approuing the motion, but the greater

greater part reflecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this consultation, were fore afraid, lest the poutie of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintaine themselves at home, should give successe to the proiect. Which to prevent, they promised to supply the Armie with a sufficient fleet, and likewise offered money to some of the Captaines, who thereupon vnder-tooke to give the Souldiers pay, if they would presently set saile for *Greece*. One of these Captaines being a banished man, desired them to follow him into *Troas*; another offered to leade them into *Cherronesus*. *Xenophon* who desired only the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions and professed openly that hee would have them to set forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a Traitor that should forsake the Armie, before such time as they were arrived at their iournies end. *Silanus* the Sooth-sayer, who had uttered *Xenophon*'s purpose, was hereby staied from outrunning his fellowes, and driven to abide with his wealth among poore men, longer than stood with his good liking. Also the other Captaines were much troubled and afraid, when they perceived, that ships were prepared sufficient for their Navigation, but that the money promised to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope*, and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Armie was now resolved for the voiage, & that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had perswaded them to this resolution; thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a Navy whilest they were in good readinesse to depart, but to keepe the money to themselves. The Captaines therefore who being disappointed by these Townes, found themselves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with fair hopes, repented much of their hasty offers, & signifying as much to *Xenophon*, praied him to make proposition to the Armie, of taking the ships, and sayling to *Phasis*, where they might seize upon Lands, & plant themselves in such wise as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the businesse, they began to worke the principall of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These newes becoming publike, bred a suspition of *Xenophon*, as if he had wonne the rest of the Captaine to his purpose, and meant now to carrie the Armie quite another way from their owne home. Wherefore assembling the Companies, he gaue them satisfaction, and withall complained of some disorders which he caused them to redresse. A generall inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*; which being punished, all things were in quier. Shortly after came Embassadors from *Corylas*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who sending presents desired peace of the *Greekes*: the Embassadors were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have been fought, for that the *Greekes* having now their fleet in a readinesse, did soone weigh Anchors, and set saile for *Harzene* the Port of *Sinope*, whither *Cherisophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admirall *Anaxibius*, who promised to give the Armie pay as loone, as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

§. XIII.

Another great diffension and distraction of the Armie. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, and refused by *XENOPHON*.



Henceforth that they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their desire to make provision for themselves, that they might not returne home empty-handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Armie were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, hee might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined

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ned to make *Xenophon* sole Commander of all, in whose favour as well the Captains as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the *Lacedaemonians*, who were jealous of him already (being incensed by that fugitive who forsooke the Armie at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two ships) or moved by some tokens appearing to him in the entrails that threatened ill successe to his government, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laied vpon *Cherisophus* a *Lacedaemonian*. It seemes that *Xenophon*, considering the vexations incident to the conduct of a voluntarie Army, wanting pay, did wisely in yielding to such tokens as forbad him to accept it: especially, knowing so well their desire, which was by right or by wrong to get wealth wherefoever it might be found, without all regard of Friend or of Foe. *Cherisophus* had bene Generall but fixe or seven daies, when he was depofed, for having been vnwilling to robbe the Towne of *Heraclea* which had sent presents to the Campe, and bene very beneficiall vnto them in lending ships for their transportation. Two daies they had failed by the coast of *Asia*, when being past those great Riuer, which would haue giuen impediment to their iourney by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where consulting how to take their way on wards, whether by Land or Sea, one seditious man began to put them in minde of seeking to get somewhat for themselves; telling them that all their prouision would be spent in three daies, and that being now come out of the enemies Countrey, victuals and other necessaries could not bee had without money; for which cause he gaue aduice to send messengers into the Towne of *Heraclea*, giuing the Citizens to vnderstand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of money, called *Cyzicens*, which summe amounteth to two thousand and five hundred pound sterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the summe raised to tenne thousand *Cyzicens* at least: which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*, as being Generall, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*: but in vaine, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Left therefore either of these should faile in managing the businesse which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudencie and lesse discretion were sent, who in such wise deliuered their insolent message; that the Citizens taking time to deliberate vpon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Towne, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the walls. When the Souldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their rauinous purpose, they set to mutiny, saying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them *Arcadians*, and *Achaens*, they forsooke immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, choosing new Leaders out of their owne number. About foure thousand and five hundred they were, all heauily armed, who electing ten Captaines, failed into the Port of *Calpas*, which is in the mid-way betwene *Heraclea* and *Bizantium*, with purpose to assaile the *Bythinians* on the Iudaine. With *Cherisophus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and foure hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and fortie horse, which small band had done good seruice already, and could not haue bene spared now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Governour of *Bizantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the Riuer *Calpas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies to conuey him ouer into *Greece*; for which cause he tooke his way thither by Land, leauing to *Xenophon* such shipping as he had, who passing some part of the way by Sea, landed vpon the Confinnes of *Heraclea*, and *Thracia Asiatica*, intending to make a cut through the mid-land Countrey to the *Propont*. The Mutiners, who had landed at *Calpas* by night, with purpose to take spoiles in *Bythinia*, diuided themselves into ten Companies, eury Captaine leading his owne Regiment into some Village, five or six miles from the Sea, in the greater Townes were two Regiments quartered, and so was that part of the countrey surprisid on the suddaine, & sacked all at one time.

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The place of *Rendenous* was an high peece of ground, where some of them arrived, finding no disturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger; two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escaping, the rest were all put to the sword. For the *Thracians* which had slipped first out of the Souldiers hands, did raise the Countrey, and finding the *Greekes* laden with bootie, tooke the advantage of their disorder, cutting in pieces those two Regiments: which done, they attempted the rest, encompassing the hill whereon they encamped. One great advantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retreat from the *Arcadians*, & *Achaens*: who wanting the assistance of horse, and hauing neither Archers nor Slingers, were driuen to stand meere-ly vpon their defence, bearing off with great danger, and many wounds received, the Darts and Arrowes of the *Barbarians*, till finally they were driuen from their watering place, and enforced to craue parly. Whatsoeuer the articles of composition were, the *Thracians* yielded to all; but pledges for assurance they would giue none, without which the *Greekes* well knew, that all promises of such people, especially so incensed, were nothing worth. In the meane time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of some Trauailers, whether they knew ought of any *Gracian* Armie, passing along those parts: and receiving by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallants had foolishly throwne themselves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides them who gaue him the intelligence. His horse-men hee sent before to discover, and to scowre the waies; the light-armed foot-men tooke the hill-tops on either hand, all of them setting fire on whatsoever they found combustible, whereby the whole Countrey seemed to be on a light-flame, to the great terror of the enemies, who thought that some huge Armie had approached. That night hee encamped on a Hill, within five mile of the *Arcadians*, increasing still the number of his fires, which hee caused hastily to be quenched soone after Supper. The enemies perceiuing this, thought certainly that hee would haue fallen vpon them in the darke, which caused them in all haste to dislodge. Early the next morning *Xenophon* coming thither in very good order, to haue giuen battaile, found that his deuice, to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but hee maruailed that the *Greekes* were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquire, that they removed at breake of day, and perceived by signes that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calpas*, in which journey hee ouertooke them. They embraced him, and His, with great joy: Confessing that they themselves had thought the same which the enemies did, looking that hee should haue come by night, wherein finding themselves deceived, they were afraid lest hee had forsaken them, and therefore hastened away, to ouertake him, and joyne with him. So they arrived at the Hauen of *Calpas*, where it was decreed, That whoeuer from thenceforth made any motion to disioyne the Armie, should suffer death.

§. XV.

Of diuers pieces of seruice done by *XENOPHON*; and how the Armie returned into *Greece*. The occasions of the Warre betwene the *Lacedaemonians* and the *Persian*.



He Hauen of *Calpas* lay vnder a goodly head-land, that was very strong, and abounding with all kinde of Graine and Fruits, except Oliues. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very conuenient sea for a great Citie. All which commodities, that might haue allured the Souldiers to stay there, and to plant,

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caused them to haile away, fearing lest *Xenophon* should finde some device to haue settled himselfe and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good meanes to liue at home, neither did they so much for hope of gaine follow *Cyrus* in that Warre, as in regard of his Honour, and the loue which they bare vnto him: the poorer sort were such as left the Parents, Wives, and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to returne. But whether it were so that *Xenophon* found advantage by their owne superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the signes appearing in the entrails, did indeede forbid their departure: so long they were inforced to abide in the place till victualls failed, neither would the Captaines leade them forth to forrage the Countrie, vntill the Sacrifices should promise good successe. *Cherisophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the *Heraclians*, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joyned to the rest of the Armie, which the greater it was, the more prouision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Coronell into the place of *Cherisophus*, would needs adventure to gratifie the Souldiers with the spoile of some Villages that stood neere at hand; in which enterprise he found ill successe, the whole Countrie lying in waite to entrap him, and an Armie of Horse being sent by *Pharnabazus* the Satrap, or Vice-roy of *Phrygia*, to the assistance of these *Bythinian Thracians*, which troupes falling vpon the *Greekes* that were scattered abroad in seeking bootie, slew five hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certaine Mountaine thereby. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Armie to the rescue of those that were pursued, and brought them safe to the Campe; vpon which the *Bythinians* made an offer that night, and breaking a Corps d'aguerre, slew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the present condition of the Armie, so disheartened and unfurnished of necessaries, caused the *Greekes* to remove their Campe to a place of more strength; which hauing intrenched, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to indure trauaile, *Xenophon* with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to burie those which were lately slaine, and to abate the pride of the *Thracians*, and their Assailants. In this journey his demeanour was very Honourable. For hauing giuen buriall to the dead, the Enemy was discouered, lying on the tops of the Hills adjoyning, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough, and troublefome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leaue at their backs a wood scarce passable) hee marched directly, telling his men plainly, that hee had rather follow the enemy with halfe the number, than turne his back to them with twice as many, and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the *Barbarian*, hee would not faile with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could safely retire to the campe, yet what should they doe there, wanting victualls to sustaine 40 them in the place, and ships, to carrie them away? wherefore hee willed them rather to fight well that day, hauing eaten their dinners, than an other day fasting; and not to regard the vncertaine returne, which might serue to stay Cowards from running away, but to wish vnto the Enemy a faire and easie way, by which hee might flie from them. These perswasions were followed with so valiant execution, that both *Persians* and *Bythinians* being chased out of the field, abandoned the Countrie forthwith, removing their Families, and leauing all that could not sodainly be conueighed away, to the discretion of the *Greekes*, who at good leisure gathered the haruest of these bad Neighbours fields. This was the last fight which they had on the side of *Asia*. For they were not only suffered quietly to enjoy the spoile of the Countrie, but when the opinion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colonie on the Port of *Calpas*, Embassadours were sent from the Neighbour people, to desire friendship, and make

make offer of their best assistance. But the Souldiers had no minde to stay. Wherefore entring further into *Bythinia*, they tooke a great bootie, which they carried away to *Chrysopolis*, a Citie neere vnto *Chalcedon*, where they sold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly feare, lest their long stay in that Countrie might breed in them a desire to visite his Prouince, where they might haue found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he sent to the *Lacedemonian* Admirall, entreating him with much instance and large promises to waite them ouer into *Euripe*; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admirall condescending, promised to giue the Souldiers pay, as soon as they arrived at *Bizantium*. So were they carried out of *Asia* at the intreatie of the *Persian*, who in the height of his pride had thought them so surely imprisoned with mighty Rivers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to surrender their Armes into his hands, and so to yeeld their liues to his discretion. How discourteously they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how to requite his injurious dealings, they seized vpon *Bizantium*, which by *Xenophon's* perswasion they forbore to sacke, I hold it superfluous to relate. For the residue of their doings appertaine little to the generall course of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, so did it both discouer the secrets of *Asia*, and stirre vp the *Greekes* to thinke vpon greater enterprises, than euer their forefathers had vndertaken. Likewise it was the only remarkable action which the time afforded. For the *Roman* warres did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Townes of *Italie*; and in *Greece* all things were quiet, the *Lacedemonians* ruling insolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the sedes of the Warre shortly following, which the *Lacedemonians* made vpon *Artaxerxes*, were already sowne, before these companies returned out of the high Countries of *Asia*. For the Townes of *Ionia*, which had sided with yong *Cyrus* against *Tissaphernes*, if not against the great King, prepared to rebell, which they thought safer, than to fall into the hands of *Tissaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Prouince, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Ionians* befought the

30 *Lacedemonians* to send them aide, whereby to recouer their libertie; and obtained their request.

For a power was sent ouer, vnder conduct of *Timbro* a *Spartan*, who bestowed his men in such Townes as had already revolted, to secure the Cities and their Fields, but not to make any offensive Warre.

CHAP. XI.

Of the affaires of Greece, whilest they were managed by
the Lacedæmonians.

§. I.

How the Lacedæmonians tooke courage by example of XENOPHONS
Armie, to make Warre vpon ARTAXERXES.



T seemes that the Lacedæmonians did well perceiue
in how ill part Artaxerxes tooke their fauour shewed
vnto his brother, and yet were timorous in begin-
ning an open warre against him, thinking it sufficient 20
to take all care that no aduantage might slip, which
could serue to strengthen their estate, by finding the
Persian worke beyond the Sea. But when Xenophons
Armie had revealed the basenesse of those effeminate
Asiatiques, and rehearsed the many victories which
they themselves had gotten, vpon termes of extreme
disaduantage; then was all Greece filled with desire of
vndertaking vpon this huge vniuersall Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the
joynt-forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to Susa, whereof one hand-
full had opened the passage to Babylon, and further, finding no power that was able
to giue them resistance, in all that long journey of foure and thirty thousand two
hundred and fifty five furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of Eng-
lish miles about foure thousand two hundred foure score and one, a very painfull
march of one yeere and three moneths. Neuerthelesse the ciuill distraction where-
with Greece was miserably torne, and especially that hot fire of the Theban Warre,
which kindled with Persian gold, brake forth sodainly into a great flame, drew backe
out of Asia the power of the Lacedæmonians, to the defence of their owne estate; lea-
uing it questionable whether Agesilaus, hauing both the same, and farre greater
forces, could haue wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole
space of two yeeres, which he spent in Asia, his deedes procured more commendation
of magnanimitie and faire behaviour, than of stout courage, and great or profit-
able achievements. For how highly so euer it pleased Xenophon, who was his
friend, and follower in this, and in other warres, to extoll his vertue; his exploits be-
ing only a few incursions into the Countries lying neere the Sea, carry no propor-
tion to Xenophons owne journey, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled:
the famous reitrait of Conan the Briton with six thousand men from Aquileia, to
his owne Countrie, through all the breadth of Italie, and length of France, in despite
of the Emperor Theodosius, being rather like than equall. But of Agesilaus and his
warres in Asia and Greece, we shall speake more in due place.

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§. II.

§. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the warre in Asia.



HIMBRO receiving Xenophons men, beganne to take in Townes, and
to entertaine all such as were willing to revolt from the Persian, who
were many, and some of them such, as had bene highly beholding
to the King; who seeme to haue had no other cause of discontent,
than that they were to liue vnder the gouernement of Tissaphernes,
10 whom all others did as vehemently hate as the King his Master did loue him. The
managing of the warre begunne by Timbro, was for his opprefions taken out of
his hands, and committed to Dercyllidas a Spartan, who behaued himselfe as a good
man of Warre, and a wise Commander. For whereas the rule of the low-Countries
of Asia was diuided betwene Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, who did ill agree,
Pharnabazus being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes fauour the greater,
and hauing the chiefe command in those warres against the Greekes; Dercyllidas
who did beare a private hatred to Pharnabazus (knowing well that Tissaphernes was
of a mischievous nature, and would not be sorry to see his Coriuall thoroughly beaten,
though to the Kings losse) made an appointment with Tissaphernes, and forth-
20 with entred Æolis, which was vnder the iurisdiction of Pharnabazus, which Province,
in few daies, he brought into his owne power.

That Countrie of Æolis had about the same time suffered a violent alteration,
which gaue easie successe to the attempts of Dercyllidas. Zenis a Dardanian had bene
Deputie to Pharnabazus in those parts; after whose death his wife Mania procured
his Office, wherein she behaued herselfe so well, that shee not only was beloued
of the people vnder her gouernement, but enlarged her Territorie, by the conquest
of certaine Townes adioyning, and sundry times gaue assistance to Pharnabazus in
his warres against the Mylians and Persians. For shee had in pay some Companies
of Greekes, whose valour by her good vlage did her great seruice. But somewhat be-
30 fore the arrivall of Dercyllidas in those parts, a Sonne-in-law of hers, called Midias,
whom shee trusted and loued much, being blinded with ambition, found means
to sifle her, and kill her sonne of seuenteen yeeres old; which done, he seized vpon
two of her principall Townes, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to haue bene
admitted into possession of her whole estate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers,
that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers with presents to Pharnabazus, desiring
him to make him Gouernour in the place of Mania. His presents were not only re-
jected by Pharnabazus, but reuenge of his foule treason threatned, whereby the
wicked villaine was driuen into termes of almost vtter desperation. In the meane
time came Dercyllidas, to whom the Townes of Mania, that held against Midias,
40 did quickly open their Gates. One only Towne stood out foure daies (against the
will of the Citizens, who were couetous of libertie) the Gouernour stirring in
vaine to haue kept it to the vse of Pharnabazus. Now remained only two Cities
Gergehe and Scepsis, which the Traitor held, who fearing all men, as being loued
of none, sent Embassadors to Dercyllidas, desiring leaue to speake with him, and
pledges for his securitie: vpon the deliuerie of which hee issued out of Scepsis, and
coming into the Campe, made offer to ioyn with the Greekes vpon such condi-
tions as might seeme reasonable. But he was plainly told by Dercyllidas, that other
condition there was none, than to set the Citizens freely at libertie. And presently
vpon these words they marched toward Scepsis. When Midias perceived that it
50 was in vaine to striue against the Armie, and the Townes-men, who were all of one
minde; hee quietly went along with Dercyllidas; who remaining but a few houres
in the Citie, did a sacrifice to Minerva, and then leading away the Garrison of Midias,
he left the Citie free, and departed toward Gergehe. Midias did not forsake his
Companie, but folloved him, earnestly intreating that hee might be suffered to re-
taine

taine *Gerythe*: but coming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened, for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I must here likewise doe a sacrifice to *Minerva*. The Traitor, not daring to make deniall, caused his Mercinaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking possession of the place, rendred pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serue vnder his Ensignes. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were seized vpon, as belonging to one that had bene subject to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemie to the *Greekes*; and so the murderous wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World hee might finde any place to hide his detested head. *Dercyllidas*, hauing in eight daies taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease of his Confederates to winter in *Bythinia*, to which end hee tooke 10 Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of Warre. That Winter, and the Sommer ensuing, the Truce being recontinued held; in which time, besides the waisting of *Bythinia*, the neck of Land joyning *Cherronea* to the Maine, was fortified, being foure or fiue miles in breadth, by which meanes eleuen Townes with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wild *Thracians*, and made fit and able to victual the Campe. Likewise the Citie of *Atarne* was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with provision. After this, *Dercyllidas* had command from *Sparta*, to diuert the warre into *Caria*, where was the seat of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not vncauseth to recouer all the Townes of *Ionis*: *Pharax* the Admirall of the fleet (which was a yeerely Office) 20 being appointed to ioyne with him. Though it was manifest that *Tissaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessity, yet was he not in his owne danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus* hauing respect to the Kings seruice, came to assist his priuate enemie *Tissaphernes*, & so passing into *Caria*, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength; which done, they marched towards *Ionis*, hoping to finde the Townes ill manned for resistance. As these *Persians* were desirous to keepe the warre from their owne dores, so was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the *Ionians* from the spoile and danger of the warre, by transferring it into *Caria*. For which cause he passed the Riuer of *Meander*, and not looking to haue bin so soone encountered, marched carelessly through the Countrey: when on the very sodaine 30 the whole Armie of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discouered, consisting of *Persians*, *Carians*, and some Mercinarie *Greekes*, who were all marshalled in very good order to present battaile. The oddes was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readinesse, as also in aduantage of ground: for the *Persian* had a great multitude of Horse, the *Greeke* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plaine. Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the *Ilanders* and others, of such places as bordered vpon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselves to present flight; or abiding a while for shame, did plainly discover by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wise. Only *Dercyllidas* with his *Peloponnesians* regarding their honor, prepared to endure the fight: which must needs haue brought 40 them to destruction, if the counsaile of *Pharnabazus* had bene followed, who perceiving the opportunitie of so great a victorie, was not willing to let it slip. But *Tissaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of resistance was made, beganne to consider what strange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had shewed, and thinking that all the *Greekes* were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to craue parly; the conclusion of which was, That a truce should be made, to last vntill *Tissaphernes* might receiue answer from the King, and *Dercyllidas* from *Sparta*, concerning the demands propounded in the Treatie, which were on the one part, that all the *Greekes* in *Asia* might enjoy their owne libertie and lawes, but contrariwise on the other side, that the *Lacedemonians* should depart *Asia*, and leaue the 50 Townes to the Kings pleasure. This Treatie was of none effect; only it serued to free the *Greekes* from the present danger, and to gaine time vnto *Tissaphernes*, who desired to auoide the warre by procrastination, which he durst not aduenture to finish by triall of a battaile.

§. III.

§. III.

How the *Lacedemonians* took reuenge vpon the *Eleans* for old displeasure. The discontents of the *Corinthians* and *Thebans*, conceived against the State of *Sparta*.

IN the meane season the *Lacedemonians*, who found none able to withstand them in *Greece*, beganne to call the *Eleans* to account for some disgraces receiued by them during the late warres, when leasure was wanting to the requittall of such peticie injuries. These *Eleans* being 10 Presidents of the *Olympique* games, had set a fine vpon the Citie of *Sparta*, for Non-paiment of which, they forbade them to come to the solemnities; and publicly whipt one of them, that was a man of note, for presuming to contend against their decree. Likewise they hindred *Agis* King of *Sparta*, from doing sacrifice to *Iupiter*; and in all points vied great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who now had no businesse that could hinder them from taking reuenge: and therefore sent a peremptorie message to the *Eleans*, commanding them to set at libertie the Cities which they held in subiection. This was the vsual pretence which they made the ground of all their warres: though little they cared for the libertie of such 20 Townes, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than meere Vassals of the *Lacedemonians*. In their late warres with *Athens*, the strong opposition which they found, caused this goodly Title of libertie to worke vey slowly: but hauing now to doe with a State of great spirit and small force, it gaue present successe to their desires. Two yeeres together they sent an Armie into the Countrey of the *Eleans*: the first yeere an earthquake (held in those times a prodigious signe, and which did alwaies forbid the prosecution of any enterprise in hand) caused them to retire: the second yeere, all the Townes of the *Eleans* did hastily reuolt, and the Citie it selfe was driuen to submission; consenting both to suffer their old subiects freely to enioy their libertie, and to haue her owne walls throwne 30 downe. Only the Presidentship of the *Olympian* games was left vnto them, which, it was not to be doubted that they would in time comming vse modestly, finding themselves to stand at the mercy of *Sparta*. In this expedition all the *Greekes* were assitant to the *Lacedemonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Beotians*, whose aide hauing been of as much importance in the late *Peloponnesian* Warre, as the force of *Sparta* it selfe, they could not smother their dislike of their vnequall diuision following the victorie; which gaue to *Sparta* the command of all *Greece*; to *Thebes*, and *Corinth*, only securitie against *Athens*, but such a securitie as was worse than the danger. For when the equall greatnesse of two mightie Estates did counterpoise 40 each the other, it was in the power of these Neutral Common-weales to adhere to either, as the condition of their affaires required; but when to reuenge injuries, they had by mortall hatred prosecuted the warre to extremities, leauing the one Citie naked of power and friends, the other mightily encreased in both, it was then (if not necessarie to obey the greatnesse which themselves had made yet) foolish and dangerous to prouoke it. Neuertheless, it was not the purpose of the *Spartans* to take occasion of any quarrell, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victorie or composition made some good end with the *Persian*, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

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§. IIII.

B. IIII.

*The passage of AGESILAUS into Asia. His warre with TISSAPHERNES.
How TISSAPHERNES was put to death, and the warre diuerted into another
Prouince, through perswasion and gifts of TITHRAUSTES
his succesor. How carlesse the Persian Lieutenants
were of the Kings good.*



AGESILAUS newly made king of Sparta, was desirous to haue the honour of the victory, without without cause, he expected vpon those of Asia; and therefore procuring a great Armie to ioyne with that of Dercylidas, he tooke his way in great pompeto Aulis in Boeotia, a Haven, lying opposite to the Iland of Euboea, in which place Agamemnon (leading the power of all Greece to the warre against Troy, many Ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of Agamemnon hee meant also to do sacrifice in Aulis, which the Thebans, Lords of that Countrey, would not permit, but saying that the performance of such ceremonies in that place, belonged vnto their Officers, they were so vnable to conceale their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw downe his sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then conuenient time for Agesilaus to entangle himselfe and his Countrey in any new warre; therefore waiting better opportunitie of reuenge, he quietly swallowed the contumelie, and followed his maine intendment. Having landed his men at Ephesus, he was entertained by Tissaphernes with a Treatie of peace, wherein Agesilaus peremptorily requiring that the Persian should restore to liberty all the Greek Townes in Asia, was promised that the King, being first informed of his demands, should send answer to his good liking, if he would in the meane while make truce. Truce was therefore made, which Tissaphernes had sought onely to winne time of making prouision for the warre, and getting supply of men and money from Artaxerxes; whilst Agesilaus was busie in settling the Estates of his confederate Cities on that side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from warre was at the comming down of these forces which Artaxerxes had sent at what time Agesilaus received a plain message from Tissaphernes, that either he must forth-with depart out of Asia, or make good his aboade by strong hand. Agesilaus returning word, that hee was glad to heare that his enemies had by perurie deferred vengeance from Heauen, prepared to inuade them; and sending word to all the Townes which lay betwene him, and Caria, that they should provide victuals and other necessities for his Armie, did easily make Tissaphernes beleue, that his intent was to inuade that Prouince wherein Tissaphernes dwelt, and which was vnto for Horle, in which part of his forces the Persian had most confidence. Therefore Tissaphernes bestowing all his Companies of foot in Caria, entred with his horse into the plains of Maander, hoping thereby to stoppe the passage of a heauie foot-Armie, not suffering them to passe into that Countrey which was fittest for their seruice. But the Greekes left him waiting there in vaine, and marched directly into Phrygia, where they tooke great spoile without resistance, till such time as the Horle men of Pharnabazus met him, who in a small skirmish hauing the better of the Greekes, were the occasion that Agesilaus returned to Ephesus. Although in this last fight onely twelve men were lost, yet Agesilaus perceiving by that triall how hard it would be to pruaile, and hold the maiestie of the field, without a greater strength of Horle, tooke all possible care to encrease that part of his forces. By which means hauing enabled himselfe, whilst winter lasted hee entred vpon the Countrey of Tissaphernes, as soone as the season of the yeere would permit, and not onely tooke a great bootie, but finding the Horle men of Tissaphernes in the plaine of Maander, without assistance of their infanterie, hee gaue them battaile, and had a great victorie, taking their Campe in which hee found great riches. The blame of this losse fell heauie vpon

Tissaphernes

Tissaphernes, who either vpon cowardlie had absented himselfe from the battaile, or following some other bulineffe, was then at Sardes. For which cause his Master hauing him in distrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which he much desired, if the man, so odious to the whole Nation of the Greekes, were taken out of the way, he sent into those parts Tithraustes a Persian, to cut off the head of Tissaphernes, and succede him in the gouernment. Such was the end of this bafe and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heauen, when by perurie he could aduance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last through too much ouer-weening of his owne wisdom, euen in that part of cunning, wherein he thought himselfe most perfectly for suppling, that by his great skill in subtilie negotiation hee should one way or other circumuent the Greekes, and make them weary of Asia; he did not seeke to finish the warre, and according to his Masters will, bring all things speedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might finde some opportunitie of making such end as best might stand with the Kings honour and his own. Wherein it seemes that he much mistooke his Princes disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aide which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would hee much more gladly haue taken it, if he could haue found such means whereby the danger it selfe might haue bene auoided: as not louing to haue warre, whilst by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtaine peace. And this appeared well by the course which Tithraustes tooke at his first possession of the low-Countries. For he sent Embassadors to Agesilaus, in very friendly sort, letting him know, that the man who had bene Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleasure to let the Greekes enjoy their owne lawes and libertie, vpon condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Armie be forthwith dismissed. The answer to this proposition, was by Agesilaus referred to the Councill of Sparta; in the meane season he was content to transferre the warre into the Prouince of Pharnabazus, at the request of Tithraustes, who bought his departure with thirtie Talents.

This was a strange manner of Warre, both on the offense and on the defense part. For Agesilaus hauing entertained great hope of vanquishing the great King, was contented to forbear his severall Prouinces, at the entreatie of the Lieutenants: and those Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintaine his Estates against all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might easily be taken from their shoulders) were little offended at any losse that fell on their next Neighbour-Prouinces, which were subiect likewise to the same Crowne of Persia, so long as their own gouernment could be preferred free from waile and danger. The cause of this disorder on the Persian side, I can ascribe to nothing so deucedly, as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein Eunuchs, Concupisces, and Admirers of pleasure, were able by partiall construction to countenance, or disgrace, the actions of such as had the managing of things abroad; and to that foolish manner of the Kings (which was so vsuall that it might be called a rule) to reward or punish the Prouinciall Gouernour, according to the benefit or losse, which the Countrey giuen in charge vnto each of them recieued, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to passe, that as euery one was desirous to make his owne Territorie yeeld a large increase to the Kings treasure; so no man was careful to assit his borderers, if losse or danger might thereby grow to himselfe and his; but sat still as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces, it had not bene vncasie to recompence the spoile of one Countrey, by conquering another, or defending a third from farre greater miseries.

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B. V.

§. V.

The Warre and Trestie betweene AGESILAUS and
PHARNABAZUS.

AGESILAUS having thus compounded with *Tithraustes*, entred *Phrygia*, burning and wasting the Countrey without resistance. Hee tooke the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant draue him out of his Campe. These actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their lustre, were more glorious then profitable. For he did not winne Cities and Places of strength, which might haue increased his power, and giuen assurance to the rest of his proceedings: but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew vnto him some that were discontented and stood vpon bad termes with the great King, whom he lost againe as easily, by means of some slight iniurie done to them by his vnder-Captaines. *Pharnabazus* did not enclose himselfe in any Towne for feare of being besieged, but kept the field, lying as neere as he could safely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which he found not vncalle to doe. For the pleasures, by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their most necessitie, had beene so great, that when hee (obtaining parlie) did set before their eyes his bounty towards them, and his loue (which had beene such, that besides many other hazards of his person, he had for the rescue of their fleet when it was driuen to runne a-shore at *Abydos*, aduentured to ride into the Sea as farre as he could finde any ground, and fight on horse-backe against the *Athenians*) together with his faith which had neuer beene violated in word or deede: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwife then by telling him, That hauing warre with his Master, they were enforced, against their will, to offend him. *Agessilaus* did make a faire offer to him, that if he would reuolt from the King to them; they would maintaine him against the *Persian*, and establish him free Prince of the Countrey wherein hee was at that time onely Deputie to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make warre against them, he would not faile to doe the best that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then shift side, and betake himselfe to their alliance. The issue of this parlie was, That the Armie should no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor againe returne into it, whilst employment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by *Agessilaus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appease *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not inuaded for want of more necessarie businessse elsewhere; but because his Countrey would yeeld great bootie; and for the hire of thirtie Talents. By this means the *Lacedemonians* changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards requited their vnthankfulnesse with full reuenge.

§. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hired with gold from the Persian.

IN the meane while *Tithraustes*, perceiuing that *Agessilaus* meant nothing lesse then to returne into Greece, and let *Artaxerxes* rest quietly in *Asia*, tooke a wife coule whereby the Citie of *Sparta* was not only driuen to looke to her owne, and giue over her great hopes of subuerting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had beene gotten by many late victories, and saw her Dominion restrained vnto the narrow bounds of

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her owne Territorie. Hee sent into Greece fiftie talents of silver, to be employed in raising warre against the *Lacedemonians*; which treasure was, by the subtil practice of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise dispersed, among the principall men of the *Thebans*, *Argives*, & *Corinthians*, that all those Estates hauing formerly borne secret hate to that of *Sparta*, were now desirous of nothing so much as of open war. And lest this great heate of the incensed multitude should, for want of present exercise, begin to faint, and vanish away in idle wordes, occasion was found out to thrust the *Lacedemonians* into Armes, that they themselves might seeme Authours of the quarrell. Some land there was in the tenure of the *Locris*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time laid claime; but the *Phocians* either hauing the better title, or finding the greater fauour, had it adjudged vnto them, and receiued yearly money for it. This money the *Locris* were either hired or perswaded to pay now to the *Thebans*, who readily accepted it. The *Phocians* not meaning so to lose their Rent, made a distresse by strong hand, recouering a great deale more than their owne; which the *Thebans* (as in protection of their new Tnants) requited with an inuasion made vpon *Phocis*, wasting that Countrey in the manner of open warre. Such were the beginnings of professed hostilitie betweene *Thebes* and *Sparta*, and the first breaking out of their close enmitie, that had long time, though hardly, been concealed. For when the *Phocian* Embassadors came to *Sparta*, complaining of the violence done by the *Thebans*, and requesting succour, they had very fauourable audience, and readie consent to their suite; it being the manner of the *Lacedemonians*, to deferre the acknowledgement of injuries receiued, until occasion of reuenge were offered, and then to discouer their indignation in cold blood. At this time they had very good opportunitie to worke their owne wills, hauing no other war to disturbe them in Greece, and hearing out of *Asia* no newes, that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they sent *Lysander* to raise all the Countreies about *Phocis*, and with such forces as he could leaue, to attend the comming of *Pausanias* King of *Sparta* (for *Sparta*, as hath beene shewed before, had two Kings) who should follow him with the strength of *Peloponnesus*. *Lysander* did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to reuolt from *Thebes*. *Pausanias* likewise raised all *Peloponnesus*, except the *Corinthians*, (who refused to assist him in that enterprise) meaning to ioinc with *Lysander*, and make a speedie end of the war. The consideration of so great a danger, approaching so swiftly, caused the *Thebans* to seeke what helpe they could abroad, forasmuch as their owne strength was farre too little to make resistance against such mightie preparations. It was not vnknown to them, that many followers of the *Lacedemonians* were otherwise affected in heart than they durst vtter in countenance; but the good wishes of such people were little auailable, considering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should doe as little hurt as they could, by which manner of tergiversation, the *Corinthians* did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the safest course, to procure the assistance of some Estate that might presently declare it selfe on their side, which would cause many others to follow the example, & make their partie strong. To this end they sent Embassadors to *Athens*, excusing old offences, as either not committed by publike allowance, or done in time of the generall warre, and recomenced with friendship lately shewne in their refusal of assisting *Pausanias*, when he came in behalfe of the thirtie Tyrants, against the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their owne Honour sake, they requested them of aide in the present warre, offering to doe the best that they could for the restoring of *Athens* to her former Estate and Dignitie. *Thrasybulus* and his Friends, who persecuted by the thirtie, had been well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the Citie to make a large requital of the courtesie which they had receiued. For it was decreed, that the State of *Athens* should not only refuse to aide the *Lacedemonians* in this Warre; but that it should assist the *Thebans*, and engage it selfe in their cause. Whilst *Pausanias* lay

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still, waiting the arrivall of his Confederates, *Lysander* being desirous to doe somewhat that might advance the businesse in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where, though *Pausanias* did not meet him, as had beene appointed, yet he attempted the Towne, and was slaine in fight by the *Thebans*, who came hastily to the rescue. As this victorie did encourage the *Thebans*, so the coming of *Pausanias* with his great Army did againe amaze them, with presentation of extreme danger; but their spirits were soone revived by the strong succour which was brought from *Athens*, in consideration of which, and of the late battaile, *Pausanias* durst not hazard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of those that were slaine, by composition, departed out of their Territorie, for which, either cowardice or indiscretion, he was at his returne to *Sparta* condemned as a Traitor, and driven to flee into *Tegae*, where he ended his daies in banishment.

§. VII.

How *AGESILAVS* was called out of *Asia* to helpe his Countrey. A victorie of the *Spartans*. CONON the *Athenian*, assisted by *PHARNABAZUS*, overcomes the *Lacedaemonian* fleet; recovers the massacre of the *Seas*; and rebuilds the walls of *Athens*.

His good successe, and the confederacie made with *Athens*, gave such reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Euboeans*, *Locrians*, and *Acrarnanes*, did forthwith side with them, & raising a strong Army, determined to give battaile to the *Lacedaemonians* as neere as they might, to their owne dores; Considering that the force of *Sparta* it selfe was not great, but grew more and more by the adiunction of their Confederates. The Magistrates of *Sparta* perceiving the danger, sent for *Agessilus*, who readily obeyed them, and promising his friends in *Asia* to returne speedily to their assistance, passed the Straights of *Hellefont* into Europe. In the meane time the Cities of the new league had given battaile to the *Lacedaemonians*, and the remainder of their Associates, but with ill successe. For when the right-wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the *Argives* and *Thebans* returning from the chase in some disorder, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedaemonians*, who meeting them in good order, wonne from them the Honour which they had gotten, by forcing the left wing of the *Lacedaemonians*, and made the victorie of that day entirely their owne. The report of this battaile meeting *Agessilus* at *Amphibolis*, were by him sent over into *Asia*, where it is not likely that they brought much comfort vnto his friend, who had since his departure seene the *Spartan* fleet beaten, and *Lysander* the Admirall slaine. The same man, whose endeavour had brought the *Athenians* into order, by advancing the Sea-forces of the *Lacedaemonians* with money, and all manner of supplies, was now the occasion that the power of *Athens* grew strong at Sea, when the Citie was despoiled of her old reputation, and scarcely able to maintaine an Army by Land for her owne defence. *Pharnabazus* considering how much it imported the King his Master, to have the *Greeks* divided into such factions, as might utterly disable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the safest way for himselfe, during these broiles, to take such order, that he should not need any more, to seeke peace by entreatie and commoration of old benefits, at their hands, who vnprovoked had sold his loue for thirtie Talents. To which purpose he furnished Conon the *Athenian* with eight ships, who had escaped, when the fleet of *Athens* was surprised by *Lysander* at *Agos-Potamos*; giuing him the command of a great Naue, wherewith he requited the losse received at *Agos-Potamos*, by repaying the *Lacedaemonians* with the like destruction of their fleet at *Cnidus*. After this victorie Conon failed to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberallitie of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victorie, so strong a Naue, and so much gold, as encouraged the *Athenians*

Athenians to rebuild their walls, and thinke more hopefully vpon recouering the Signiorie which they had lost.

§. VIII.

Of sundrie small victories gotten on each part. The *Lacedaemonians* lose all in *Asia*; The *Athenians* recover some part of their old Dominion.

Neither the *Lacedaemonians*, by many victories at Land, maintained for some yeeres the honour of their estate, endangered very greatly by this losse at Sea. For *Agessilus* obtained the better with his horse-men from the *Thebans*, who were accounted the best riders in Greece: He walled *Baetia*, and fought a great battaile at *Coronea* against the *Thebans*, and their Allies, whom he overthrew; and by his Marshall *Gylis* foraged the Countrey of *Laeris*: which done, he returned home.

The gaine of these victories was not great, & the reputation of them was, by many losses, much defaced. For the *Thebans* did in the battailes of *Coronea* vanquish the *Orchomenians*, who stood opposite vnto them, and retired vnbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Agessilus* charged them in the returne from the pursuit. Likewise *Gylis* was slaine with a great part of his Armie by the *Laerians*, and some other exploits by the *Lacedaemonians* performed against the *Corinthians*, were repayed with equall damage received in the parts adioyning; many Townes being easily taken, and as easily recovered. The variety of which enter-fates was such, that the *Thebans* themselves were drawne, by the losse of the haue of *Corinth*, to sue for peace, but could not get audience, till such time as the newes came of a great victorie obtained by *Iphicrates*, Generall of the *Athenian* forces at *Lechaum*, wherupon the *Theban* Embassadors being sent for, and willing to doe their message, required only in forme, to haue a safe conduct giuen them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the Warre was made for a while only by incursions, wherein the *Acheans*, confederates of *Sparta*, felt most losse, their whole state being endangered by the *Acrarnians*, who held with the contrarie side, vntill *Agessilus* repaid these invaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought vpon their owne Lands, which did so afflict the *Acrarnians*, that they were driven to sue for peace. But the affaires at Sea were of moll consequence, vpon which the successe of all depended. For when the Townes of *Asia* perceived, that the *Lacedaemonians* were not only intangled in an hard war at home, but almost disabled to passe the Seas, having lost their fleet at *Cnidus*; they soone gaue eare to *Pharnabazus*, who promised to allow that they should vied their own lawes, if they would expell the *Spartan* Gouvernours. Onely the Citie of *Abidos* did stand firme, wherein *Dercylidas* lay, who did his best to containe all the Townes about *Hellefont*, in the alliance of the *Lacedaemonians*; which he could not doe, because the *Athenian* fleet vnder *Thrasybulus* tooke in *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, reducing the Isle of *Lesbos* to their ancient acknowledgement of *Athens*.

§. IX.

The base conditions offered vnto the *Persian* by the *Lacedaemonians*. Of sundrie fights and other passages in the warre. The peace of *ANTALCIDAS*.

About this time the *Spartans* beganne to perceiue how vncasie a thing it would bee, to maintaine the warre against men as good as themselves, assisted with the treasures of *Persia*: wherefore they craued peace of *Antaxerxes*, most basely offering, not only to renounce the *Greeks* inhabiting

habiting *Asia*, & to leaue them to the Kings disposition, but withall to let the Islanders, and euerie Towne in *Greece*, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute libertie whereby they said that all the principal Estates of their Countrie would be weakened, that no one, nor all of them should be able to stirre against the great King. And sure it was, that the power of the Countrie being broken, and rent into many small pieces, could neither haue disquieted the *Persian*, by an offensive warre, nor haue made any good defence against him, but would haue leit it easie for him in continuance of time, to haue taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himselfe Master of all. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with enuie, that perceiving how the dominion of the Seas was like to returne to *Athen*, they chose rather to giue all from themselves and others, and make all a-like weak; than to permit that any of their owne Nation should grow stronger than themselves, who so lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both in regard that the other Estates of *Greece*, who had in the Kings behauiour together against the *Lacedamonians*, did by their severall Embassadours oppose themselves vnto it, and for that it was thought safest for *Artaxerxes*, rather to weaken the *Lacedamonians* yet more, than by interposing himself to bring friends and foes on the suddaine to an equalitie. Especially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* did send as his Lieutenant into the low-Countries, did seeke to repay the harme done by *Agesilans* in those parts: which his intent appearing plaine, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off; *Timbro* was sent into *Asia* to make war vpon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the warre, being scattered about, all the Isles and Townes on the firme Land grew almost to the manner of piracie and robbetrie, affording many skirmishes, but few great actions worthie remembrance. *Timbro* was slaine by *Struthas*, and in his place *Diphridas* was sent who demeaned himselfe more warily. *Diretyldas* was removed from his charge at *Abydus*, because he had not impeached *Thrasibulus* in his enterprises about *Hellepont*; *Anaxibius*, who succeeded him, was surprisid and slaine in a skirmish by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*. *Thrasibulus*, departing from *Leibes* toward *Rhodes*, was slaine by the way at *Apendus*. The Citie of *Rhodes* had long before ioined with the *Lacedamonians*, who erected there (as was their manner) an Aristocratie, or the Government of a few the principall Citizens, where as contrariwise the *Athenians* were accustomed to put the Souerainetie into the hands of the people, each of them seeking to assure themselves, by erecting in the Townes of their Confederates a Government like vnto their owne: which doing (where more especiall cause did not hinder) caused the Nobilitie to fauour *Sparta*, and the Commons to incline to *Athen*. The people of *Aeginarou* vpon the coast of *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to land an Armie in *Agina*, and besiege their towne: but this siege being raised by the assistance of the *Lacedemonian* fleet, the Islanders beganne a new to molest *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to man their ships againe, that returned beaten, hauing lost foure of thirteene. The losse of these ships was soone recompensed by a victory which *Chabrias* the *Athenian* General had in *Agina*, where vpon the Islanders were faine to keepe home, and leaue to the *Athenians* the Seas free. It may well seeme strange that the Citie of *Athen*, hauing but newly raised her walls; hauing not by any fortunate and important battaile secured her estate from dangers by land; but onely depending vpon the assistance of such Confederates, as carried vnto different ends, had often discovered themselves irresolute in the common cause; would send a fleet and an Armie to *Cyprus*, in defence of *Eusegoras*, when the mastery of the Seas, was so ill assured, that an Island lying in the eie of *Pyræus*, had abilitie to vex the coast of *Attica*. But as the ouer-weaning of that Citie did cause it vsually to embrace more then it could compass; so the insolencie and shamelesse iniustice of the people, had now bred in the chiefe Commanders, a desire to keepe themselves farre out of sight, and to seeke employments at such distance as might secure them from the enuies of the enuious, and from publike iudgements, out of which

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few or none escaped. For which cause *Timotheus* did passe away much part of his time in the Isle of *Lesbos*, *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*, and *Chabrias* now did carrie away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his Countrie well could haue spared, with which he returned not when the businesse in *Cyprus* came to an end, but sought new adventures in *Egypt*, whereby arose neither thanks to himselfe, nor profit to his Citie, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus carelesse of things at hand, had a notable blow giuen vnto them, shortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, euen within their owne Haven. For *Telentius*, a *Lacedemonian*, being made Governour of *Agina*, conceived a strong hope of surpriuing the Naue of *Athen*, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking a right that it was a harder matter to encounter with ten ships prepared for the fight, than with twentie lying in harbour, whose Mariners were asleep in their Cabbins, or drinke in Tavernes. Wherefore he failed by night vnto the mouth of the Port, which entring at the breake of day, hee found (according to his expectation) most of the men on shore, & few or none leit aboard to make resistance: by which meanes hee tooke many ships laden with marchandizes, many fisher-men, passengers, and other Vessels, also three or foure Gallies, hauing sunke or broken, and made vnsecurable, as many of the rest as the time would suffer. About this time *Pharnabazus*, the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters giuen to him in marriage, with whom hee liued about the Court; and many Officers that fauoured the *Lacedamonians* were placed in the lower *Asia*; by whose assistance, the fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Hellepont*; in such wise, that perhaps they should not haue needed the peace, which they themselves procured by *Antalcidas*, from the great King, the conditions whereof were such as are mentioned before, giuing freedom to all the Cities of *Greece*, and diuiding the Countrie into as many seuerall States as there were petty Boroughs in it. Thus *Artaxerxes* hauing bought his owne peace with money, did likewise by his money become arbitrator & decider of Controuerfies betwene the *Greekes*, disposing of their businesse in such wise as stood best with his owne good. The renor of *Artaxerxes* his decree was, That all *Asia* and *Cyprus* should be his owne; the Isles of *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus* be subject to *Athen*; all other *Greece* Townes, as well the little as the great, be set at libertie; and that whosoeuer should refuse this peace, vpon them the approuers of it should make warre, the King assisting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ships, and treasure. The *Athenians* were so discouraged by their losses at Sea; the *Lacedamonians* by ruolt of their Confederates, and the necessitie of maintaining many Garrisons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miseries of the warre, whereof they saw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebians*) did consent vnto these Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedamonians* taking vpon themselves the execution, did not only compell the *Argives* to depart out of *Corinth* (which vnder pretence of defending they held by Garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the *Thebians* to leaue *Boetia* free, of which Prouince *Thebes* had alwaies held the government: the *Thebians* themselves being also comprehended vnder the name of the *Boetians*; but caused the *Mantineans* to throw downe their owne Citie, and to dwell in Villages: alleging that they had formerly beene accustomed so to doe, though purposing indeede to chastise them, as hauing bene ill affected to *Sparta* in the late Warre. By these courses the *Lacedamonians* did hope that all the small Townes in *Greece* would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their warres, as Authors of their libertie; and that the great Cities hauing lost all their dependants, would be vnable to make opposition.

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p. X.

p. X.

The warre which the Lacedæmonians made vpon Olynthus. They take Thebes by treason; and Olynthus by famine.



Whilest these warres, which ended without either victorie or profit, consumed the riches and power of Greece, the Citie of Olynthus in Thrace was growne so mighty, that shee did not only command her Neighbour Townes, but was become terrible to places farre removed, and to Sparta it selfe. Great part of Macedonia, together with Pella, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the Olynthians, who following the vsuall pretence of the Lacedæmonians, to set at libertie the places ouer which King Amyntas did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselves. The Citizens of Acanthus and of Apollonia, being nearest vnto the danger of these incroaching neighbours, acquainted the Lacedæmonians with their feare, affirming that this Dominion of the Olynthians would bee too strong for all Greece, if some continuance of time should giue it reputation, which only it wanted, wherefore they requested assistance, but in such termes as did found of compulsion; protesting that either they must warre vpon Olynthus, or become subject vnto her, and fight in her defence. Heereupon was made a halfe leaue of 20 men, two thousand being presently sent away with promise to be seconded by a greater Armie. Whilest these two thousand gaue such beginning to the warre, as agreed with their small number, the body of the Armie following them, surprised the Citadell of Thebes, which was betraied into the hands of Phylidas the Lacedæmonian, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the flauerie of their Countrie. The Thebans were ill affected to Sparta, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made betwene them; which caused the Lacedæmonians to doubt whether this act of Phylidas were more worthy of reward or of punishment; In conclusion, profit so farre ouerweighed honestie, that the deepe was approued, many principall Citizens of Thebes condemned to death, many driuen into banishment; and the Traitors rewarded with the gouernement of the Citie: by whose authoritie, and the force of the Garrison, the Thebans were compelled to serue the Lacedæmonians, in all, and more than all that they could require. This successe of power hauing strengthened the Lacedæmonians, caused them to entertaine the greater forces about Olynthus, which (notwithstanding the losse of one great battaile, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it selfe to their obedience.

p. XI.

How the Thebans recovered their libertie, driving out the Lacedæmonian Garrison.



After this Olynthian Warre, which endured almost three yeeres, it seemed that no Estate in Greece was able to make head against that of Sparta: but it was not long ere the Thebans found meanes to shake off their yoke, and gaue both example and meanes to others to doe the like. One of the banished men found by conference with a Scribe of the Theban Magistrates, comming to Athens, that the tyrannic wherewith his Countrie was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those who for feare of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was layd betwene these two, that soon found very good successe, being managed thus. Seven of the banished men forooke Athens priuily, and entred by night into the fields of Thebes; where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the euening to the Gates like husband-men returned

turned from worke, and so passed vndiscovered vnto the house of Charon, whom Phylidas the Scribe had drawne into the conspiracie. The day following a sollemne feast being then held in the Citie, Phylidas promised the Gouernours, who were insolent and lustfull men, that hee would conueigh vnto them that night the most beautifull Dames of the Towne, with whom they should take their pleasure. Hauing cheared them with such hope, and plentie of good wine, hee told them when the time of performance (which they vrged) came, that hee could not make good his promise, vnlesse they would dimitt their followers, because the Gentlewomen, who attended without a Chamber, would not endure, that any of the seruants should see their faces. Vpon this occasion the attendantes were dismissed, and the Conspirators, attired like Ladies and their Maides, brought into the place, who taking aduantage of the Gouernours loose behauiour, flew them al vpon the fodaine with Daggers, which they brought hidden vnder their garments. Then presently calling off their disguise, they went to other places, where faining themselves to come to the Gouernours vpon business, they got admittance; and slew those which were of the Lacedæmonian faction. By the like deuice they brake into the prison, slew the Goler; and set at libertie such as they thought meete, and being followed by the desperate men, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Capitaine of the Castle hearing the Proclamation, thought the Rebels to bee stronger than indeed they were: the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was a practice to discouer such, as would be forward vpon occasion of reuolting. But as soone as day-light reuealed the plaine truth, all the people tooke armes & besieged the Castle, sending hastily to Athens for succour. The Garrison also sent for aide vnto the Townes adioyning, whence a few broken troups comming to the rescue, were defeated on the way by the horse-men of Thebes. On the other side the banished Thebans did not only make speede to assist their Countreimen, but procured some Athenians to ioyne with them, and thereby came so strong into the Citie, that the Castle was yeilded, more through feare than any necessitie, vpon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes, for which composition the Capitaine at his returne to Sparta was put to death. When the newes of the doings at Thebes, and the successe arrived at Sparta, an Armie was raised forth with, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recouering of that Citie, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had bene taken from the Lacedæmonians, and not a Towne perfidiously vsurped by them, restored to her owne libertie. Cleombrotus, one of the Kings, was sent on this expedition, who hauing wearied his followers, with a toilsome Winters journey, returned home without any good or harme done; leaving Sphodrias, with part of his Armie, at Thebes, to intell the Thebans; who doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt vpon the Haven of Athens, which failing to take, hee wasted the Countrie adioyning, and draue away Cattaille, causing by this outrage the Athenians to enter with all their power into the Warre, out of which they were before very carefully seeking how to with-draw themselves.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, from the battaile
of Leuctra to the battaile of Mantinea.

§. I.

*How Thebes and Atheni joyned together against Sparta. How the Athenians made
peace for themselves, and others, out of which the Thebans were exclu-
ded. The battaile of Leuctra, and beginning of
the Theban greatnesse.*



TH^e Lacedemonians were men of great resolution, and of much grauitie in all their proceedings, but one dishonorable rule they held, That all respects withstanding the commoditie of Sparta were to be neglected; the practice of which doctrine, euen by the best and wisest of them, did greatly blemish that Estate, but when it was put in execution by insufficient overweening men, it seldome failed to bring vpon them in stead of profit vnjustly expected, both shame & losse. And so it befel them in these enterprises of Phædras, vpon the Cattle of Thebes, and Sphodrias vpon the Piræus. For howsoeuer Agesilaus did spoile the Countrey about Thebes, in which hee spent two Summers, yet the diligence of the Thebans repaired all, who by the good successe of some attempts grew stronger than they were at the first.

The Athenians likewise beganne to looke abroade, failing to the Ile of Corcyra, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and hauing in some fights at Sea preuailed, began as in the Peloponnesian warre, to surround Peloponnesus with a Naue; afflicting to the Lacedemonians, that had not the Thebans by their insolencie wearied their friends, and caused them to seeke for peace, it had bene very likely that the end of this warre, should haue soone come to a good end, which neuertheless, being persecuted by the Thebans (who opposed at once both these two great Estates) left the City of Sparta as much dejected as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the Athenians perceiving how Thebes encroched every day vpon her weake Neighbours, not sparing such as had bene dependants vpon Athens, and finding themselves, whilest engaged in such a warre, vnable to relieue their complaining friends, resolved to settle the affaires of Greece, by renewing that forme of peace which Antalcidas had brought from the Persian. Wherefore they sent Messengers to Thebes, peremptorily signifying, That it was their intent to finish the Warre; to which purpose they willed the Thebans to send Embassadors along with them to Sparta; who readily condescended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the Treatie of peace, which came to passe, being so wrought by the courageous wisdom of Epaminondas, who vnderstood farre better than his Countymen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treatie the Lacedemonians and Athenians did soone agree; but when the Thebans offered to sweare to the Articles in the name of the Boeotians; Agesilaus required them to sweare in their owne name, and to leaue the Boeotians free, whom they had lately reduced vnder their obedience. Whereunto Epaminondas made answer, That the Citie of Sparta should giue example to Thebes by setting the Lacedonians free; for that the Signorie of Boeotia did by as good right appertaine to the Thebans, as that of Laconia to the Spartans. This was well and truly spoken; but was heard with no patience: For Agesilaus bearing a vehement hatred vnto those of Thebes, by whom he was drawne back out of Asia into Greece, & disappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to attchieue by the Persian Warre, did

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now very passionately vrge that point of setting the Boeotians at libertie, and finding it as oblatrately refused, he dashed the name of the Thebans out of the league. At the lame time Cleombrotus the other King of Sparta lay in Phocia, who receiued command from the Gouernours of Sparta forthwith to enter vpon the Land of the Thebans with all his power, which he did, and was there slaine at Leuctra, and with him the flowre of his Armie. This battaile of Leuctra being one of the most famous that euer were fought betweene the Greekes, was not so notable for any circumstance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight it selfe, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of Sparta, but especially, for that after this battaile (betweene which and the conclusion of the generall peace there passed but twentie daies) the Lacedemonians were neuer able to recouer the strength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted farre and neere; whereas contrariwise the Thebans, whose greatelt ambition had in former times confined it selfe vnto the little Region of Boeotia, did now begin to vndertake the leading and command of many People and Estates, in such wise, that soone after they brought an Armie of threescore and ten thousand strong vnto the Gates of Sparta. So much doe the afflictions of an hard warre, valiantly indured, aduance the affaires of the distressed, and guide them into the way of Conquest, by stiffening that resolution with a manly temper, which wealth and ease had through luxurie, rechelesseesse, and many other vices or vantities, made rustie and effeminate.

§. II.

How the Athenians tooke vpon them to maintain the peace of Greece. New troubles hence arising. Epaminondas inuadeth and wasteth the Territories of Lacedemon.



TH^e Athenians, refusing to take aduantage of this ouerthrow fallen vpon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the Lacedemonians; did neuertheless finely giue them to vnderstand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking vpon themselves the maintenance of the peace lately concluded, which Agesilaus (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarels that might arise) had left vnperfect, they assembled the Deputies of all the Estates confederated at Athens; where the generall libertie of all Townes, as well small as great, was ratified, vnder the stile Of the Athenians, and their Associates. Hereupon began fresh garboiles. The Mantinians, claiming power by this decree to order their affaires at their owne pleasure, did (as it were) in despite of the Spartans, who had enforced them to raze their towne, reedifie it, & allie themselves with such of the Arcadians as stood worst affected to Sparta. The Arcadians, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, were distracted with factions; some desiring to hold good correspondencie with the Lacedemonians; some to weaken & keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The Lacedemonians durst not giue impeachment to the Mantinians; nor take vpon them to correct their ill-willers among the Arcadians, till such time as the factions brake out into violence, and each part called in forraigne helpe. Then was an Armie sent from Sparta, as it were in defence of the people of Tegea, against the Mantinians, but indeed against them both. Agesilaus had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The Thebans had by this time subdued the Phocians, & were become head of the Locrians, Acarnanians, Eubœans, & many others; with the power of which Countries they entered Peloponnesus in favor of the Arcadians, who had, vpon expectation of their coming obtained from giuing battaile to Agesilaus. The Armie of the Spartans being dismissed, and Epaminondas joyned with the Arcadians; the Region of Laconia was inuaded and spoiled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could haue found beliefe if any had foretold it. Almost fixe hundred yeeres were spent, since the Dorians, vnder the posteritie of Hercules, had seized vpon Laconia, in all which time the found of an

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enemies trumpet was not heard in that Countrey: Ten yeeres were not fully past, since all Greece was at the deuotion of the *Spartans*: but now the Region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Armie could once looke vpon, nor the mightie forces of *Athens*, and other Enemye-States had dared to set foot on, sauing by stealth, was all on a light fire, the very smoke whereof the women of *Sparta* were ashamed to behold. All which indignitie notwithstanding, the *Lacedemonians* did not issue out of *Sparta* to fight, but fought how to preferre the Towne, setting at libertie as many of their *Helotes* or Slaues as were willing to beare Armes in defence of the State; and somewhat pittifully entreated the *Athenians* to giue them succour. From *Corinth* and some Townes of *Peloponnesus* they receiued speedie assistance; the *Athenians* came forward more slowly, so that *Epaminondas* returned without battaile, hauing rebuild- 10 ded the Citie of *Messene*, and peopled it a-new by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the *Lacedemonians* many Ages before had chased away into other Countries, possessing their Territories themselves.

§. IIII.

The composition between Athens and Sparta for command in warre against the Thebans; who againe invade and spoile Peloponnesus. Thev unfortunate presumption of the Arcadians.

THis journey therefore vtterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in such wise, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, which was to be raised, nor any manner of precedence: but sending Embassadors from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities which held league with it, vnto *Athens*, they offered to yeeld the Admiraltie to the *Athenians*, requesting that they themselves might be Generalls by Land. This had become a composition well agreeing with the situation and qualitie of those two Cities; but it was rejected, because the Mariners and others that were to be imployed at Sea, were men of no marke or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot whereof the Land-Armie was compounded, who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, were to haue serued vnder the *Lacedemonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the authority should be diuided by time, the *Athenians* ruling five daies, the *Lacedemonians* other five, & so successfullly that each of them should haue command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vaine ambition was more regarded than the common profit, which must of necessitie be very slowly aduanced, where consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second inuasion of *Peloponnesus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies so vnable to impeach them, that hauing fortified *Isthmus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against *Xerxes*, they were driven out of their strength by *Epaminondas*, who foraged the Countrey without resistance. But as the Articles of this league betwene *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by di- 40 uiding the conduct in such manner, disable the societie, and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanitie. For the *Arcadians* considering their owne numbers which they brought into the field, and hauing found by many trials that their people were not inferior to others in strength of body, in courage, or in good Souldierishship, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the gouernement, with their friends the *Thebans*; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by encralling whose greatness they should strengthen their own yoke. Here- 50 vpon they began to demaene themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hateful to their Neighbour, and suspected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For a motion of generall peace hauing been made (which tooke not effect, because the City of *Messene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedemonians*) the next enterprise of the *Spartans* and their friends was vpon these *Arcadians*, who relying too much vpon their owne worth, were ouerthrowne in a great battaile, their calamitie being as pleasing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

The great growth of the Theban Estate. Embassages of the Greekes to the Persian; with the reasons why he most fauoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitlesse issue of the Embassages.

THe *Thebans* especially reioyced at the *Arcadians* misfortune, considering, that, without their aide, the successfull of all enterprises proued so ill; whereas they themselves had by their owne power accomplished 10 very well whatsoeuer they tooke in hand, and were become not only victorious ouer the *Lacedemonians*, but patrons ouer the *Thebans*, and Moderators of the great quarrels that had risen in *Asiatick*, where compounding the differences about that Kingdome, as pleased them best, they carried *Philip* the Sonne of *Amyntas*, and Father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hostage vnto *Thebes*. Hauing therefore obtained such reputation, that little seemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all Greece, they sought meanes of alliance with the Persian King, to whom they sent Embassadors: the great and famous Capitaine *Pelopidas*, whose reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant vnto the *Thebans* all that they 20 desired; whereof two especiall points were, That *Messene* should remaine free from the *Lacedemonians*; and that the *Athenians* should forbear to send their ships of Warre to Sea; only the later of these two was somewhat qualified with clemencie to further aduice. The other States of Greece did also send their Embassadors at the same time, of whom few or none receiued much contentment. For the King hauing found by long experience, how farre it concerned him to maintaine a sure partie in Greece, did vpon many waightie considerations: resolve, to binde the *Thebans* firmly vnto him; iustly expecting, that their greatnesse should bee on that side his owne securitie. The *Athenians* had bene ancient enemies to his Crowne, and, hauing turned the profit of their victories vpon the Persian to the purchase of a 30 great Estate in Greece, maintained their Signorie in such puissant manner, that (sundry grievous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrible warre, wherein the *Lacedemonians* being followed by most of the Greekes, and supplied with treasure, and all sorts of aide by *Darius* *Nathus*, were notable to vanquish them, till their owne indiscretion brought them on their knees. The *Lacedemonians* being victorious ouer *Athens*, had no sooner established their Dominion at home, than they undertooke the conquest of *Asia*, from which though, by the commotion raised in Greece with Persian gold, they were called backe, yet hauing renewed their power, and settled things in Greece, it was not vnlikely, that they should vpon the next aduantage haue pursued the same enterprise, had not they beene impeached 40 by this *Theban* Warre. But the *Thebans* contrariwise had alwaies discovered a good affection to the Crowne of Persia. They had sided with *Xerxes* in his inuasion of Greece; with *Darius* and the *Lacedemonians* against *Athens*. And finally, hauing refused much contumely to *Agaglaus* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making warre on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Besides all these their good deservings, they were no Sea-men, and therefore vnlikely to looke abroad; whereunto it perchance they should haue any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good haueu townes, which they could not seize vpon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giuing libertie to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condescend vnto the 50 requests of *Pelopidas*, as farre forth as he might without giuing open defiance to the rest of Greece; and by that meane he purchased his owne quiet, being neuer afterward molested by that Nation in the lower *Asia*. The ill meane which the Greekes had to disturbe *Artaxerxes*, was very beneficiall to the Estate of Persia shortly after these times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritime Provinces. For had then the

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affaires of Greece beene so composed, that any one Citie might without empeachment of the rest have transported an Armie, to assist the revolting *Satrapæ*, or *Viceroyes* of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Mysia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, humane reason can hardly find the means, by which the Empire could have been preferred from that ruine, which the diuine Councel had deferred vnto the daies of *Alexander*. But this great conspiracie of so many large and wealthy Prouinces, wanting a firme bodie of good and hardy Souldiers, was in short space discussed and vanquished like a mist, without effect: these effeminate *Asiaticques* wearied quickly with the traualles and dangers incident to warre, forsaking the common cause, and each man struing to bee the first, that by treason to his company should both redeme the former treason to his Prince, & purchase withal his own promotion with encrease of riches. Of this commotion, which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I haue rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; both for that it was like a suddaine storme, rashly commenced, idly followed, and foolishly laied downe, hauing made a great noise without effect, and hauing small reference to any other action regardable; as also because in the whole reign of *Artaxerxes*, from the warre of *Cyrus*, to the inuasion of *Egypt*, I finde nothing (this insurrection, and a fruitlesse journey against the *Cadusians* excepted) worthy of any mention, much lesse of digression from the course of the businesse in Greece. All, or the most of his time, passed away so quietly, that he enioyed the pleasures which an Empire so great and wealthy could afford vnto so absolute a Lord, with little disturbance. The troubles which he found were only or chiefly Domestical, growing out of the hatred which *Parysatis* the Queen-Mother bare vnto his wife *Statira*, and to such as had bin the greatest enemies to her sonne *Cyrus*, or gloried in his death: vpon whom, when by poison and mischievous practices shee had satisfied her feminine appetite of reuenge, thenceforth she wholly applied her selfe to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the lewd desire of marrying his own Daughter, & filling him with the perauersion, which Princes, not endued with an especiall grace, doe readily entertaine. That his owne will was the supreme law of his subject, and the rule by which all things were to be measured, and adjudged to be good or euill. In this imaginarie happinesse *Pelopsias*, and the other Embassadors of Greece, both found and left him, but left him by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the conclusion of his Treatie with them, being altogether to his owne advantage did seeme to promise, if not the perpetuities, along endurance of the same felicity to him and his, or (at the least) a full security of danger from Greece, whence only could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternitie laied by mortal men in this transitory world, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either shaken from heauen, or made vaine and vnprofitable, ere the frame can be raised to full height, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other Estates of Greece, 40 that had sent Embassadors to the *Persians*. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Townes, as well the little as the great, should be set at libertie, and the *Thebans* made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby should become the Iudges of all controuersies that might arise, and Leaders in warre of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the Kings letters being solemnly published at *Thebes*, in the presence of Embassadors, drawne thither from all parts of Greece; when an oath was required for obseruation of the forme of peace therein set downe, a dilatorie answer was made by the Embassadors, who said, that they were sent to heare the articles; not to sweare vnto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driuen to send vnto each of the Cities to require the Oath; but in vaine. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refused it, saying, That they did not need it; others tooke courage by their example to doe the like, disappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with *Artaxerxes* gaue neither addition nor confirmation of greatness, but left them as if found them to rely vpon their owne swords.

§. V.

§. V.

How all Greece was diuided, betwene the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, on the one side, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults rising in Arcadia.

THe condition of things in Greece at that time did stand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each vpon enuie of the others greatness drawne all her followers into a cruell intestine warre, by which the whole Countrey, and especially the Estate of these two Cities, was brought very low, did now conioyne their forces against the *Thebans*, who sought to make themselves Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, and *Achaïans*, followed the partie of these ancient governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits received, or in dislike of those, who by strong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which authoritie they could not suddenly aspire without some iniurie and much enuie. The Citie of *Thebes* abounding with men, whom necessitie had made warlike, and many victories in few yeeres had filled with great spirits, & being so mightie in dependants, that shee had reduced all the continent of Greece without *Peloponnesus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beside excepted) vnder such acknowledgement, as wanted not much of meere Vassallage, did hope to bring all *Peloponnesus* to the like obedience, wherein already shee had set good footing by her conjunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argiues* had bene alwaies bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themselves in ancient Nobilitie Superiours, but were farre vnder them in valour, hauing bene often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of loosing all: which caused them to suspect and enuie nothing more than the greatness and honor of *Sparta*, taking truce with her when shee was at rest, and had leisure to bend her whole force against them, but firmly ioyning with her enemies whensoever they found her entangled in a difficult Warre. As the *Argiues* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, sure friends of *Thebes*, so the *Arcadians*, transported with a great opinion of their owne worthines, had formerly renounced and 30 provoked against them their old Confederates and Leaders, the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard it was thought convenient by *Epaminondas*, and the State of *Thebes*, to send an Armie into *Peloponnesus*, before such time as these wauering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutrall, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*; which was very strange, and seemed no lesse to the *Athenians* themselves, who holding a firme league with *Sparta* at the same time when they the *Arcadians* treated with them, did neuertheless accept this new 40 Confederacie, nor relinquishing the old, because they found that, howlooser these *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, they should hereby be drawne somewhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was vnlikely to inuade *Peloponnesus* with a strong Armie. But this did rather hasten, than by any means stay, the coming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way somewhat more clear for him (because the Citie of *Corinth*, which lay vpon the *Silismas*, and had bene aduerse to *Thebes*, was now, by miseries of this grieuous warre, driuen to become Neutrall) tooke occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the *Arcadians*, to visit *Peloponnesus* with an Armie, consisting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had risen in *Arcadia* about consecrated money, which many principal men 50 among them had laied hands on, vnder pretence of employing it to publike vses. In compounding the differences growne vpon this occasion, such, as had least will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Captaine of some *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take prisoners many of their COUNTRYMEN, as people desirous of innovation. This was done: but the vpr-roare thereby

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thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forth-with enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken *Armes*, with much a doe scarce pacified. When complaint of the Captaines proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blame vpon them, who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them, to iudge of their fidelitie, by the assistance which they should giue him, in that warre, which he intended to make in *Peloponnesus*. These Lordly wordes did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*; who needing not the aide of so mightie a power as he drew a-long with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to bee made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before sought meanes to settle the affaires of their Countrey, by drawing things to some good conclusion of peace, did now forth-with send to *Athens* for helpe, and withall dispatched some of the principall among them as Embassadors to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of *Peloponnesus*, now ready to be invaded. This Embassage brought much comfort to the *Lacedaemonians*, who feared nothing more than the coming of *Epaminondas*, against whom they well knew, that all their forces, and best prouisions, would bee no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatiues, they (who had been accustomed vnto such a supremacie, as they would in no wise communicate with the powerfull Citie of *Athens*, till other hope of securing their owne Estate could not be thought vpon) did now verie gently yeeld to the *Arcadians*, that the command of the Armie in chiefe, should be giuen, for the time, to that Citie, in whose Territorie it lay.

§. VI.

A terrible inuasion of *Peloponnesus* by *EPAMINONDAS*.

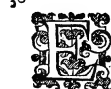


ERTAIN it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a verie firme consent, and vniforme care of the common safetie. For beside the great forces raised out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argives*, and *Messenians*, prepared with all their strength to ioyne with *Epaminondas*; who hauing lien a while at *Nemea*, to intercept the *Athenians*, receiued there intelligence, that the Armie coming from *Athens* would passe by *Sea*, whereupon he dislodged, and came to *Tegea*, which Citie, and the most of all *Arcadia* besides, forthwith declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attemp of the *Thebans*, would be vpon such of the *Arcadians* as had revolted; which caused the *Lacedaemonian* Captaines to fortifie *Mantinea* with all diligence, and to send for *Agellaw* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men, which remained in the Towne, they might be strong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held so good spiall vpon his Enemies, that had not an vnknowne fellow brought hastie aduertisement of his purpose to *Agellaw*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantinea*, the Citie of *Sparta* had suddenly been taken. For thither with all speede and secrecie did the *Thebans* march, who had surely carried the Citie, notwithstanding any defence that could haue beene made by that handfull of men remaining within it; but that *Agellaw* in all flying haste got into it with his Companies, whom the Army of his Confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast as it was able. The arriual of the *Lacedaemonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas* of taking *Sparta*, so it presented him with a faire aduantage vpon *Mantinea*. It was the time of Haruest, which made it verie likely, that the *Mantineans*, finding the warre to be carried from their walls into another quarter, would vie the commoditie of that vacation, by fetching in their corne, and turning out their cattell into their fields, whilest no enemy was neere that might empeach them. Wherefore hee turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantinea*, sending his horse-men before him, to seize vpon all that might be

be found without the Citie. The *Mantineans* (according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) were scattered abroad in the Countrey; farre more intent vpon their haruest-businesse, than vpon the warre, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselves out of distance. By which presumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattell, being vnable to recover the Towne, were in a desperate case; and the Towne it selfe in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy should haue taken all their prouision of victuals with so many of the people, as had not ouer-dearly beene redeemed, by that Citie returning to societie with *Thebes*. But at the same time, the *Athenians* coming to the succour of their Confederates, whom they thought to haue found at *Mantinea*, were very earnestly entreated by the Citizens to rescue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any couragious aduerture to deliuer those who otherwise were giuen as lost. The *Thebans* were knowne at that time to bee the best Souldiers of all the *Greekes*, and the commendation of good horsemanship had alwaies beene giuen to the *Thebans*, as excellling in that qualitie all other Nations; yet the regard of honour so wrought vpon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their Citie, which had entred into this warre, vpon no necessitie of her owne, but onely in desire of relieuing her distressed friends, they issued forth of *Mantinea*, not abiding so long as to refresh themselves, or their horses with meat, and giuing a lustie charge vpon the enemy, who as brauely received them, after a long and hote fight, they remained masters of the field, giuing by this victorie a safe and easie retreat to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the *Boetians* arrived in the place soone after this battaile, whom the *Lacedaemonians* and their Assitants were not farre behinde.

§. VII.

The great battaile of *Mantinea*. The honourable death of *EPAMINONDAS*, with his commendation.



EPAMINONDAS, considering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprising *Sparta* and *Mantinea*, hauing failed, the impression of terrour which his name had wrought in the *Peloponnesians*, would soone vanish, vnlesse by some notable act he should abate their courage in their first growth, and leaue some memorable character of his expedition; resolved to giue them battaile, whereby he reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtfull affections of his own Associates, and to leaue the *Spartans* as weak in spirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subjection. Hauing therefore warned his men to prepare for that battaile, wherein victorie should be rewarded with Lordship of all *Greece*; and finding the alacritie of his Souldiers to be such, as promised the accomplishment of his owne desire; he made shew of declining the enemy, and intrenching himselfe in a place of more aduantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, hee might allay the heate of their valour, and afterward strike their senses with amazement, when hee should come vpon them vnexpected. This opinion deceiued him not. For with very much tumult, as in so great and sodaine a danger, the enemy ranne to *Armes*, necessitie enforcing their resolution, and the consequence of that daies seruice vrging them to doe as well as they might. The *Theban* Armie consisted of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *Lacedaemonians* and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and in foot, by a third part. The *Mantineans* (because the warre was in their Countrey) stood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedaemonians*: the *Athenians* had the left wing, the *Achaens*, *Elcans*, and others of lesse account, filled the bodie of the Armie. The *Thebans* stood in the left wing of their owne battaile, opposite to the *Lacedaemonians*,

cedemonians, hauing by them the *Arcadians*; the *Eubears*, *Lorians*, *Sicyonians*, *Messinians*, and *Thebaisians* with others, compounding the maine battaile; the *Argiues* held the right wing; the horse-men on each part were placed in the flanks, only a troupe of the *Eleans* were in reare. Before the footmen could joyne, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* prevailed, notwithstanding the valiant resistance of the *Athenians*: who not yielding to the enemy either in courage or skill, were ouer-laid with numbers, and so beaten vpon by *Thebaisian* slings, that they were driuen to forsake the place, and leaue their infanterie naked. But this retreat was the lesse disgracefull, because they kept themselves together, and did not fall backe vpon their owne foot-men; but finding the *Theban* horse to haue giuen them ouer, and withall discouering some Companies of foot, which had bene sent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their battaile in the reare, they brake vpon them, routed them, and hewed them all in peeces. In the meane season the battaile of the *Athenians* had not onely to doe with the *Argiues*, but was hardly pressed by the *Theban* Horse-men, in such wise that it beganne to open, and was readie to turne backe, when the *Elean* Squadron of Horse came vp to the reliefe of it, and restored all on that part. With farre greater violence did the *Lacedaemonians* and *Thebans* meete, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour, so that equall courage and equal losse on both sides made the hope and appearance of victorie to either equally doubtfull: vnlesse perhaps the *Lacedaemonians* being very firme abiders, might seeme the more likely to preuaile, as hauing borne the firsh brunt, and furie of the on-set, which was not hitherto remitted, and being framed by Discipline, as it were by Nature, to excell in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few yeeres, cannot be thought to haue gotten a habite so sure and generall. But *Epaminondas* perceiving the obdurate stiffenesse of the Enemies to bee such, as neither the badde successe of their owne horse, nor all the force of the *Boeotian* Armie, could abate so farre, as to make them giue one foote of ground; taking a choise Companie of the most able men, whom hee cast into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the aduantage of that figure against a Squadron, and by his owne exceeding vertue, accompanied with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their ranks, and cleaue the whole battaile in despiight of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day wonne by the *Thebans*, who may iustly bee said to haue carried the victorie, seeing that they remained Masters of the ground whereon the battaile was fought, hauing driuen the Enemy to lodge farther off. For that which was alleaged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the victorie was partly theirs, the slaughter of those Mercenaries vpon whom they lighted by chance in their owne flight, finding them behinde their Armie, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a Ceremonie regardable onely among the *Greekes*, and serued meereley for ostentation, shewing that by the fight they had obtained somewhat, which the Enemy could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the *Thebans* arrived at the generall immediate end of battaile; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifest confession is exprest from them, who forsake the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for triall of their ability and prowesse. This was the last worke of the incomparable vertue of *Epaminondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troupe of men, which broke the *Lacedaemonian* Squadron, and forced it to giue back in disaray, was furiously charged on the sodaine, by a desperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiuing many wounds, hee neuertheless with a singular courage maintained the fight, vsing against the Enemies many of their Darts, which hee drew out of his owne bodie; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, hee receiued so violent a stroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leauing the yron and a peece of the tronchion in his breast. Hereupon hee sunke downe, and was soone conueighed out of the fight by his friends; hauing by his fall

fall somewhat animated the *Spartans* (who saine would haue got his bodie) but much more inflamed with reuengefull indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at this heauie mischance did with great slaughter compell their disordered enemies to leaue the field; though long they followed not the chase, being wearied more with the sadnesse of this disaster, than with all the trouble of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the *Philicians*, That when the head of the Dart should be drawne out of his bodie, hee must needs die. Hearing this, hee called for his shield, which to haue lost, was held a great dishonour: It was brought vnto him. He bade them tell him which part had bee victorie; answere was made, that the *Boeotians* had wonne the field. Then said he, it is late time for mee to die, and withall sent for *Solides*, and *Diophantes*, two principall men of Warre, that were both slaine; which being told him, He aduised the *Thebans* to make Peace, whilst with aduantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a Generall. Herewithall he willed, that the head of the weapon should be drawne out of his bodie; comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of issue, by telling them, that the victories of *Lextra* and *Maninae* were two faire Daughters, in whom his memorie should liue.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthiest man that euer was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to bee matched in any Age or Countrey: for hee equaled all others in the seuerall vertues, which in each of them were singular. His Iustice, and Sinceritie, his Temperance, Wisdome, and high Magnanimitie, were no way inferior to his Militarie vertue; in euery part whereof hee so excelled, That hee could not properly bee called a Warre, a Valiant, a Politique, a Bountifull, or an Industrious, and a Prouident Capitaine; all these Titles, and many other, being due vnto him, which with his notable Discipline, and good Conduict, made a perfect composition of an Heroique Generall. Neither was his priuate Conuersion vnanswerable to those high parts, which gaue him praise abroad. For he was Graue, and yet very Affable and Courteous; resolute in publique businesse, but in his owne particular case, and of much mildnesse: a louer of his People, bearing with mens infirmities, wittie and pleasant in speech, farre from insolence, Master of his owne affections, and furnished with all qualities that might winne and keepe loue. To these Graces were added great ability of bodie, much Eloquence, and very deepe knowledge in all parts of Philosophie and Learning, wherewith his minde being enlightened, rested not in the sweetnesse of Contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gaue vnto *Thebes*, which had euer more bene an vnderling, a dreadfull reputation among all people adjoining, and the highest command in *Greece*.

§. VIII.

Of the peace concluded in *Greece* after the battile of *Maninae*. The voyage of *Agessilas* into *Egypt*. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made betwene him and *Pompey* the Roman.

THis battaile of *Maninae* was the greatest that had euer bene fought in that Countrey betwene the Naturals; and the last. For at *Larissa*, *Thon*, and *Platae*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gaue rather a great fame, than a hard triall to the *Graecian* valour; neither were the practice of Armes and Art Militarie so perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those excepted

excepted which were vnder taken against foraine enemies, prouing for the most part unfortunate. But in this last fight all Greece was interceded, which neuer had more able Souldiers, and braue Commanders, nor euer contended for victory with greater care of the successe, or more obdurate resolution. All which notwithstanding, the issue being such as hath bene related, it was found best for euery particular Estate, that a general peace should be established, euery one retaining what hee presently had, and none being forced to depend vpon another. The *Athenians* were by name comprised in this new league; which caused the *Lacedaemonians* not to enter into it. Their standing out hindred not the rest from proceeding to conclusion; considering that *Sparta* was now too weake to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well bee allowed to shew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it selfe in execution. This peace, as it gaue some breath and refreshing to all the Country, so to the Cities of *Athen* and *Sparta* it afforded leisure to seeke after wealth by foraine employment in *Egypt*, whither *Agesslaus* was sent with some small forces to assist, or indeed, as a Mercenary, to serue vnder *Tachos* King of *Egypt* in his warre vpon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded vnder *Seris* King of *Egypt*, went now as a voluntary, with such forces as he could raise by entreatie, and offer of good pay, to the same cruize. The *Egyptian* Kings descended from *Amyrians* of *Sais*, who rebelled against *Darius* *Nebuch*, hauing retained the Country, notwithstanding all intestine dissensions, and foraine incursions, during three Generations of their owne race, were so well acquainted with the valour of the *Greekes*, that by their helpe (easily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not onely to allure themselves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoining, which were held by the *Persian*. What the issue of this great enterpryse might haue been, had it not fallen by Domestick rebellion, it is vncertaine. But very likely it is, that the rebellion it selfe had soone come to nothing, if *Agesslaus* had not proued a false Traitor, ioyning with *Nectanebus*, who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebel with that Arme which the money of his owne Countrey; though it seeme rather, that hee grudged because the King tooke vpon himselfe the Conduct of the Arme, vsing his seruice onely as Lieutenant, who had made full accompt of being appointed the Generall. Howsoeuer it came to passe, *Tachos* being shamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had reposed his chiefe confidence, fled vnto the *Persian*, who vpon his submission gaue him gentle entertainment; and *Nectanebus* (who seemes to haue bene the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his stead. At the same time the Citizens of *Mendes* had set vp another King, to whom all, or most of the *Egyptians* yielded their obedience. But *Agesslaus* fighting with him in places of advantage, preuailed so farre, that hee left *Nectanebus* in quiet possession of the Kingdome; who in recompence of his treason to the former King *Tachos*, and good seruice done to himselfe, rewarded him with two hundred and thirtie Talents of siluer, with which bootie failing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant, and a good Leader in warre, free from couetousnesse, and not reproched with any blemish of lust; which praises are the lesse admirable in him, for that the discipline of *Sparta* was such as did endue euery one of the Citizens (not caried away by the violent streame of an ill nature) with all, or the chiefe, of these good qualities. Hee was neuertheless very arrogant, peruerse, vniust and vaine glorious, measuring all things by his owne will, and obdurate prosecuting those courses, whose ends were beyond hope. The expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Persia* should be ouerthrowne; with which conceipt being transported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans*, and their Allies, hee did euer after beare such hatred vnto *Thebes*, as compelled that Estate by meere necessitie to grow warlike, and able, to the vtter dishonour of *Sparta*, and the irreparable losse of all her former greatnesse. The commendations giuen to him by

Xenophon

Xenophon his good friend, haue caused *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance against *Pompey* the Great; whose actions (the solemne grauitie of carriage excepted) are very disproportionable. Yet we may truly say, That as *Pompey* made great warres vnder sundrie Climates, and in all the Prouinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of imployments all that were before him; so *Agesslaus* had at one time or other, some quarrell with euery Towne in Greece, had made a Warre in *Asia*, and meddled in the businesse of the *Egyptians*, in which variety he went beyond all his Predecessours; yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* neuer tooke. Herein also they are very like; Each of them was the last great Captaine which his Nation brought forth in time of libertie, and each of them ruined the libertie of his Countrey by his owne Lordly wilfulness. We may therefore well say, *Similia magis omnia quam paria*; The resemblance was neerer than the equality. Indee the freedome of *Rome* was lost with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cesar*, whom he had enforced to take Armes; yet the *Roman* Empire stood, the forme of Government only being changed; But the libertie of Greece, or of *Sparta* it selfe, was not forfeited vnto the *Thebans*, whom *Agesslaus* had compelled to enter into a victorious warre; yet the Signiorie, and ancient renowne of *Sparta* was presently lost; and the freedome of all Greece being wounded in this *Theban* warre, and after much blood lost, ill healed by the peace ensuing, did very soone, vpon the death of *Agesslaus*, giue vp the Ghost, and the Lordship of the whole Countrey was seized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whose actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the Contemporarie passages of things, in any other Nation.

Finis Libri Tertij.



10 THE FIRST PART OF
THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:
INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM
theraigne of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the
establisht of that Kingdome, in the race
of ANTIGONVS.

20

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of PHILIP, the Father of ALEXANDER the
Great, King of Macedon.

30

§. I.

What Kings reigned in Macedon before PHILIP.



40

HE Greekes, of whom wee haue alreadie made large discourse, nor as yet wearied with intestine warre, nor made wise by their vaine contention for superioritie, doe still, as in former times, continue the inuasion and vastation of each other.

Against *Alexes*, the greatest Monarch of that part of the World, they defended their libertie, with as happie successe, as euer Nation had, and with no lesse honour, than hath euer beene acquired by deeds of Armes. And hauing had a triall and experience, more than fortunate, against those Nations, they so little regarded what might come from them, who had
50 so often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as what focuer could be spared from their owne distraction at home, they transported ouer the *Hellespont*, as sufficient, to entertaine and busie them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with every man of marke in the world, that they vnder-stand, and perish, by the hands and harmes which they least feare; so feared it at

O o o o

this

this time with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip of Macedon* (of whom we are now to speake) they had so little regard, as they grew even then more violent in denouncing each other, when the fast-growing greatness of such a neighbour King should, in regard of their owne safeties, have secured them for a strong argument of union and accord. But the glory of their *Pyrrhus* victories, wherewith they were pampred and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselves, and the rather to value as little the power and purposes of the *Macedonians*, because those Kings and States, which late nearer them than they did, had in the time of *Amynas*, the Father of *Philip*, so much weakened them, and wonne vpon them, that they were not (as the *Grecians* perswaded themselves) in any one age, likely to recouer their owne, much lesse to worke any wonders against their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philosphie to consider, That all great alterations are storme-like, suddaine, and violent; and that it is then ouer-late to repaire the decayed and broken banks, when great Rivers are once swollen, fast-running, and enraged. No, the *Greeks* did rather imploy themselves in breaking downe thoe defences, which stood betwene them and this inundation: than seeke to rampare and re-enforce their owne fields, which by the Leuell of reason they might haue found to haue lien vnder it. It was therefore well concluded by *OROSIUS*: *Grecia Ciuitates dum imperare singula cupiunt, imperium omnes perdididerunt; The Cities of Greece lost their command, by striving each of them to command all.*

The Kingdome of *Macedon*, so called of *Macedon*, the Sonne of *Ofiris*, or, as other Authors affirme, of *Iupiter* and *Atira*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth *Greece*; It hath to the East, the *Aegean* Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-west, by the *Thracians* and *Ilyrians*; and on the South and South-west, by *Thessalie* and *Epirus*.

Their Kings were of the family of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, and by nation *Argines*, who are listed as followeth. About some fixe yeeres after the translation of the *Assyrian* Empire, *Arbaces* then governing *Media*; *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an Oracle, to lead a Colonic into *Macedon*, departed thence with many people, and as hee was marching through that Countrie, the weather being raynie and tempestuous, hee espied a great heard of Goats, which fled the storme as fast as they could, halting them to their knowne place of couert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to minde, that he had also by another Oracle bene directed, to follow the first troupe of those beafts, that should either lead him, or flye before him; He pursued these Goats to the Cates of *Edessa*, and being vndiscovered by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darknesse of the aire, he entered their Citie without resistance, and possessed it. Soone after this, by the ouerthrow of *Cisseus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the rest of *Macedon*, and held it eight and twisse yeeres. *Canus* succeeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelue yeeres. *Tyrmas* followed *Canus*, and ruled eight and twentie yeeres.

Perdiccas the first, the sonne of *Tyrmas*, gouerned one and fiftie yeeres: a Prince, for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned. *Solinus*, *Plinie*, *Iustine*, *Eusebius*, *Theophrastus*, *Antiochens*, and others affirme, that he appointed a place of buriall for himselfe; and for all the Kings of *Macedon* his Successours, at *Aega*: assuring them, that the Kingdome should so long continue in his line and race, as they continued to lay vp their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is said, that because *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the posteritie of the *Temenide* failed in him: a thing rather deuised after the effect, as I conceiue, then foretold by *Perdiccas*.

Argæus succeeded vnto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twentie yeeres. *Philip* the first, his successour, reigned eight and twentie yeeres. *Euphorus* followed *Philip*, gouerned fixe and twentie yeeres: in whose infancie the *Ilyrians* inuaded *Macedon*, and hauing obtained a great victorie, they pursued the same to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the *Macedonians*, gathering new forces, and resolving either to recouer their former losse, or to loose at once both their

their Kingdome and their King, they carried him with them in his Cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not bee beaten (their King present); or rather they perswaded themselves that there was no man so void of honour and compassion, as to abandon their natural Lord, being and Infant, and no way (but by the hands of his seruants) able to defend himselfe from destruction. The like is reported by *Aminius*, of *Clotarius* the sonne of *Fredegunda*.

Alcetas succeeded *Euphorus*, and ruled nine and twentie yeeres.

Amynas the first succeeded *Alcetas*, and reigned fiftie yeeres; Hee liued at such times as *Darius Hyllaspes*, after his vnprosperous returne out of *Seythia*, sent *Artabazus* with an Armie into *Europe*, who in *Xerxes* name required *Amynas* to acknowledge him for his Supreme Lord, by yeelding vnto him Earth and Water. But his Embassadors, as you haue heard before, were, for their insolent behaviour towards the *Macedonian* Ladies, slaine by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the sonne of *Amynas*, and his Successour.

Alexander, furnished the rich, the sonne of *Amynas*, gouerned *Macedon* three and fiftie yeeres. He did not only appeale the wrath of *Alexander*, for the slaughter of the *Persian* Embassadors, by giuing *Ozæa* his Sister, to *Bubares* of the bloud of *Persia*, but by that match he grew so great in *Xerxes* grace, as he obtained all that Region betwene the Mountaines of *Olympus* and *Hemus*, to be vnto the Kingdome of *Macedon*. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the *Greekes*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Asia*, and *Artabazus* made Generall of the *Persian* Armie, *Alexander* acquainted the *Greekes* with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three sonnes, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*.

Perdiccas the second, the sonne of *Alexander*, liued in the time of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, and reigned in all eight and twentie yeeres. The Warres which hee made were not much remarkable: the Storie of them is found here and there by peices, in *Thucydides*, his first fixe bookes. Hee left behind him two sonnes, *Perdiccas*, who was very young, and *Archelaus* who was base borne.

Perdiccas the third, being deliuered to the custodie and care of *Archelaus*, was at seven yeeres of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false Guardian: who excusing this fact to *Cleopatra* the Mother of the young King, said, That the child in following a Goose hastily, fell thereinto by misaduenture. But *Archelaus* staid not here: for hauing thus dispatched his brother, hee slew both his Vncle *Alcetas* the sonne of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the sonne of this *Alcetas*, his Cousin Germaine, and enioyed the Kingdome of *Macedon* himselfe foure and twentie yeeres.

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* make mention, though hee made himselfe King by wicked murder, yet he performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, That he sought by all meanes to draw *Socrates* vnto him, and that he greatly loued and honoured *Eurypides* the Tragedian. He had two sonnes, *Archelaus* and *Orestes*.

Archelaus the second succeeded his Father, and hauing reigned seven yeeres, hee was slaine in hunting, either by chance or of purpose, by *Crataus*.

Orestes his younger sonne was committed to the education of *Euphorus*, of the roial bloud of *Macedon*; and had the same measure which *Archelaus* had measured to his Pupill; for *Euphorus* murdered him and vsurped the Kingdom, which hee sold some fixe yeeres: the same who denied passage to *Agesilaus* King of *Sparta*, who desired after his returne from the *Asian* expedition, to passe by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

This vsurper left three sonnes, *Panfamus*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Panfamus* succeeded his father *Euphorus*, and hauing reigned one yeere, hee was driuen out by *Alexander* the sonne of *Philip*, the sonne of the first *Perdiccas*, the sonne of *Alexander* the Rich; which *Philip* was then preferred, when *Archelaus* the Bastard slew his brother *Perdiccas*, his Vncle *Alcetas*; and his sonne *Alexander*. This *Amynas* reigned

Euphorus, *Iustine*, *Aminius*, *Theophrastus*, *Antiochens*, *l. 3. c. 82.*

Her. Enst. l. 1. c. 2.

Her. l. 8. c. 10. l. 10. c. 10.

Plat. in Gorg. l. 1. c. 5.

Diod. Polyn. l. 1. in Demet.

reigned (though very vnquietly) foure and twentie yeeres; for he was not only infected by *Pausanias*, assisted by the *Thracians*, and by his brother *Argæus*; incouraged by the *Illyrians*; and by the said *Argæus*, for two yeeres dispossest of *Macedon*: but on the other side, the *Olynthians*, his Neighbours neere the *Ægean* Sea, made themselves for a while Masters of *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of *Macedon*.

Amyntas the second had by his Wife *Eurydice*, the *Illyrian*, three Sonnes; *Alexander* the second, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the second, Father of *Alexander* the Great; and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*: He had also by his second Wife *Gyges*, three Sonnes; *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward slaine by their brother *Philip*: He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolomie*, surnamed *Alorites*, of the Citie *Aloris*, wherein he was borne.

Alexander the second reigned not much about one yeere, in which time hee was invaded by *Pausanias*, the sonne of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, while he was at that time about *Amphipolis*. Hee was also contrained (for the payment of a great summe of money) to leaue his youngest brother *Philip* in Hostage with the *Illyrians*, who had subiected his Father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander*, being invited by the *Aleuads* against *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Phæris* in *Thessalie*, hauing redeemed his brother *Philip* to draw the *Thebans* to his assistance, entred into confederacie with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the same Countrey, with whom he also left *Philip* with diuers other principall persons for the gage of his promises to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his Mother falling in loue with her Sonne-in-law, who had married her Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practized the death of *Alexander* her sonne, with a purpose to conferre the Kingdome on her Paramour, which *Ptolomie Alorites* did put in execution: by means whereof hee held *Macedon* for three yeeres, but was soone after slaine by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. *Diodorus* hath it otherwisc of *Philip* being made pledge; and sayeth, That *Amyntas* his Father deliuered him for hostage to the *Illyrians*, by whom he was conuicd to *Thebes*, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his Father was yett liuing) was first ingaged to the *Thebans*, and deliuered for hostage a second time by *Alexander* his brother.

Perdiccas the third, after he had slaine *Alorites* his base-brother, gouerned *Macedon* five yeeres, and was then slaine in a battaile against the *Illyrians*, according to *Diodorus*; but *Iustine* affirmeth, that he perished by the practice of *Eurydice* his Mother, as *Alexander* did.

§. II.

The beginning of *PHILIP*s raigne; and how he deliuered *Macedon* from the troubles wherein hee found it entangled.

PHILIP the second, the youngest sonne of *Amyntas* by *Eurydice*, hauing beene instructed in all knowledge requisite vnto the gouernment of a Kingdome, in that excellent education which hee had vnder *Epaminondas*, making an escape from *Thebes*, returned into *Macedon*, in the first yeere of the hundred and fifti Olympiad, which was after the building of *Rome* three hundred fourescore and thirteene yeeres: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdome was inuironed, hee tooke on him, not as King (for *Perdiccas* left a sonne, though but an infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of Warre. Yet his fruitfull ambition soone ouergrew his modestie, and hee was easily periuaded by the people to accept both the Title of King, and withall the absolute Rule of the Kingdome. And to say the truth, The necessitie of the State of *Macedon* at that time required a King both prudent and active. For, besides the incursions of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, the King of *Thrace* did set vp in opposition *Pausanias*, the *Athenians*, *Argæus*, sonnes

sonnes of the late vsurper *Æropus*: each of these labouring to place in *Macedon* a King of their owne Election. These heauie burdens when *Philip* could not well beare, he bought off the weightiest by money, and by faire promises vnloosed himselfe of so many of the rest, as he ranne vnder the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with foue thousand *Macedonians*, beside these that were wounded and taken prisoners; and that the *Pannonians* were destroying all before them in *Macedon*, and that the *Athenians* with a fleet by sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land vnder *Marcius*, did beat vpon him on all sides and quarters of his Countrey: Yet after he had practised the men of warre of *Pannonia*, and corrupted them with gitts; and had also bought the King of *Thrace* from *Pausanias*, he forthwith made head against the *Athenians* his stiffest enemies; and, for the first, he preuented their recouerie of *Amphipolis*, a Citie on the frontier of *Macedon*: and did then pursue *Argæus* the sonne of *Æropus*, set against him by the *Athenians*, and followed him lo hard at the heeles, in his retreat from *Æges*, that he forced him to abide the battaile: which *Argæus* lost, hauing the greatest part of his Armie slaine in the place. Those of the *Athenians*, and others which remained vnbroken, tooke the aduantage of a strong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yett auoiding thereby the present tunc of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquishers life and libertie to returne into *Attica*. Whereupon a peace was concluded betwene him and the *Athenians* for that present, and for this clementie hee was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Greekes*.

§. III.

The good successe which *PHILIP* had in many enterprises.

NOW had *Philip* leisure to looke Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Peonians*, his irreconcilable enemies and borderers: both which hee inuaded with so prosperous successe, as hee slew *Bardilis*, King of the *Illyrians*, with seuen thousand of his Nation, and thereby recouered all those places which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*: and withall, vpon the death of the King of *Pannonia*, hee pierst that Countrey, and after a maine victorie obtained, hee enforst them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, than (without staying to take longer breath) hee halted speedily towards *Larissa*, vpon the Riuer *Peneus* in *Thessalie*, of which Towne hee soone made himselfe master; and thereby he got good footing in that Countrey, whereof hee made vse in time following. Now although hee resolved either to subdue the *Thessalians*, or to make them his owne against all others, becaue the horse-men of that Countrey were the best, and most feared in that part of *Europe*, yett he thought it most for his safetie to close vp the entrances out of *Thrace*, least while hee inuaded *Thessalie* and *Greece* towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either withdraw him, or ouer-runne *Macedon* as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, seated on the famous Riuer of *Strimon*, which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*, and wonne it. He also recouered *Pydna*; and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the Citie of *Crenides* (sometime *Darus*) and called it after his owne name *Philippi*: to the people whereof *St. Paul* afterward directed one of his *Epistles*. This place, wherein *Philippi* stood, is very rich in Mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the aduancement of *Philipp*s affaires, he drew yeerely a thousand talents, which make fixe hundred thousand *French* Crownes.

And that hee might with the more ease disburden the *Thracian* shores of the *Athenian* Garrisons, to which hee had giuen a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, hee entred into league with his Fathers malicious enemies the *Olynthians*, whom the better to fasten vnto him, he gaue them the Citie of *Pydna* with the Territory, meaning

ning nothing lesse than that they should enjoy it, or their owne Estate, many yeeres.

Now that he might by degrees winne ground vpon the *Greeks*, he tooke the faire occasion to deliuer the Citie of *Pheres* in *Thessalie*, from the tyrannie *Lycophron* and *Tiphonius*. Who, after they had conspired with *Thebe* the wife of *Alexander*, who vsurped vpon the libertie of that State, they themselves (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* restored to her former libertie. Which act of *Philip* did for euer after fasten the *Thessalians* vnto him, and, to his exceeding great aduantage, bind them to his seruice. 10

§. IIII.

Of the Phocian Warre which first drew PHILIP into Greece.

ABout this time, to wit, in the second yeere of the hundred and sixth *Olympiad*, eight yeeres after the battaile of *Marinaus*, and about the eighth yeere of *Ariaxerxes Ochus*, beganne that Warre, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occasions concurre towards the execution of eternall providence, and of euerie great alteration in the World there is some preceeding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this reuengefull hatred by the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, conceived against the *Phocians*, not only teach *Philip* how he might with halfe a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the *Greekes* themselves beating downe their owne defences, to giue him an easie passage, and beating themselves, to giue him victorie without perill, left nothing vnperformed towards their owne slauerie, sauing the title and imposition. Of this Warre the *Thebans* (made ouer-proude by their victorie at *Leutres*) were the inflamers. For at the Councill of the *Amphyctiones*, or of the general Estates of *Greece*; in which, at that time, they swaied most, they caused both the *Lacedaemonians* and *Phocians* to be condemned in greater summes of money than they could well beare; the one for surprisling the Cattle of *Cadmea* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing vp a peece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphos*. The *Phocians* being resolved not to obey this Edict, were secretly set on and encouraged by the *Lacedaemonians*; and for refusal were exposed as *Sacrilegors*, and accused to all their Neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawfull to invade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The *Phocians* perswaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Captaine of their owne, call the same dice of hazard that *Caesar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their owne Nation. And the better to beare out an vngracious quarrell, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolved to sacke the Temple it selfe. For seeing that for the ploughing of a peece of *Apollon's* ground, they had so much offended their neighbour-God, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worse could not befall them than alreadie was intended; they resolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to perill for all, or to preuaile against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they tooke out of the Temple in the beginning of the Warre, was tenne thousand talents, which in those daies serued them to wage a great many men, and such was their successe in the beginning of the warre, as they wonne three great battailes against the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* call himselfe head-long over the Rockes.

In the meane while the Cities of *Chersonesus*, both to defend themselves against their bad-Neighbour *Philip*, who encroched vpon them, and to draw others into their quarrell, rendred themselves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the siege of *Methone* lost one of his eyes. It is said, That hee that

that shot him, did purposely direct his arrow towards him, and that it was written on the shaft thereof: *After PHILIPPO*; *After PHILIPPO*; for so hee was called that gaue him the wound. This Citie he ciued with the siege.

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was builed on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Thessalians* engaged in the holy warre, entred *Thessalie* with new forces, being alited by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocian* Armie, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hoped to entertaine the *Thessalians* at home, as they should not find leisure to invade them. Whereupon was *Philip* the second time called into *Thessalie*, but both the *Thessalians*, and *Maccedonians*, (*Philip* being present) were vtterly ouerthrowne by *Onomarchus*; and great numbers of both Nations lost. From *Thessalie*, *Onomarchus* drew speedily towards *Actis*, and with the same victorious Armie brake the forces of the *Tartars*, and tooke from them their Citie of *Coronea*. But *Philip* impatient of his late misadventure, after he had reinforced his Armie, returned with all speed into *Thessalie*, there to find againe the honour which he lately lost: and was the second time incountred by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twentie thousand foot, and five hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Armie ouerturned, six thousand slaine, and three thousand taken: of which number himselfe being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Those that fled, were in part receiued by the *Athenian* Gallies, which sailed alongst the coast, commanded by *Chares*, but the greater number of those that tooke the Sea, were therein deuoured ere they recoured them. *Lycophron* was now againe driuen out of *Thessalie*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

§. V.

Of the Olynthian Warre. The ambitious practices of PHILIP.

From hence *Philip* resolved to invade *Phocia* it selfe, but the *Athenians* did not fauour his entrance into those parts, and therefore with the helpe of the *Lacedaemonians* they retrencht his passage at the Straits of *Thermopylae*. Whereupon hee returned into *Maccedon*, and after the taking of *Alciphorne*, *Tarone*, and other Townes, hee quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very strong, and had euermore both braued and beaten the *Maccedonians*. It is said, that *Philip* hauing put to death *Archelaus* his halfe brother (for *Archelaus* had three sonnes by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other sonnes by *Gygae*; but *Philip's* elder brothers by the same Mother being dead, he determined to rid himselfe also of the rest) the two younger held themselves within *Olynthus*; and that the receiving of them by the *Olynthians* was the cause of the warre, *Isidore* affirmeth. But iust quarrels are ballanced by iust Princes, for to this King all things were lawfull that might any way serue his turne; all his affections, and passions, how diuers foueuer in other men, were in his ambition swallowed vp, and therein conuerted. For hee neither forbore the murder of his owne brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelity, hee esteemed no place strong where his Aile loaden with gold might enter, Nor any Citie or State vnconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could looke the sense of other mens sorrow and subjection. And because hee thought it vaine to practise the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had inclosed all the power they had within their owne walls, hee entred their Territorie, and by the aduantage of a well compounded and trained Armie, he gaue them two ouerthrowes ere hee fate downe before the Citie it selfe: which done, he bought *Euthierates* and *Lafthetes* from their people, and from the seruice of their Countre and Common weale, by whole treason hee entred the Towne, slew his brothers therein, sackt it, and sold the Inhabitants for slaves by the

the drum. By the spoile of this place he greatly enriched himself, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For so was hee aduised by the Oracle in the beginning of his vndertaking, *That hee should make his affualls with silver speares: Whereupon Horace well and truly said.*

Hor. CARM.
Od. 16.

— Diffidit Urbium
Portas vir Macedo, Et submisit annulos,
Reges numeribus.

By gifts the Macedon claue Gates a-funder,
And Kings enuying his estate brought vnder.

And it is true that he wonne more by corruption and fraude, than he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of Greece his secret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by Philip the second of Spaine:) So when in the contention betwene the Competitors for the Kingdome of Thracia, he was chosen the Arbitrator, he came not to the Councell accompanied with Pietie and Iustice, but with a powerful Armie and hauing beaten and slaine both Kings, gaue sentence for himselfe, and made the Kingdome his owne.

§. VI.

How PHILIP ended the Phocian Warre.

HE warre still continuing betwene the Phocians, and the Associates of the holy warre, the *Boeotians*, finding themselves vnable to subdill without some present aide, sent vnto Philip for succour, who willingly yielded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men, as were neither sufficient to master their enemies, nor to assure themselves, but yet to inable them to continue the warre, and to waste the strength of Greece. They also sent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for supply of treasure, who lent them thirtie talents, which makes a hundred & fourescore thousand Crownes: but when with these supplies they had still the worit in all their attempts against the Phocians, who held from them three of their strongest Cities within *Boeotia* itselfe, They then be sought Philip of Macedon that he would assist them in person, to whom they would give an entrance into their Territory, and in all things obey his Commandements in that Warre.

Now had Philip what he longed for, for he knew himselfe in state to giue the law to both, and so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with a speedie pace towards *Boeotia*, where being arriued, *Phalaecus* who commanded the Phocian Armie, fearing to flock with this victorious King, made his owne peace, and withdrew himselfe with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into *Peloponnesus*, leaving the Phocians to the merie of the Conquerour, and for conclusion he had the glorie of that warre called *Sacred*, which the *Gracians* with so many mutuall slaughters had continued for ten yeeres, and, besides the glorie, hee posselt himselfe of *Orchomene*, *Coronea* and *Corisa*, in the Countrie of the *Boeotians*, who invited him to bee victorious ouer themselves. Hee brought the Phocians into seruitude, and wasted their Cities, and gaue them but their Villages to inhabite, referring to himselfe the yeerly tribute of threescore talents, which make fixe and thirtie thousand French Crownes. He also hereby (besides the fame of pittie for seruice of the Gods) obtained the same double voice in the Councell of the *Amphyctiones*, which the Phocians had, with the superintendencie of the *Pythian* games, forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the Phocian sacriledge.

§. VII.

§. VII.

How PHILIP with ill successe attempted vpon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.

PHILIP, after his triumphant returne into Macedon, by the Lieutenant of his Armie *Parmenio*, slaughtered many thousands of the *Illyrians*, and *Dardaniens*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their reuenues. But his next enterprise against the *Perinthians* failed his furie. *Perinthus* was a Citie of *Thrace*, seated vpon *Propontis*, in the mid-way betwene *Sestos* and *Byzantium*, a place of great strength, and a people resolu'd to defend their libertie against Philip, where the *Athenians* encouraged and assisted them. Philip late downe before it with a puissant Armie, made many faire breaches, gaue many furious assaults, built many ouer-topping and commanding Towers about it. But hee was repeld with equal violence. For whereas Philip thought by his continuall assaults to wearie them, and waste both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the *Persians* with men and money, and succoured from *Byzantium* which stood vpon the same Sea-coast, but they were relieved from *Athen*, *Chio*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatsoeuer was wanting to their necessitie. But because those of *Byzantium*, by reason of their neighbour-hood, and the easie passage by water, gaue them often and readie helpe; Philip remoued with the one halfe of his Armie and besieg'd it, leaving fiftene thousand foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could; but to be short, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that vnder-take diuers enterprises at onetime) and returned into Macedon with no lesse dishonour than losse: whereupon he made an Ouer-ture of peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly desired it, to which though *Phocion* perswaded them in all he could, and that by the occasion offered they might greatly aduantage their conditions, Yet *Demosthenes* with his eloquence preuailed in the refusal. In the meane while, Philip having digested his late affront, and supplied his experience, by the taking of an hundred and threescore and ten Marchants ships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his sonne *Alexander*, led them into *Scythia*; but hee was also vn-prosperous in this enterprise: For the *Triballi*, a people of *Mesia* set on him in his returne, wounded him, and tooke from him the greatest part of the spoiles, which he had gathered.

§. VIII.

How PHILIP overthrowing the Greekes in the battaile of Chaeronea, was chosen Captaine-General of Greece. The death of PHILIP.

AMONG these Northren Nations (part of which hee suppress, and part quietly) hee spent some eight yeres; and in the ninth yeere, after the end of the holy warre, he was to his great aduantage invited againe by the *Gracians* to their assistance. For the Citizens of *Amphissa* hauing disobeyed the decree of the *Amphyctiones*, in which Philip had a double voice, and who by reason that the *Thebans* and *Loerians* gaue countenance and aide to the *Amphissians*, the rest were not of themselves able to constrain them, they besought Philip to come in person to their assistance. Now you must thinke that Philip was not long in resolu'ing vpon this enterprise; hee needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keepe backe; nor other disuasion than a mairing power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Armie forthwith to march; the same being compounded of thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand horse; and with as much expedition

expedition as could be made, he entred *Phocis*, wanne *Plataea*, and brought into subjection all that Region.

The rest, and especially the *Athenians*, although they had good cause to feare that a great part of this forme would fall on themselves, yet were they dissuaded by *Demophilus* from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choise (having drawne the *Thebans* to joyne with them) to leaue the injoying of their estates and their freedome to the chance of one battaile, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Oratours eloquence cost them deare. It is true that he could farre more easily minde them of the vertue of their Ancestors, then make them to be such as they were. Hee might reparate vnto them (with wordes mouing passion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but hee could not transforme the *Macedonians* into *Perians*, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Aristides*, a *Themistocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great vertues they had payed with the greatest ingratitude that euer Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the strength of a contrarie faction hee was at this time in disgrace, and not employed: in so much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confederates encountered, although some thousand of the *Athenians* abid the killing, and the like number well-nere of the *Thebans* died with them; yet the want of wortheie men on that side to hold vp the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choise Captains of the *Macedonians*, encouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gaue to *Philip* so shining a victorie that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in despite of all the Nations interjacent) into *Persia*, *India*, and *Egypt*: So it cut to the ground, and gaue end and date to all the *Grecian* glorie: Yea their libertie (saith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion wonne with so many difficulties, continued for so many Ages, and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and for euer lost.

Now this aduised King (never passionate to his disadvantage) to the end hee might obtaine the Soueraignetie ouer all *Greece*, and be acknowledged for their Captaine-Generall against the *Persians*, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let goe those *Athenians* that were taken at this battaile of *Cheronea*, as he also forbore to attempt any thing against their Citie: but in *Thebes* (which lately by the vertue of *Epaninondas* triumphed ouer the rest) hee lodged a Garrison of *Macedonians*. And being soone after (according vnto the long desire which he had nourished of this Soueraignetie) by the generall States at *Corinth*, stiled the first Commander of all the *Grecians*, and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Armie of great strength, and vnder the commandement of *Attalus* and *Parmenie*, transported the same ouer the *Hellspont* into *Asia*, to begin the Warre. Of his enterprise against *Persia* hee fought the successe from the Oracle at *Delphos*, from whence hee received such another convertible riddle as *Craesus* did when he attempted *Cyru*, and was in like sort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discern and withstand the flatteries of our owne appetites, so did *Philip*s ambitious desire to invade *Persia* abuse his judgement, so farre, that the death, wherewith himselfe was threatened, hee vnderstood to be deliuered of his enemy, whom he intended presently to invade. Before his purposed departure into *Asia*, hee prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra* with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, to which feast and pastimes thereat appointed, hee invited all his Friends, and Allies, with the principall persons of the *Grecian* Cities, from whom hee received much honour and many rich presents; but this was indeede the feast of his Funerall. For hauing refused to doe iustice to one *Pausanias* a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly fauoured by *Philip*) had first made drunke, and then left to be carnally abused by diuers base persons, This *Pausanias* grew into so great detestation of the Kings partialitie in so foule a fact, as when *Philip* was passing towards the *Theater*, he drew a sword from vnder his long garment and wounded him to death, when hee had liued fixe and fortie yeeres, and raigned fixe and twentie.

Iustine

Iustine reports it, that *Olympias* encouraged *Pausanias* to murder the King her husband, which after his death shee boldly auowed, by the honour shee did vnto *Pausanias* in crowning his dead bodie, in consecrating his sword vnto *Apollo*, by building for him a Monument, and other like Graces.

¶ IX.

What good foundations of *ALEXANDERS* greatness were laid by Him.
Of his laudable qualities, and Issues.

Now although he were then taken from the World, when he had mastered all opposition on that side the Sea, and had scene the fruits of his hopes and labours, changing colour towards ripenesse and perfection, yet he was herein happy that hee liued to see his sonne *Alexander* at mans estate, and had him selfe been an eye-witnesse of his resolution, and singular valour in this last battaile.

The foundation of whose future greatness hee had laid so soundly for him, with so plaine a pattern of the buildings which himselfe meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was farre more easie to *Alexander*, though more glorious than the beginnings were vnto *Philip*, though less famous. For besides the recouerie of *Macedon* it selfe, in competition betweene him and the sonnes of *Aegropus*, the one assisted by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Athenians*, and besides the regaining of many places possit by the *Ilyrians*, the crushing of all those Northern Kings his Neighbours, the ouerthrow of *Olynthus*, a State that despised the power of his Father, the many Maritime Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedome, and the subjection of that famous Nation of *Greece*, which for so many Ages had defended it selfe against the greatest Kings of the World, and wonne vpon them; Hee left vnto his sonne, and had bred vp for him, so many choise Commanders, as the most of them, both for their valour and judgement in the warre, were no lesse worthy of Crownes, than himselfe was that wore a Crowne: For it was said of *Parmenie* (whom *Alexander*, vngatefull to so great vertue, impiously murdered) That *Parmenie* had performed many things challenging eternal fame, without the King, but the King, without *Parmenie* neuer did any thing wortheie of renowne; as for the rest of his Captaines, though content to obey the Sonne of such a Father, yet did they not after *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themselves.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than Nature, and his excellent Education had enriched him with vertues. For besides that he was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of his Affections, hee had this fauour of *Pietie*, that hee rather laboured to satisfie those that were grieved, than to suppress them. Whereof (among many other) wee finde a good example in his dealing with *Arcadian*, and *Nicanor*; whom, when for their euill speech of *Philip*, his familiars perswaded him to put to death; Hee answered them, That first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them that gaue him ill language, or in himselfe: Secondly, that it was in euery mans owne power to bee well spoken off; and this was shortly proued, for after *Philip* had relieved their necessities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon hee told those that had perswaded him to vse violence, that he was a better Philition for euill speech than they were.

His Epistles to *Alexander* his sonne are remembered by *Cicero*, and *Gellius*; and by *Dion*: and *Chrysostome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyenus* and *Frontinus*, his wife sayings by *Plutarch*. And albeit hee held *Macedon* as in his owne right, all the time of his raigne, yet was hee not the true and next Heire thereof for *Amintes* the sonne of his Brother *Perdiccas* (of whom hee had the protection

*Cic. Off. 3.
Gell. 19. c. 3.
Dion. de Reg.*

protection during his infancy) had the right. This *Amyntas* likewise married to his Daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a Daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philip* base sonne *Aridaus*, her Vncle by the mothers-side: both which *Olympias*, *Philip* first Wife, and Mother to *Alexander the Great*, put to death; *Aridaus* by extreme tortments: *Eurydice* likewise strangled.

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the Daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Molossians*, (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander the Great*, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Vncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her Brother *Alexander* death slaine at *Sardis*, by the commandment of *Antigonus*.

By *Andraste*, an *Illyrian*, his second wife, hee had *Cyna*, married as is shewed before.

By *Nicasipolis*, the Sister of *Teson*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, hee had *Thessalonica*, whom *Cassander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married, but shee was afterward by her Father-in-law *Antipater* put to death.

By *Cleopatra*, the Niece of *Attalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*, him, *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander the Great*, caused to be roasted to death in a copper Pan. Others lay this murder on *Alexander* himselfe. By the same *Cleopatra* hee had likewise a Daughter, called *Eurydice*, whom *Olympias* also murdered at the Mothers brest.

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no issue.

Hee had also two Concubines, *Arfince*, whom, after hee had gotten with child, hee married to an obscure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptolomie*, King of *Aegypt*, called the sonne of *Lagus*, but esteemed the sonne of *Philip*: by *Philina*, his second Concubine, a publicke Dancer, he had *Aridaus*, of whom wee shall haue much occasion to speake hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Of ALEXANDER the Great.

§. I.

A briefe rehearsal of ALEXANDERS doings, before hee invaded Asia.



ALEXANDER, afterward called the Great, succeeded vnto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no lesse valiant by Nature, than by Education, well instructed, and enriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. Hee began his raigne ouer the *Macedonians* foure hundred and seuentene yeeres after *Rome* built, and after his owne birth twentie yeeres. The strange dreames of *Philip* his Father, and that one of the gods, in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as foolish tales; but that the Temple of *Diana* (a worke the most magnificent of the World) was burnt vpon the day of his birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three seuerall victories, obtayned by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkable,

remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous; and foreshewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Vpon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppressed, beganne to consult about the recouerie of their former libertie, and to adventure it by force of Armes. *Alexanders* yong-yeeres gaue them hope of preuailling, and his suspected feuerity increased courage in those, who could better resolute to die, than to liue slavishly. But *Alexander* gaue no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily haue endangered the health of his estate. For after reuenge taken vpon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew vpon his Tomb; and the celebration of his Funerall, hee first fastened vnto him his owne Nation, by freeing them from all exactions, and bodily slauerie, other than their seruice in his warres, and vfed such Kingly austeritie towards those that contemned his yong yeeres, and such clemencie to the rest that perswaded themselves of the crueltie of his disposition, as all affections being pacified at home, He made a present journey into *Peloponnesus*, and so well excelled his spirits among them, as by the Counsell of the States of *Greece*, he was according to the great desire of his heart, elected Capitaine-Generall against the *Perians*, vpon which war *Philip* his Father had not only resolved, (who had obtained the same title of Generall Commander) but had transported vnder the leading of *Parmenis*, and *Attalus*, a part of his Arme, to recouer some places on Asia-side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the *Perians* occupied all *Alexanders* affections; those faire marks of riches, Honour, and large Dominion, hee now flou at both sleeping and waking: all other thoughts and imaginings were either grieuous or hateful. But a contrary winde ariseth; for hee receiue th aduersitiment that the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and *Lacedemonians*, had vnted themselves against him, and, by assistance from the *Perians*, hoped for the recouerie of their former freedome. Hereto they were perswaded by *Demosthenes*, himselfe being thereto perswaded by the gold of *Peria*; the deuice he vfed was more subtile than profitable, for hee caused it to be bruted that *Alexander* was slaine in a battaile against the *Triballes*, & brought into the assembly a Companion whom hee had corrupted to affirme, that himselfe was present and wounded in the battaile. There is indeede a certaine Doctrine of Policie (as Policie is now a daies defined by fallhood and knauerie) that deuised rumours and lies, if they serue the turne, but for a day or two, are greatly auailable. It is true that common people are sometime mockt by them, as Souldiers are by false alarums in the Warres; but in all that I haue obserued, I haue found the successe as ridiculous as the inuention. For as those that finde themselves at one time abused by such like brutes, doe at other times neglect their duties, when they are vpon true reports, and in occasions perilous, summoned to assemble; so doe all men in generall condemne the Venters of such trumperie, and for them feare vpon necessarie occasions to entertaine the truth it selfe. This labour vnlooked for, and losse of time, was not only very grieuous to *Alexander*, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and estiminate *Perians*, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Grecians*, of whose assistance he thought himselfe assured, his present vndertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot indure to liue against the winde, shall hardly attaine the Port which hee purpoeth to recouer: and it no lesse becommeth the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewaile them.

Hee therefore made such expedition towards these Reuolters, as that himselfe, with the Arme that followed him, brought them the first news of his preparation. Hereupon all stagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that moued, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Embassadors to pacifie the King, and to be receiued againe into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in resoluving, for the *Perians* perswaded him to pardon the *Grecians*. Wife men are not easily drawne from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King

euor brought to effect any great affaire, who hath intangled himselfe in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certaine end.

And hauing now quieted his borderers towards the South, he resolved to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Tracians*, *Thibaltes*, *Peones*, *Getes*, *Agrians*, and other salvage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not only other of his Predecessours, but euen *Philip* his Father: with all which, after diuers ouerthrowes giuen them, hee made peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good successe, he could not yet find the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more naturall to man than libertie; the *Greekes* had enjoyed it ouer-long, and lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once againe. The *Thebans*, who had in their Citadell a Garrison of a thousand *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* halseth to their succour, and presents himselfe with thirty thousand foot, all old Souldiers, and three thousand horie, before the Citie, and gaue the Inhabitants some daies to resolve, being euen heart-licke with the desire of passing into *Asia*. So vnwilling, indeede, he was to draw blood of the *Gracians*, by whom hee hoped to serue himselfe elsewhere, that hee offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would only deliuer into his hands *Phanix* and *Protyestes*, the fluriers vp of the Rebellion. But they, oppoling the mouncing fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking-in of the Ocean-Sea) in stead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should haue made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be deliuered vnto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then layed in the ballance of Fortune with the Kingdome of *Macedon*, and many other Prouinces, could either haue euened the scale or swaied it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacie. For while the *Thebans* oppose the Armie assailable, they are charged at the back by the *Macedonian* Garrison, their Citie taken and razed to the ground, sixe thousand slaine, and thirty thousand sold for slaves, at the price of foure hundred and fortie talents. This the King did to the terror of the other *Gracian* Cities.

Many Arguments were used by *Cleandrus* one of the prisoners, to perswade *Alexander* to forbear the destruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to believe that they were rather misse-led by giuing hasty credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being perswaded of *Alexanders* death, they rebelled but against his Successour. He also besought the King to remember, that his father *Philip* had his education in that Citie, yea that his Ancestor *Hercules* was borne therein: but all persuasions were fruitlesse; the times wherein offences are committed, doe greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all of the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and spared, and set at libertie *Timoclea*, the sister of *Theagenes*, who died in defence of the libertie of *Greece* against his Father *Philip*. This Noblewoman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him rauished, hee threatened to take her life vnlesse she would confesse her treasure: she led the *Thracian* to a Well, and told him that she had therein cast it: and when the *Thracian* stooped to looke into the Well, she suddainly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and stoned him to death.

Now because the *Athenians* had receiued into their Citie so many of the *Thebans*, as had escaped and fled vnto them for succour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but vpon condition to deliuer into his hands both their Orators which perswaded this second revolt, and their Captaines; yet in the end it being a torment vnto him to retard the enterprise of *Persia*, he was content that the Orators should remaine, and accepted of the banishment of the Captaines, wherein he was exceeding ill aduised, had not his fortune, or rather the prouidence of God, made all the resistance against him vnprofitable: for these good Leaders of the *Gracians* betooke themselves to the seruice of the *Persian*, whom after a few daies he inuadeth.

§. II.

How *ALEXANDER* passing into *Asia*, fought with the *Persians* vpon the River of *Granicus*.



When all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the trust of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the first of the Spring did passe the *Hellepont*, and being readie to dis-imbarke, he threw a Dart towards the *Asian* shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any walke in their owne Territorie, or to burne, or deface those buildings which themselves were presently, and in the future to possesse. He landed his Armie, consisting of two and thirtie thousand foot, and five thousand horie, all old Souldiers, neere vnto *Troy*, where he offered a solemne sacrifice vpon *Achilles* Tombe, his maternall Ancestor.

But before he lett his own coast, he put to death, without any offence giuen him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinsmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly advanced, not sparing such of his owne as he suspected. Hee also tooke with him many of his tributarie Princes, of whose fidelitie he doubted; thinking by vniuersall cruelty to assure all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended vnto him, though agreeing very well with the iustice of Gods; for all that he had planted, who soone after withered, and rooted vp; those, whom he most trusted, were the most traitorous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another mercilesse sword as his owne, and all manner of confusion followed his dead bodie to the graue, and lett him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexanders* landing on *Asia* side was brought to *Darius*, hee so much scorned the Armie of *Macedon*, and had so contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himselfe, as hauing stiled him his seruant on a letter which hee wrote vnto him, reprehending his disloyaltie and audacitie (for *Darius* intitled himselfe King of Kings, and the Kinsman of the gods) hee gaue order withall to his Lieutenants of the lesser *Asia*, that they should take *Alexander* alive, whip him with rods, and then conuay him to his presence: that they should sinke his ship; and send the *Macedons* taken prisoners beyond the Red-Sea, belike into *Ethiopia*, or some other vnhealthfull part of *Affrica*.

In this sort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartlesse, multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already vanquished *Macedonians*; but the ill destinies of men beare them to the ground, by what illrong confidence soeuer armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heape into the field, gaue rather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, then any discouragement at all. For besides that they were men utterly vnacquainted with danger, men who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to preuaile against those of lesse courage than themselves, men that tooke more care how to embroder with gold and siluer their vpper garments, as if they attended the inuasion but of the Sunne-beames, than they did to arme themselves with yron and Steele against the sharpe pikes, swords and darts of the hardie *Macedonians*; say, besides all these, euen the opinion they had of their owne numbers, of which euery one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turne to fight, filled euery of them with the care of their owne safetie, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their owne breath, and that of their horses, in running away. The *Macedonians* as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themselves with the gold and Jewels of *Persia*, both which they needed, so the *Persians*, who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power to constrain them in assembling themselves for his seruice; but their owne feares and cowardice, which in time of danger had most power ouer them, they only then obeyed, when their rebellion against so seruile a passion did instill and

violently require it. For saith VAGETIVS: *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles praelium cupit, ita fortissimus indolens; nam sciendum est in pugna vsum amplius prodesse quibus vires;* As the well praetised Souldier desires to come to battaile, so the raw one fears it: for we must understand, that in fight it more auiles to haue bene accustomed vnto the like, than only to haue rude strength. What manner of men the *Perfians* were, *Alexander* discovered in the first encounter, before which time it is said, by those that writ his storie, That it was hard to iudge, whether his daring to vnder take the Conquest of an Empire so well peopled, with a handfull of men, or the successe he had, were more to be wondered at. For at the River of *Granick*, which seuereth the Territorie of *Troy* from *Prepontis*, the *Perfians* sought to stop his passage, taking the higher ground and banke of the river to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to clime vp vnto, and scale from the Level of the water; Great resistance (saith *Curtius*) was made by the *Perfians*, yet in the end *Alexander* preuailed. But it seemes to mee, that the victorie then gotten was exceeding easie, and that the twentie thousand *Perfian* foot-men, said to be slaine, were rather kil'd in the back, in running away, than hurt in the bosomes by resisting. For had those twentie thousand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horse-men, or after *Plutarch*, two thousand and fise hundred horse-men, died with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not haue bought their liues at so small a rate, as with the losse of foure and thirtie of all sorts of his owne. And if it were also true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountered two of the *Perfian* Commanders, *Spiridates* and *Rhaphaces*, and that the *Perfian* horse-men fought with great furie, though in the end scattered; and lastly, how those *Gracians* in *Darius* his pay, holding themselves in one bodie vpon a piece of ground of aduantage, did (after mercy was refused them) fight it out to the last; how doth it then resemble truth, that such resistance hauing bene made, yet of *Alexanders* Armie there fell but twelue Foote-men, and two and twentie Horse-men?

§. III.

A digression concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the battaile of *Granick*.

THe winning of this passage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought such terror vpon all those of the lesser *Asia*, as hee obtained all the Kingdomes thereof without a blow, some one or two Townes excepted. For in all inuasions, where the Nations inuaded haue once bene beaten vpon a great aduantage of the place, as in defence of Rivers, Streights, and Mountaines, they will soone haue perswaded themselves, that such an enemy vpon equal termes and euen ground, can hardly be resisted. It was therefore *Machiuels* counsell, that he which resolue to defend a passage, should with his ablest force oppose the Assailant. And to say truth, few Regions of any great circuit are so well fenced, that Armies of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, can be debarrd all entrance, by the natural difficultie of the waies. One passage or other is commonly left vnguarded: if all be defended, then must the forces of the Countrie be distracted, and yet lightly, some one place will be found that is defended very weakly. How often haue the *Alpes* giuen way to Armies, breaking into *Italie*? Yea, where shall we finde that euer they kept out an inuadour? Yet are they such, as (to speake briefly) afflikt with all difficulties those that trauaile ouer them; but they giue no securitie to those that lie behind them: for they are of too large extent. The Townes of *Lumbarde* perswaded themselves that they might enioy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the *Switzers* had vnder taken to hinder *Francis* the French King from descending into the Duchie of *Milan*: but whilst these Patrons of *Milan*, whom their owne dwelling in those

Mountaines

Mountaines had made littell of all other for such a crueltie, were busied in custodie of the *Alpes*; *Francis* appeared in *Lumbarde*, to so much the greater terror of the Inhabitants, by how much the lesse they had expected his arriuall. What shall we say of those Mountaines, which locke vp whole Regions in such sort, as they leaue but one gate open? The Straights, or (as they were called) the gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and those of *Thermopyle*, haue seldome bene attempted, perhaps becau'e they were thought impregnable; but how seldome (if euer) haue they bene attempted in vaine? *Xerxes* and long after him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of *Thermopyle*; *Cyrus* the younger, and after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide open; how strongly soeuer they had bene locked & barred, yet were those countries open enough to a fleet that should enter on the backe-side. The defence of Rivers how hard a thing it is, we finde examples in all histories that beare good witness. The deepest haue many Fords; the swiftest and broadest may be passed by Boates, in case it be found a matter of difficultie to make a bridge. He that hath might enow to defend all the length of his owne banke, hath also enow to beat his enemy; and may therefore doe better to let him come ouer, to his losse, than by struing in vaine to hinder the passage, as a matter tending to his owne disadvantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, hauing their meanes of safeguare taken from them, by the skill or valour of such as are too good for them. Certainly, if a River were sufficient defence against an Armie, the Isle of *Mona*, now called *Anglesey*, which is iudged from North-Wales by an arme of the Sea; had bene safe enough against the *Romans*, inuading it vnder conduct of *Julius Agricola*. But he wanting, and nor meaning to spend the time in making vessels to transport his forces, did assaye the fords. Whereby hee so amazed the enemies attending for ships and such like prouision by Sea, that surely beleecuing nothing could bee hard or inuincible to men, which came so minded to Warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yielded the Island. Yet the *Brittaines* were men stout enough; the *Perfians* very dastards.

It was therefore wisely done of *Alexander*, to passe the River of *Granick* in face of the enemy; not marching higher to seeke an easier way, nor labouring to conuey his men ouer it by some later meanes. For hauing beaten them vpon their own ground, he did thereby cut off no lesse of their reputation, than of their strength, leauing no hope of succour to the partakers and followers of such vnable Protectors.

Soone after this victorie he recovered *Sardis*, *Ephesus*, the Cities of the *Trallians* and *Magnefia*, which were rendred vnto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrie, he receiued with great grace, suffering them to be gouerned by their owne lawes. For he obserued it well; *Nouum Imperium inbeantibus vtilis clementia fama*; It is commodious vnto such, as lay the foundations of a new Soueraignty, to haue the same of being mercifull. He then by *Parmentio* wanne *Miletus*, and by force mastered *Halicarnassus*, which becau'e it resisted obstinately he razed to the ground. From whence he entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queene, who had bene cast out of all that shee held (except the Citie of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Licutenants presented her selfe vnto him, and adopted him her sonne and successor; which *Alexander* accepted in so gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdom to her disposing. Hee then entred into *Lycia*, and *Pamphilia*, and obtained at the Sea-coasts, and subiecting vnto him *Pisidia*, he directed himselfe towards *Darius* (who was said to be aduanced towards him with a marvellous Armie) by the way of *Phrygia*: For all the Prouince of *Asia* the lesse, bordering vpon the Sea, his first victorie layed vnder his feet.

While he gaue order for the gouernment and settling of *Lycia*, and *Pamphilia*, the sent *Cleander* to raise some new Companies in *Peloponnesus*, and marching towards the North, hee entred *Celene* seated on the River *Alexander*, which was abandoned vnto him, the Castle onely holding out, which also after fortie daies was giuen vp: for so long time he gaue them to attend succour from *Darius*. From *Celene* he past

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on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a City called *Gordium*, the Regall-seate, in former times, of King *Midas*. In this City it was that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when he knew not how to vndoe, he cut it a-sunder with his sword. For there was an ancient prophetic did promise to him that could vntie it, the Lordship of all *Asia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not respecting the manner how, so it were done, assumed to himselfe the fulfilling of the prophesie, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Asia* the lesse towards the East, hee tooke care to cleare the Sea-coast on his backe, and to thrust the *Persians* out of the Islands of *Leibos*, *Scio*, and *Cos*, the charge whereof hee committed vnto two of his Captaines, giuing them such order as he thought to be most conuenient for that seruice; and deliuering vnto them fiftie Talents to defray the charges; and withall out of his first spoile gotten, hee sent threecore talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece* and *Macedon*. From *Ceknas* he removed to *Ancira*, now called *Anguora*, standing on the same Riuer of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there hee mustred his Armie, and then entred *Paphlagonia*, whose people submitted themselves vnto him, and obtained freedom of tribute: where he left *Catus* Governour with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arrived.

Heere he vnderstood of the death of *Mennon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, which bartned him greatly to passe on towards him, for of this only Captaine hee had more respect than of all the multitude by *Darius* assembled, and of all the Commanders he had besides. For so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath vnderaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weales, the erection of Monarchies, the conquest of Kingdomes and Empires, guided handfulls of men against multitudes of equal bodily strength, contriued victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, conuerted the fearfull passions of his owne followers into magnanimitie, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; such spirits haue bene stirred vp in sundry Ages of the world, and in diuers parts thereof, to erect and cast downe againe, to citablisth and to destroy, and to bring all things, Persons and States, to the same certaine ends, which the infinit Spirit of the *Ymmerfall*, piercing, mouing, and governing all things, hath ordained. Certainly the things that this King did were marvellous, and would hardly haue bene vnderaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to haue invaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he would haue contented himselfe with some part thereof, and not haue discovered the Riuer of *Indus*, as this man did. The swift course of victory, wherewith he ranne ouer so large a portion of the World, in so short a space, may iustly be imputed vnto this, that he was neuer encountered by an equall spirit, concurring with equall power against him. Hereby it came to passe that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, then Desert places, and the mere length of tedious iournies could make, were like the *Calasius* of *Rhodes*, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praise-worthy, as for the huge bulke. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon*, discover as braue a spirit as *Alexanders*, and working no lesse exquisitely, though the effects were lesse materiall, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But hee that would finde the exact patterne of a noble Commander, must looke vpon such as *Epaminondas*, that encountering worthy Captaines, and those better followed than themselves, haue by their singular vertue ouer-topped their valiant enemies, and still preuailed ouer those, that would not haue yielded one foot to any other. Such as these are, doe seldom liue to obtaine great Empires. For it is a worke of more labour and longer time, to maister the equall forces of one hardie and well-ordered State, than to tread downe and vnterly subdue a multitude of feeble Nations, compounding the body of a grosse vniuersitie Empire. Wherefore these *Parus Potentes*, men that with little haue done much vpon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choise examples of worth; but great Conquerours, to be rather admired for the substance

substance of their actions, than the exquisite managing: exactnesse and greatnesse concurring to seldom, that I can finde no instance of both in one, save only that braue *Roman* *Cæsar*.

Having thus larre digressed, it is now time that wee returne vnto our *Easterne Conqueror*; who is traouailing hastily towards *Cilicia*, with a desire to recover the Streights thereof before *Darius* should arrive there. But first making a dispatch into *Greece*, hee sent to those Cities, in which hee reposed most trust, some of the *Persian* Targets which hee had recovered in his first battaile; vpon which, by certaine inscriptions, hee made them partakers of his victorie. Herein he well aduised himselfe; for hee that doth not as well impart of the honour which hee gaineth in the Warres, as hee doth of the spoiles, shall neuer be long followed by those of the better fort. For men which are either well borne or well bred, and haue more of wealth than of reputation, doe as often satisfie themselves with the purchase of glorie; as the weak in fortune, and strong in courage, doe with the gaine of gold and siluer.

The Governour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexander* comming on, left some Companies to keepe the Streights, which were indeede very defensible; and withall, as *Curtius* noteth, hee beganne ouer-late to prise and put in execution the Counsell of *Alcemon*: who in the beginning of the Warres aduised him to waste all the provisions for Men and Horle, that could not be lodged in strong places, and alwaies to giue ground to the Inuader, till hee found some such notable aduantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of victory. For the fury of an invading Army is best broken, by delays, change of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and sometimes too much, sometimes reposing themselves in beds, and more often on the cold ground. These and the like suddaine alterations bring many diseases vpon all Nations out of their owne Countries. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and sleepe, and refusing to giue or take battaile, had wearied them with his light horse, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, hee might perchance haue saved his owne life, and his estate. For it was one of the greatest encouragements giuen by *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*, in the third and last fall 30 tall battaile, that they were to fight with all the strength of *Persia* once.

Xerxes, when hee inuaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, lost onely his men; but *Darius* being inuaded by the *Greekes*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, lost his Kingdome; *Pericles*, though the *Lacedemonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawne to hazard a battaile: for the inuaded ought euermore to fight vpon the aduantage of time and place. Because wee reade Histories to informe our vnderstanding by the examples therein found, wee will giue some instances of those that haue perished by aduenturing in their own countries, to charge an invading Armie. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brink of their destruction.

Pompey was well aduised for a while, when hee gaue *Cæsar* ground, but when by the importunitie of his Captaines he aduentured to fight at *Pharsalia*, hee lost the battaile, lost the freedome of *Rome*, and his owne life.

Ferdinand, in the Conquest of *Naples*, would needs fight a battaile with the *French* to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound judgement, that those Counsells which promise surtie in all things, are honourable enough.

The Constable of *France* made frustrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fifth, when hee inuaded *Preuence*, by wasting the Countrie, and forbearing to fight; so did the Duke of *Alua* wearie the *French* in *Naples*, and dissolve the boisterous Armie of the Prince of *Orange* in the low-Countries.

The *Leigers*, contrarie to the aduice of their General, would needs fight a battaile with the *Bougonians*, inuading their Countrie, and could not be persuaded to linger the time; and say their aduantage; but they lost eight and twenty thousand vpon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* set vpon King *Edward* at *Cressie*, and King *John* when the *English* were well nere tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit haue

have bene walled to nothing; contrained the black Prince with great fury, neere *Poitiers*, to joyne battaile with him: But all men know what lamentable successe these two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the Fitt of *France* made another kinde of *Fabian*-Warlike; and though the *Englisb* burnt and walled many places, yet this King held his resolution to forbear blowes, and followed his aduice which told him, 1 hat the *Englisb* could neuer get his inheritance by Inoke; and it is reported by *Belley* and *Hervault*, that King *Edward* was wont to say of this *Charles*, that hee wanne from him the Duchie of *Guien* without euer putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wife men grow short-lived, and the charge of things is committed vnto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any sound aduice: The course which *Alexander* had propounded, mult in all appearance of reason haue brought the *Macedonian* to a great perplexitie, and made him stand still a while at the Streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more shamefull to returne; or dangerous to proceede. For had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* bene walled whilest *Alexander* was farre off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* bene defended by *Arfenes*, Gouvernor of that Prouince, with the best of his forces: hunger would not haue suffered the enimie, to lay the triall of all meanes that might be thought vpon, of forcing that passage; or if the place could not haue bene maintained, yet might *Cilicia*, at better leisure haue bene so thoroughly spoiled, that the heart of his Armie should haue bene broken, by seeking out miseries with painfull trauaile.

But *Arfenes* leauing a small number to defend the Streights, took the best of his Armie with him, to walle, & spoile the Countrey; or rather, as may seeme, to finde himselfe some worke, by preence of which he might honestly runne further away from *Alexander*. Hee should rather haue aduentured his person in custodie of the Streights, whereby hee might perhaps haue saued the Prouince; and in the meane time, all that was in the fields, would haue bene conueighed into strong Townes. So should his Armie, if it were driuen from the place of aduantage, haue found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himselfe with his horse-men haue had the lesse worke in destroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, hee gaue the *Cilicians* cause to wish for *Alexanders* comming, and as great cause to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wise in apprehending all formes of danger. These Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arfenes* made all haste to joyne himselfe with *Darius*, burning down all as he went, like one despairing of the defence, beganne to grow circumspect, and to thinke that surely their Generall, who gaue as loost the Countrey behinde their backs, had exposed themselves vnto certaine death, as men that were good for nothing else, but to dull the *Macedonian* swords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Countrey (which honour they saw that *Arfenes* himselfe could well forbear) they speedily followed the foote-steps of their Generall, gleaming after his Haruest. 40 Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardise of his Enemies, and the whole Prouince that had bene alienated from the *Persian* side by their indiscretion.

§. IIII.

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§. IIII.

Of the vnwarlike Armie leuid by *Darius* against *Alexander*.
The vnadvised counsel which *Darius* tooke in this expedition. He is vanquished at *Issus*; where his Mother, Wife, and Children are made prisoners. Of some things following the battaile of *Issus*.

IN the meane season *Darius* approached; who (as *Curcius* reports) had compounded an Armie of more than two hundred & senetic thousand Souldiers, out of diuers Nations; *Infirme* musters them at three hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse; *Plutarch* at fixe hundred thousand.

The manner of his comming on, as *Curcius* describes it, was rather like a masker than a man of Warre, and like one that tooke more care to set out his glorie and riches, than to prouide for his owne safety, perswading himselfe, as it seemed, to beat *Alexander* with pompe and sumptuous Pageants. For, before the Armie there was carried the holy fire which the *Persians* worshipped, attended by their Priests, and after them three hundred and threescore and five yong-men, answering the number of the daies of the yeere, couered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Iupiter* drawne with white Horses, with their Riders cloathed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horse of the *Sunne*: Next after these followed ten sumptuous Chariots, inlaid and garnisht with silver and gold, and then the Vantguard of their horse, compounded of twelve seuerall Nations, which the better to auoid confusion, did hardly vnderstand each others language, and these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serue very fitly to disorder all that followed them; in the taile of these Horses the Regiment of foote marched, with the *Persians* called immortal, because if any died, the number was presently supplied: and these were armed with chaines of gold, and their coates 30 with the same metall imbrodered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with pearle, baies, either to catch the hungrie *Macedonians* withall, or to perswade them that it were great inciuilltie to cut and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well said: *Sumptuosus inductus miles, se virtute superiorem alij suon existimet, cum in praelij oportet fortitudine animi, & non vestimentis muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur*; Let no man thinke that hee exceedeth those in valour, whom hee exceedeth in gay garments, for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparell they put on, that enemies are beaten. And it was perchance from the *Roman* *Papyrus* that this aduice was borrowed, who when he fought against the *Sannites* in that fatall battaile, wherein they all sware either to preuaile or die, thirtie thousand of them hauing apparelled themselves in white garments, with high crests and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aside all feare: *Non enim cristas vulnera facere, & per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum*; For these plumed crests would wound no bodies, and the *Roman* pile would bore holes in painted and gilded shields.

To second this Court-like company, fifteen thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breede the more terrour) and these were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinmen. Then came *Darius* himselfe, the Gentle-men of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was supported with the gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure gold; these the *Macedonians* did not serue, but they serued their turnes of these, by 50 changing their massie-bodies into thinne portable and currant coate. The head of this Chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden Idols, couered with an open-winged Eagle of the same metall: The hinder part being raised high when *Darius* late, had a covering of inestimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thousand Horse-men, their Lances plated with silver, and their heads

heads guile; which they meant not to imbrow in the *Macedonian* blood, for feare of marring their beautie. He had for the proper Guard of his person two hundred of the blood Royall, blood too Royall & precious to be spilt by any valorous adventure, (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdie fellows, like the *Switzers*, would haue done him more seruice, and these were backt with thirtie thousand foot-men, after whom againe were led foure hundred spare horses for the King, which if hee had meant to haue vsed, he would haue marshalled somewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Rearward, the same being led by *Sisyambis* the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawne in glorious Chariots, followed by a great traine of Ladies their attendants on horse-back, with fifteen Wagons of the Kings children, and the wives of the Nobilitie, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Concubines, and a world of Nurses, and *Eunuchs*, most sumptuously apparelled. By which it should seeme that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had beene *Comedians* or *Tumbler*s; for this troupe was far fitter to behold those sports than to be present at battailes. Betweene these and a company of slight-armed slaues, with a world of Vallets, was the Kings treasure, charged on fixe hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this sort came this *Mage* King into the field, incumbered with a most vnconuenient traine of Strumpets, attended with troupes of diuers Nations, speaking diuers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled, and for the most part so effeminate, & so rich in gold and in garments, as the same could not but haue encouraged the nakeddest Nation of the world against them. We finde it in daily experience, that all discourse of magnanimitie, of National Vertue, of Religion, of Libertie, and whatsoever else hath been wont to moue and incourage vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common Souldier, in comparison of spoile and riches. Their ships are boarded vpon all disadvantages, the rich Townes are furiously assaulted, and the plentifull Countries willingly invaded. Our *English* Nations haue attempted many places in the *Indies*, and runne vpon the *Spaniards* head-long, in hope of their Royals of plate, and Pistols, which had they been put to it vpon the like disadvantages in *Ireland*, or in any poore Countie, they would haue turned their Peeces and Pikes against 30 their Commanders, contending that they had beene brought without reason to the Butcherie and slaughter. It is true that the warre is made willingly, and for the most part with good successe, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needie are alwaies aduenturous, so plentie is wont to shunne perill. And men that haue well to liue, doe rather studie how to liue well, I meane wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car ouit ny' rien a gaigner, que des coups volentiers il ny' va pas; No man makes haste to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blowes.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his South-faiers, hee would haue fastned himself by the our-sides of the *Persians*, and neuer haue looked into the intrayles of Beasts for successe. For leauing the descrip- 40 tion of this second bataille (which is indeede no-where well described, neither for the confusion and halfe running away of the *Asians* could it be) we haue enough by the slaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to informe vs what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that threecore thousand *Persian* footmen were slaine in this bataille, with ten thousand of their horsemen: Or (as *Curtius* saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horse-men, and besides this slaughter, fortie thousand taken prisoners, while of *Alexanders* Armie there miscaried but two hundred and fourecore of all sorts, of which numbers *Arianus* and other Historians cut off almost the one halfe: I doe verily beleue, that this smal number rather did with the ouer-trauaile and paines-taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes receiued from them. And surely if the *Persian* Nation (at this time degenerate and the basest of the World) had had any fauour remaining of the ancient valour of their forefathers; they would neuer haue sold so good cheape, and at so vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daugh-

ters, and other the Kings children; had their owne honor bene valued by them at nothing, and the Kings safetie and his estate at lesse. *Darius* by this time found it true, that *Charidemus* a banished *Grecian* of *Athens* had told him, when hee made a view of his Armie about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which hee had assembled of diuers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would bee found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the country, whom in passing by they would deuour, than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to assaile; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imballt in grosse Squadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, well couered with Armour for defence, and furnished with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make so little account of his delicate *Persians*, louing their ease and their palat, being withall ill armed and worse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertaine (hauing so great abundance of treasure to doe it withall) a sufficient number of the same *Grecians*, and so to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equall courage, hee would repent him ouer-late, as taught by the miserable successe like to follow.

But this discourse was so vnpleasing to *Darius* (who had beene accustomed to nothing so much as to his owne prizes, and to nothing so little as to heare truth;) as he commanded that this poore *Grecian* should be presently slaine: who while hee was a funding in the Tormentors hand, vsed this speech to the King, That *Alexander*, against whom hee had giuen this good counsell, should assuredly reuenge his death, and lay deferred punishment vpon *Darius* for despising his aduice.

It was the saying of a Wise man: *Desperata eius Principia salus est, cuius aures ita formate sunt, ut alpera que vitia, nec quicquam nisi incundum accipiat; That Princes fastie is in a desperate case, whose eares iudge all that is profitable to bee too sharpe, and will entertaine nothing that is vnpleasant.*

For libertie in counsell is the life and essence of counsell; Libertas consilij est eius vita, & essentia, quae cepta consilium euascent.

Darius did likewise value at nothing the Aduice giuen him by the *Grecian* Souldiers that serued him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: but had they beene Counsellers and directors in that Warre, as they were vnderlings and commanded by others, they had with the helpe of a good troupe of horse-men beene able to haue opposed the furie of *Alexander*, without any assistance of the *Persian* foot-men. For when *Darius* was ouerthrowne with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those *Grecians*, vnder their Captaine *Amyntas*, held firme, and marched away in order in despite of the vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily dismayed: we reade in Histories ancient and moderne, what braue retreats haue beene made by them, though the rest of the Armie in which they haue serued, hath beene broken.

At the bataille of *Ranennus*, where the Imperials were beaten by the *French*, a Squadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off vnbroken and vndismayed; whom when *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the victorie not intire by their escape, hee was ouer-turned and slaine in the place. For it is truly said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers feare them not, That, *Neglecto periculo imminentis mali opus ipsum quantumvis difficile aggrediuntur; They goe about the businesse it selfe, how hard soeuer it be, not standing to consider of the danger, which the mischance hanging ouer their heads may bring; and as truly of those that know the wayes but by heare-say. Quod valentes sunt & praesentes ante pericula, in ipsis tamen periculis discedunt; They haue shittie enough, and to spare, till dangers appeare; but when perill indeede comes, they get them gone.*

These *Grecians* also that made the retract, aduised *Darius* to retire his Armie into the plaine of *Mesopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into those large fields and great Champions, he might haue inuined the *Macedonians* on all sides with his multitude; and withall they counsell'd him to diuide that his huge Armie into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he might

might haue fought many battailes, and haue brought no greater numbers at once then might haue bene well marshalled and conducted. But this counsell was so contrarie to the cowardly affections of the *Persians*, as they perswaded *Darius* to inuiron the *Graecians* which gaue the aduice, and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. The infinite wisdom of God doth not worke alwaies by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Estates, by taking vnderstanding from the *Gouernours*, so as they can neither giue nor discern of Counsels, For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* vpon a straitned piece of ground, nere vnto the Citie of *Issus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could, (who by the aduice of *Parmenio* staid there, as in a place of best advantage) was vtterly ouerthrowne, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Graecians* his followers had perswaded him to leaue in *Babylon*, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their traine of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour: It is true, that both the Queene, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexanders* presence, were entertained with all respect due vnto their birth, their Honours preserved, and their Jewels and rich Garments restored vnto them; and though *Darius* Wife was a most beautifull Ladie, and his Daughters of excellent forme, yet *Alexander* mastered his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Aristobulus* the Historian, that he imbraced the Wife of the valiant *Memnon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Parmenio*: at which time the Daughters of *Oebus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobilitie of *Persia* in effect, fell into captiuitie; at which time also *Darius* Treasure (not lost at *Issus*) was seized, amounting to fixe thousand and two hundred talents of coine, and of *Bullock* fixe hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

Darius himselfe leaving his brother dead, with diuers other of his chiefe Captaines (casting the Crowne from his head) hardly escaped.

After this ouerthrow giuen vnto *Darius*, all *Phoenicia* (the Citie of *Tyre* excepted) was yeelded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made *Gouernour*.

Aradus, *Zidor*, and *Biblos*, Matrimitate Cities of great importance, of which one *Strato* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him so fast that it troade on his heeles; for *Antigonus*, *Alexanders* Lieutenant in *Asia* the lesse, ouerthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately reuolted; *Aristodemus*, *Darius* Admirall, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly leauied; the *Lacedemonians* that warred against *Antipater* were beaten; foure thousand of those *Greeks* which made the retreat at the last battaile, forsaking both the partie of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amyntas* into *Egypt*, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to diuide Kingdomes.

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It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wisht that he could beare his prosperitie with the same moderation, and quietnesse of heart, that he had done his aduersitie; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not performe in himselfe that which he commended in another mans desire: for it was a signe that he did but accompanie, and could not gouerne his felicitie.

While he made some stay in those parts, he received a letter from *Darius*, importing the ranfome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing in his direction, to stile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had received an ouerthrow by *Pyrrhus*,

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returned him a more scornfull answer vpon the offer of peace, than they did before the trial of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of *Darius* had already cast lease, the one a resolute well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* disdaind the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word that he not only directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himselfe.

§. V.

How *ALEXANDER* besieged and winne the Citie of *Tyre*.



ALEXANDER coming nere to the Citie of *Tyre*, received from them the present of a golden Crowne, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which he tooke very thankfully, returning them answer, That he desired to offer a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their Citie, from whom he was descended. But the *Tyrians* like not his companie within their Walls, but told him that the Temple of *Hercules* was leat in the old City adioyning, now abandoned and desolate. To be short, *Alexander* resolute to enter it by force, and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Island whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Maine, yet with the labour of many hands, hauing great store of stone from the old *Tyre*, and timber sufficient from *Lybanus*, he filled the passage of the Sea betwene the Island and the Maine, which being more then once carried away by the strength of the Sea vpon a storme of winde, sometime by the *Tyrians* fired, and sometime torne asunder, yet with the helpe of his Nauie which arrived (during the siege) from *Cyprus*, he ouercame all difficulties and preuailed, after he had spent seuen months in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the siege had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by *Alexander*, perswading them to render the Citie, in respect whereof, and of the great losse of time and men, hee put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those, that escaped the first furie, to be hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and reserved for slaues (saith *Diodore*) thirteene thousand; *Agrianus* reckons them at thirtie thousand. Many more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that serued *Alexander*, conueied great numbers away by shipping vnto their owne Citie.

Happy it was for *Apollo* that the Towne was taken, for one of the *Tyrians* hauing dreamt, that this god meant to forsake the Citie, they bound him fast with a golden chaine to the Idoll of *Hercules*; but *Alexander* like a gracious Prince loosened him againe.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprife and a difficult: but great things are made greater. For *Nabuchodonosor* had taken it before, and filled vp the channell, that lay betweene the Island and the Maine.

The gouernment of this Territorie he gaue to *Philotas*, the Sonne of *Parmenio*; *Citicia*, he committed to *Socrates*; and *Andromachus* Lieutenant vnder *Parmenio*; *Euphemon* had the charge of the Fleet, and was directed to finde *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

§. VI.

How *DARIUS* offered conditions of peace to *ALEXANDER*. *ALEXANDER* winnes *Gaza*; and deales graciously with the Iewes.

IN the meane while *Darius* sends againe to *Alexander*, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and laith the losse of the last battaile to the straitnesse of the place: he hoped to terrifie him, by threatening to encompass him in the plaine Countries, he bids him consider, how impossible it was to passe the Riuer of *Euphrates*,

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§. VI.

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Tigris, Araxes, and the rest, with all such other fearefull things. for he that was now filled with nothing but feare, had arguments enough of that nature to present vnto another. All the Kingdomes betwene the River of *Alys*, and the *Helleſpont*, hee offered him in Dower with his beloved daughter. But *Alexander* answered, That he offered him nothing but his own, and that which victorie and his own vertue had posselt him of; That he was to giue conditions, and not to receive any, and that he hauing passed the Sea it selfe, disdaind to thinke of resistance in transporting himselfe ouer Rivers. It is said, that *Parmenio*, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the King, that were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius* his offers; to which *Alexander* answered, That so would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and comming before *Gaza*, *Betis* a faithfull seruant to *Darius*, shuts the Gate against him, and defends the Towne with an obstinate resolution, at the siege whereof *Alexander* receiued a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his legge with a stone; Hee found better men in this place than he did at the former battailes, for he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the sands of *Gaza*, that hee was foor to send for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* first began to change condition, and to exercise cruelty. For after that he had entred *Gaza* by assault, and taken *Betis*, (whom *Iosephus* calleth *Babemeſis*) that was weakened with many wounds, and who neuer gaue ground to the Assaults; he bored holes through his teete, and caused him to be drawne about the streets, whilst he was as yet alive; who being as valiant a man as himselfe, disdaind to aske him either life or remission of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his tyrannie, but the imitation of his Ancestor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Heitor*? It is true, that cruelty hath alwaies somewhat to couer her deformitie.

From *Gaza* (saith *Iosephus*) he led his Army towards *Ierusalem*, a Citie, for the antiquitie and great fame thereof, well known vnto him while he lay before *Tyre*; He had sent for some supply thither, which *Iaddus* the high Priest, being subiect and sworne to *Darius*, had refused him. The *Jewes* therefore fearing his reuenge, and vnable to resist, committed the care of their estates and fustetie to *Iaddus*, who, being taught by God, issued out of the Citie covered with his Pontificall Robes, to wit, an vpper garment of purple, embroidered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the Priests and Leuits in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a manner vsuall, stately and graue, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Iosephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Priest, as reuerencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it; How soeuer it was, I am of opinion, That he became so confident in his enterprise, and so assured of the successe after the prophesie of *Daniel* had been read vnto him, wherein he saw himselfe, and the conquest of *Persia* so directly pointed at, as nothing thenceforth could discourage him or feare him. He confessed to *Parmenio* (saith *Iosephus*) That in *Dio* a Citie of *Macedon*, when his minde laboured the conquest of *Asia*, he saw in his sleepe such a person as *Iaddus*, and so appalled, professing one and the same God, by whom he was incouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand with assurance of victorie. This apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of his fantasie, he now beheld with his bodily eyes; wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and imboldened, as contrarie to the practice of the *Pheicians*, (who hoped to haue fact and destroyed *Ierusalem*) he gaue the *Jewes* all, and more than they desired, both of libertie and immunitie, with permission to liue vnder their owne lawes, and to exercise and enjoy their owne Religion.

¶ VII.

¶ VII.

ALEXANDER WINNES *Egypt*: and makes a iourne to the Temple of HAMMON.

From *Ierusalem* *Alexander* turned againe towards *Egypt*, and entred it, where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Aſaces*, receiued him and deliuered into his hand the Citie of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the Kings riches. By this wee see that the Kings of *Persia*, who had more of affection than of iudgement, gaue to the valiantest man hee had but the command of one Citie, and to the veriest coward the gouernement of all *Egypt*. When he had set things in order in *Egypt*, he beganne to trauaile after *God-head*, towards *Iupiter Hammon*, so foolishly had prosperitie made him. He was to passe ouer the dangerous and drie sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels backe was spent, he could not but haue perished, had not a maruailous shewre of raine fallen vpon him, when his Armie was in extreme despaire. All men that know *Egypt*, and haue written thereof, asseme, That it neuer rains there; but the purposes of the Almighty God are secret, and he bringeth to passe what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when hee had lost his way in those vast deserts, that a flight of Crows flew before the Armie, who making faster wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the 20 Army was cakt backe, guided them ouer those pathlesse sands to *Iupiters* Temple.

Arrianus from the report of *Ptolemeus*, the sonne of *Lagus*, saies, That he was led by two Dragons, both which reports may be a-like true; But many of these wonders and things prodigious, are fained by those that haue written the storie of *Alexander*, as that an Eagle lay howring directly ouer his head at the battaile of *Issus*; That a Swallow flew about his head when he slept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at *Helicarnassus*, fore-shewing the treason of *Ereptus*, practised by *Darius* to haue slaine him; That from the yron barres of which the *Tyrans* made their defensive engines, when *Alexander* besieged them, there fell drops of blood; and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the same time; That a Turfe of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the aire. The *Spaniards* in the conquest of the West-Indies haue many such pretie tales; telling how they haue been assisted in battaile, by the presence of our *Ladie*, and by *Angels* riding on white horses, with the like *Romish* miracles, which I thinke themselves do hardly beleue. The strangest things that I haue read of in this kind being certainly true, was, That the night before the battaile at *Nonarra*, all the Dogges which followed the *French* Armie, came from them to the *Switzers*, leaping and fawning vpon them, as if they had beene bred and fed by them all their liues, and in the morning following, *Triunlers* and *Tremouille*, Generals for *Lewys* the twelfth, were by these *Imperial* *Switzers* utterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idol of *Iupiter Hammon* is ill described by *Curtius*, for he bounds it by the *Arabian* *Troglodites* on the South, betwene whom and the Territorie of *Hammon*, the Region *Thebas*, or the superiour *Egypt*, with the Mountaine of *Lybia*, and the River of *Nilus*, are interiacent, and on the North he ioynes it to a Nation, called *Nassimones*, who bordering the Sea-shore, liue (saith hee) vpon the spoiles of shipwracke, whereas the Temple or groue of this Idol hath no Sea neere it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia*; these *Nassimones* being due West from it, in the South part of *Marmarica*.

When *Alexander* came neere the place, hee sent some of his Parasites before him to practise the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answer might be giuen in all things, agreeable to his made ambition, who affected the title of *Iupiters* sonne. And so he was flured, Sonne of *Iupiter*, by the Devils prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some thinke) defective in the *Greek* tongue; For whereas he meant to say *Opaidios*, that is; O Sonne of *Iupiter*, in stead

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of

of, *O deus sonne*; for which Grammaticall error he was richly rewarded, & a rumor presently spread, that the great *Iupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his owne.

He had heard that *Perseus* and *Heracles* had formerly consulted with this Oracle. The one, when he was imploied against *Gorgon*, The other, against *Anteus* & *Bulrus*; and seeing these men had derided themselves from the gods, why might not hee? By this it seemes, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fooles, though indeede he made himselfe one, by thinking to couer from the Worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirme his followers in the beliefe of his *Deitie*, hee had practized the Priests to giue answer to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it should be pleasing to *Iupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his Sonne.

Cont. li. a.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how represented, either by a bosome carried in a Boate, or by a *Ramme*, or a *Rammes-head*; I see that many wise-men haue troubled themselves to finde out; but, as *Arrianus* speaks of *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater* (who liued faith *St. Augustine* in *Moses* time) *Ea quæ de dijs veteres fabulis suis conscripserunt, non sunt nimium curiose peruestiganda; we must not over-curiously search into the fables, which the Ancients haue written of their gods.*

But this is certaine and notable, that after the Gospel beganne to be preached in the world, the Deuill in this and in all other Idols became speechlesse. For that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Cæsar*, and in the time of *Traian* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plinarch* witness.

There is found nere his Temple a fountaine called *Fons solis* (though *Ptolomie* in his third *African* Table sets it farther off) that at mid-night is as hot as boyling water, and at Noone as cold as any yeer, to which I cannot but giue credit, because I haue heard of some other Wells of the nature, and because it is reported by *Saint Augustine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Plinie*, *Cicero*, *Solimus*, *Arrianus*, *Curcius*, and others, and indeed our Bathes in *England* are much warmer in the night, than in the day.

§. VIII.

How *ALEXANDER* marching against *Darius*, was opposed very unskilfully by the Enemy.

From the Temple of *Hammon* he returned to *Memphis*, where among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher *Pfamonius*, who, belike understanding that he affected the title of *Iupiters* Sonne, told him that God was the Father-King of all men in generall; and reuelling the pride of this haughtie King, brought him to say, That God was the Father of all mortall men, but that he acknowledged none for his children save good men.

Arist. Pol. l. 5.

He gaue the charge of the severall Prouinces of *Egypt* to severall Governours, following the rule of his Master *Aristotle*, That a great Dominion should not be continued in the hands of any one: whom therein the *Roman* Emperours also followed, not daring to commit the government of *Egypt* to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner rank and degree. He then gaue order for the founding of *Alexandria* vpon the Westermost branch of *Nilus*. And having now settled (as hee could) the citie of *Egypt*, with the Kingdomes of the lesser *Asia*, *Phenicia*, and *Syria*, (which being the pawnes of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happie victorie would readily haue redeemed,) he led his Army towards *Euphrates*, which passage though the same was committed to *Mazeus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without resistance path it. From thence he marched toward *Tygris*, a Riuer for the swiftnesse thereof called by the *Perfians*, The Arrow. Here, as *Curcius*, and Reason it selfe testifies, might *Darius* easily haue repelled the invading *Macedonians*; for the violent course of the streame was such, as it draue before it many waightie stones, and those that moued not but lay in the bottom, were so round and well polished by continuall rolling,

Curt. li. 4.

rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing; nor the *Macedonian* foot-men to wade the Riuer, otherwise than by ioyning their hands and entrellacing their Armes together, making one waightie and entire body to resist the swift passage and furious race of the streame. Besides this notable helpe, the Channell was so deepe towards the Easterne shore, where *Darius* should haue made head, as the footmen were inforced to lift their Bowes, and Arrows, and Darts ouer their heads to keepe them from being moyled, and made vnseruiceable by the Waters. But it was truly and vnderstandingly said of *Homer*.

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*Talis est hominum terrestrium mens,
Qualem quotidie ducit pater viderumq; Deorumq;.*

The mindes of men are euer so affected,
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the World, by the surfeit of misgovernement haue beene subiect to many grievous, and sometimes mortall diseases: So had the Empire of *Persia* at this time brought it selfe into a burning and consuming Feauer, and thereby become frantick and without vnderstanding, forewarning manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recovered the Easterne shores of *Tygris*, without any other difficultie, than that of the nature of the place; where *Mazeus* (who had charge to defend the passage both of *Euphrates* and it) presented himselfe to the *Macedonians*, followed with certaine companies of Horse-men, as if with newen forces hee durst haue charged them on euen ground, when as with a multitude farre exceeding them, hee forooke the aduantage which no valour of his enemies could easily haue overcome. But it is commonly seene, that carefull and cowardly men doe euer follow those waies and counsels, whereof the opportunitee is already lost.

It is true that he set all prouisions a fire wherewith the *Macedonians* might serue themselves ouer *Tygris*, thinking thereby greatly to haue distressed them; but the execution of good counsell is fruitlesse when vnseasonable. For now was *Alexander* so well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competence of the Armie which he conducted. Those things also which he fought to waste, *Alexander* being now in sight, were by his Horse-men saved and recovered. This, *Mazeus* might haue done some daies before at good leisure; or at this time with great a strength of horse-men, as the *Macedonians* durst not haue pursued them, seauing the strength of their foote out of sight, and farre behinde.

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§. IX.

The new prouisions of *Darius*, Accidents foregoing the battaile of *Arbela*.



DARIVS, vpon *Alexanders* first returne out of *Egypt*, had assembled all the forces, which those Regions next him could furnish, and now also were the *Arians*, *Scythians*, *Indians*, and other Nations arrived; Nations (saith *Curcius*) that rather serued to make vp the names of men, than to make resistance. *Arrianus* hath numbered them with their Leaders; and finds of Foot-men of all sorts ten hundred thousand, and of horse 50 foure hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some few Elephants. *Curcius* who musters the Armie of *Darius* at two hundred thousand foote, and neere fiftie thousand horse, comes (I thinke) neerer to the true number; and yet seeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vassals, it is like enough that hee had gathered together of all sorts some three or foure hundred thousand,

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with

Fig.

with which hee hoped in those faire plaines of *Assyria* to haue ouer-borne the few numbers of the invading Armie. But it is a Rule in the Philosophie of the Warre.

In omni praelio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitum solent prae se victoriam; In curie battaile skill and practice doe more towards the victory, than multitude and rude audacity.

While *Alexander* gaued to his Armie after their passage ouer *Tygrus*, there happened an Eclipse of the Moone, of which the *Macedonians*, not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude alwaies are) took it for a certaine preface of their ouerthrow and destruction, in so much as they began not only to murmur, but to speake it boldly, That for the am-
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10 much as they began not only to murmur, but to speake it boldly, That for the am-
bition of one man, a man that disdained *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Sonne of *Iupiter*, they should all perish; For he not only infornt them to make warre against Worlds of enemies, but against Riuers, Mountaines, and the Heauens themselves.

Hereupon *Alexander* being readie to march forward made a *hals*, and to quiet the mindes of the multitude, he called before him the *Egyptian Astrologers*, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be assured that this defec-
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10 tion of the Moone was a certaine preface of good successe; for that it was natural they neuer imparted to the common people, but reserved the knowledge to them-
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10 selves, so as a forrie Almanack-maker had bene no small foole in those daies.

Of this kind of superstitious obseruation *Caesar* made good vſe, when hee fought against *Ariovſtus* and the *Germani*: for they being perswaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moone, they should certainly lose the
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10 battaile, *Caesar* forſt them to abide it, though they durst not giue it, wherein ha-
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10 ving their mindes already beaten by their owne superstition, and being resolutely charged by the *Romans*, the whole armie in effect perished.

These *Egyptians* gaue no other reason than this, That the *Grecians* were vnder the aspect of the *Sunne*, the *Persians*, of the *Moone*; and therefore the Moone failing and being darkened, the state of *Persia* was now in danger of falling, and their glorie of being obscured. This iudgement of the *Egyptian* Priests being noised through
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10 all the Armie, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though deuised since, was well obserued then. *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux: ad pugnam non ducit; Let not a Captaine leade his Armie to the fight, when it is possessed with matter of terror.*

It is fully obserued by *Curſus*, that the people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, we finde it in all Stories, and often in our owne, that by such in-
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10 ventions, deuised tales, dreames, and prophesies, the people of this Land haue been carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their owne losse and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew neere the *Persian* Armie, certaine letters were surprized written by *Darius* to the *Grecians*, perswading them for great summes of money, either
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10 to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these by the aduice of *Parmenio* he suppressed.

At this time also *Darius* his faire Wife, oppressed with sorrow, and wearied with trauell, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no lesse to bewaile than *Darius*, who upon the first bruit suspected that some dishonourable violence had bene offered her, but being satisfied by an *Eunuch* of his owne that attended her, of *Alexander* Kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the im-
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10 mortal Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the *Persian* Empire, then it would please them to conferre on so iust and continent an enemy as *Alexander*, to whom he once againe before the last trial by battaile offered these con-
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10 ditions of pence.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliuer vp and resigne all *Asia* the lesse, and with *Egypt*, all those Kingdomes between the *Phenician* Sea, and the Riuer of *Euphrates*; That he would pay him for the ranſome of his Mother, and his
10
10 other

other Daughter thirte thousand talents, and that for the performance thereof, hee would leaue his Sonne *Oechus* in hostage: To this they sought to perswade *Alexander* by such arguments as they had. *Alexander* causing the Embassadors to be re-
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10 moured, aduised with his Counsell, but heard no man speake but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perswaded him to accept of these faire condi-
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10 tions. Hee told him, that the Empire betwene *Euphrates* and *Tellepost* was a faire addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the *Persian* prisoners was a great
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10 cumber, and the treasure offered for them of farre better vſe than their persons, with diuers other arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is no-
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10 table that if he had followed his aduice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might haue liued as famous for vertue as for fortune, and lett himself a Successor of
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10 able age to haue enioyed his estate, which afterward, indeed, hee much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himselfe: who to assure themselves of what they had viurped vpon his issues, lett nor one of them to draw breath in the world
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10 within a few yeeres after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going so far into the East, lett behinde him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a iust and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, aduised and gratefull: and being taught new lessons by abundance of prosperitie, became a louer of wine, of his owne flatterie, and of extreme crueltie. Yea, as *Seneca* hath obserued, the taint of
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10 one vnjust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beaurie of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the *Persian* Embassadors stay his answer, which was to this effect, That whatsoever hee had bestowed on the Wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his owne naturall clemencie and magnanimitie, without all respect to their Master, that thanks to an enemy was im-
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10 proper; that he made no warres against aduersitie, but against those that resisted him; not against Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great summes
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10 of money to perswade his friends to attempt vpon his person, hee had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet hee could not
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10 (were it otherwise and faithfull) resolue in haste to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made the Warre against him, not as a King with Royall and ouert-force, but as a Traitor by secret and base practice; That for the Territorie offered him, it was
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10 already his owne, and if *Darius* could beate him back againe ouer *Euphrates*, which he had already past, he would then beleue that hee offered him somewhat in his owne power: Otherwise he propounded to himselfe for the reward of the Warre,
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10 which hee had made, all those Kingdomes as yet in *Darius* possession, wherein, whether he were abused by his owne hopes or no, the battaile which hee meant to
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10 fight in the day following should determine. For conclusion, he told them, that he came into *Asia* to giue, and not to receiue; That the Heauens could not hold two
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10 Sunnes: and therefore if *Darius* could be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, he might perchance be perswaded to giue him conditions fit for a se-
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10 cond Person, and his Inferiour.

p. X.

The battaile of *Arbela*: and that it could not be so strongly fought as report hath made it.

WHEN this answer the Embassadors returned, *Darius* prepares to fight, and
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10 sends *Mazæus* to defend a passage, which he neuer yet dared so much as to hazard. *Alexander* consults with his Captaines, *Parmenio* per-
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10 swades him to force *Darius* his Camp by night; so that the multitude of enemies might not moue terror in the *Macedonians*, being but
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10 few. *Alexander* disdaines to scale the victorie, and resolues to bring with him the
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10 day-

day-light, to witnesse his valour. But it was the successe that made good *Alexanders* resolution, though the counsell giuen by *Parmenio* was more found: For it is a ground in Warre, *Si pauci necessarij cum multitudine pugnat cogatur, confilium est noctis tempore belli fortunam tentare*. Notwithstanding vpon the view of the multitude at hand, hee flaggers and intrenches himselfe vpon a ground of aduantage, which the *Persian* had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for feare of surpris had stood with his Armie in armour all the day, and forborne sleepe all the night, *Alexander* gaue his men rest and store of fooode, for reason had taught him this Rule in the Warre, *In pugna Adiliter valdus resistant, sic ubi potius, refecti fuerint, nam fames intrinsecus magis pugnat, quam ferrum exterius*; Souldiers doe the better stand to it in fight; if they haue their bellies full of meate and drinke; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than Steele without.

The numbers which *Alexander* had, saith *Arrianus*, were fortie thousand foot, and seuen thousand horse; these belike were of the *Europaean* Armie; for hee had besides both *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Egyptians*, and *Arabians*, that followed him out of those Regions. He vsed but a short speech to his Souldiers to encourage them; and I thinke that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former battailes vpon the Riuer of *Granick* and in *Cilicia*, the *Macedonians* were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria Victoriam parat, animamq; victoribus auget, & aduersarijs auferit*; One victorie begets another; and puts courage into those that haue already had the better, taking spirit away from such as haue beene beaten.

Arrianus and *Curtius* make large descriptions of this battaile, fought at *Gaugamela*; They tell vs of many charges and re-charges; That the victory inclined sometime to the *Persians*, sometime to the *Macedonians*; That *Parmenio* was in danger of being ouerthrowne, who led the left wing; That *Alexanders* Reare-guard was broken and his carriages lost; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both sides, *Fortune* her selfe was long vnclosed on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, That *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retreat. But, in conclusion, *Curtius* deliuevs in accompt but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in 30 all this terrible daies worke, slaying, That *Ephesion*, *Perdiccas* and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* findes not a third part of this number slaine; of the *Persians* there fell fortie thousand (saith *Curtius*) thirtie thousand according to *Arrianus*: Ninetic thousand, if we beleue *Diodor*. But what can wee iudge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battailes, the *Persians* vpon the first charge ranne away, and that the *Macedonians* pursued? For if of these foure or fise hundred thousand *Asians* brought into the field by *Darius*, euery man had but cast a Dart, or a Stone, the *Macedonians* could not haue bought the Empire of the East at so easie a rate, as sixe or seuen hundred men in three notorious battailes. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* vpon the bankes of *Euphrates*, and had armed but fiftie or threecore thousand of this great multitude, only with Spades (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had been impossible for *Alexander* to haue past that Riuer so easily, much lesse the Riuer of *Tygrus*. But as a man whose Empire God in his providence had determined, He abandoned all places of aduantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter so farre into the bowels of his Kingdome, as al hope and possibilitie of escape by retreat being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had presented vnto them the choise, either of death or victorie; to which election *Darius* could no way constrain his owne, seeing they had many large Regions to runne into from those that invaded them.

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¶ XI.

¶ XI.

Of things following the battaile of *Arbela*. The yielding of *Babylon* and *Susa*.

DARIVS after the rout of his Armie recovered *Arbela* the same night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded vnto them that ranne after him his purpose of making a retreat into *Media*, perswading them that the *Macedonians*, greedie of spoile and riches, would rather attempt *Babylon*, *Susa*, and other Cities, filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobilitie rather obeyed than approved.

Alexander soone after *Darius* his departure arriues at *Arbela*, which with a great masse of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred vnto him: for the feare which conducted *Darius*, took nothing with it but shame and dishonour. Hee that had bene twice beaten, should rather haue sent his treasure into *Media*, than brought it to *Arbela*, so neere the place where he abid the coming of his enemies; if he had bene victorious, he might haue brought it after him at leisure, but being ouercome, hee knew it vnpossible to driue Mules and Camels laden with gold from the pursuing Enemy, seeing himselfe, at the ouerthrow hee had in *Cilicia*, cast the Crowne from his head, to runne away with the more speed. But errors are then best discerned when most incurable. *Es praeceps magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi*; It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past.

From *Arbela* *Alexander* took his way towards *Babylon*, where *Maazens* in whom *Darius* had most confidence rendred himselfe, his children and the Citie. Also the Capitaine of the Castle, who was keeper of the treasure, firewed the streets with flowres, burnt frankincense vpon Altars of silver as *Alexander* passed by, and deliuered vnto him whatsoever was committed to his trust. The *Magi* (the *Chaldeans* Astrologers) followed this Capitaine in great sollemnitie to entertaine their new King: after these came the *Babylonian* horlemen, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poore in warlike furniture. Betwene these (though not greatly to be feared) and himselfe, *Alexander* caused his *Macedonian* foote-men to march. When he entered the Castle, he admired the glorie thereof, and the abundance of treasure therein found amounting to fiftie thousand talents of silver vncoynd. The Citie it selfe I haue elsewhere described with the Walles, the Towers, the Gates and the Circuite, with the wonderful place of pleasure about two miles in Circuite, surrounded with a Wall of fourecore foote high, and on the top thereof (being vnderborne with Pillars) a Grove of beautifull and fruitfull trees, which it is said that one of the Kings of *Babylon* caused to be built, that the Queene and other Princesses might walke priuately therein. In this Citie, rich in all things, but most of all in Voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himselfe and the whole Armie foure and thirtie daies, consuming that time in banquetting and in all sorts of effeminate exercise, which to much softned the mindes of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the severe discipline of warre which taught them the suffrances of hunger and thirst, of painefull trauaile, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Here it was that those bands of a thousand Souldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed ouer them, who thereupon were titled *Chiliarchi*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honor those Capitaines which were found by certaine selected Iudges to haue deserved best in the late warre. For before this time the *Macedonian* companies consisted but of fise hundred. Certainly the drawing downe of the foote-bands in this latter age hath ben the cause (saith the *Macisat Monist*) that the title and charge of a Capitaine hath bene bestowed on euery *Pique Band* or *Spurr*-Cow, for when the Capitaines of foote had a thousand Souldiers vnder

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one Ensigne, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the first, the title was honorable, and the Kings were lesse charged, and farre better leiued. *K. Henry* the eighth of *England* neuer gaue the commandement of any of his good ships, but to men of knowne valour, and of great estate, nay sometime he made two Gentlemen of qualitic commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from their reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great supply out of *Europe*, for *Antipater* sent him fixe thousand foote and five hundred horse, out of *Macedon*, of *Thracians* three thousand foot, and the like number of horse, and out of *Greece* foure thousand foote and four hundred horse, by which his Armie was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of *Babylon*, could hardly be brought againe, *De quitter la plume par dormir sur la dure*; To change from soft beds to hard boards.

Hee left the Cattle and Citie of *Babylon* with the Territories about it in charge with three of his owne Captaines, to wit, *Agathon*, *Mineus*, and *Appollonius*, to supply all wants a thousand talents: but to grace *Mazæus*, who rendered the citie vnto him, he gaue him the title of his Lieutenant ouer all, and tooke with him *Baginthes* that gaue vp the Citie, and hauing distributed to euery Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left *Babylon* and entred into the Prouince *Satrapene*: from thence hee went on towards *Susa* in *Persia*, the same with *Ptolomie*, *Hercotus*, and *Elianus* call *Memnonia*, situate on the river *Euleus*, a Citie sometime gouerned by *Daniel* the Prophet. *Abulites* also, gouernour of this famous Citie gaue it vp to the Conqueror, with fifty thousand talents of siluer in bullion, and twelue Elephants for the warre, with all other the treasures of *Darius*. In this fort did those Vallais of fortune, louers of the Kings prosperitie, not of his person (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their owne peace and safetie with the Kings treasures. And herein was *Alexander* well aduised, that whatsoeuer titles he gaue to the *Persians*, yet hee left all places of importance in trust with his owne Captaines, to wit, *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persepolis*, with other Cities and Prouinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet liuing) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one battell, all the Nobilitie of *Persia* would haue returned to their naturall Lord. Those that are Traitors to their owne Kings, are neuer to bee vsed alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertaine them, nor euer to be trusted with the defences of any frontier Towne, or Fortresse of waight, by the rendering whereof they may redeeme their libertie and estates lost. Hereof the *French* had experience, when *Don Pedro de Nauarra*, being banished out of *Spain*, was trusted with *Fosterabe*, in the yeere 1523.

While *Alexander* spoiled *Arbela*, *Mazæus* might haue furnisht the King from *Babylon*, and while hee raised foure and thirtie daies at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might haue holpen him from *Susa*: and while hee feasted there, *Tiridates* from *Persepolis* might haue relieved him, for the great masse of treasure was laied vp in that Citie. But who hath fought out and frinded fearefull aduersitie? It is certaine, that benefits binde not the ambitious, but the honest: for those that are but greedy of themselves, doe in all changes of fortune onely consult the conseruation of their owne greatness.

The gouernement of *Susa*, with the Cattle and Treasure, hee committed to his owne *Macedonians*, making *Abulites* who rendered it vnto him his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazæus* and others, in giuing them Titles, but neither trust nor powers for hee left three thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to assure the place; and *Darius* Mother and her children to repose themselves.

It is said, that *Charles* the fifth hauing promised *Charles of Bourbon* the gouernement of *Marfelles*, if hee could haue for it, and whereof hee made sure accompt, told some of his neerest Counsellors, that he meant nothing lesse than the performance of that promise, because hee should thereby haue left the Duke (reuioued from his Master) very well wherewithall to haue recouered his fauour.

¶ XII.

¶ XII.

How *ALEXANDER* came to *Persepolis*, and burnt it.

Rom *Susa* *Alexander* leadeth his Armie toward *Persepolis*, and when hee sought to passe those Mountaines which lunder *Susiana* and *Persia*, hee was foundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defende d against him those Straights, called *Pyla Persidis*, or *Susides*; and after the losse of many Companies of his *Macedonians*, he was fofit to saue himselfe by retreat, causing his foote to march close together, and to couer themselves by their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountain top. Yet in the end hee found out another path, which a *Lycian*, liuing in that Countrey, discovered vnto him, and came thereby suddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being in-fort to fight vpon euen ground, was by *Alexander* broken, whereupon he fled to *Persepolis*, but (after that they of *Persepolis* had refused to receiue him) hee returned and gaue a second charge vpon the *Macedonians*, wherein hee was slaine. In like manner did King *Francis* the first, in the yeere 1515. finde a way ouer the *Alpes*; the *Switzers* vnder-taking to defende all the passages, who, if their footmanhip had not faued them vpon the Kings descent on the other side, they had bene all paid for their hard lodging on those Hills.

Foure thousand *Greekes*, saith *Curtius*, (insigne numbers them but at eight hundred) hauing been taken prisoners by the *Persians*, presented themselves to *Alexander* now in sight of *Persepolis*. These had the barbarous *Persians* so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their Hands, Noses, Eares, and other Members, as they could no way haue bene knowne to their Country-men, but by their voices; so each of these *Alexander* gaue three hundred Crownes, with new garments, and such Lands as they liked to liue vpon.

Tiridates, one of *Darius* his false-hearted *Grandes*, hearing of *Alexander* s approach, made him know that *Persepolis* was ready to receiue him, and praid him to double his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoile the Kings treasure. This Citie was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants vpon *Alexander* s arrivall, and they that staid followed the worst counsell, for all was left to the libertie of the Souldiers, to spoile and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had bene laied in balance with *Persepolis*, would haue weighed it downe. *Babylon*, indeede, and *Susa*, were very rich; but in *Persepolis* lay the bulke and maine store of the *Persians*. For after the spoile that had bene made of money, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and siluer, and other Jewels; there remained to *Alexander* himselfe one hundred and twentie thousand talents. Hee left the same number of three thousand *Macedonians* in *Persepolis*, which hee had done in *Susa*, and gaue the same formall honor to the Traitor *Tiridates*, that hee had done to *Abulites*; but hee that had the trust of the place was *Nicartides*, a creature of his owne. The bodie of his Armie hee left here for thirtie daies, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thousand horse and certaine troupes of chosen foote, hee would needs view in the Winter-time those parts of *Persia*, which the snow had couered, a fruitlesse and foolishe enterprise, but as *Seneca* saies: *Non ille ire vult, sed non potest stare; He hath not a will to goe, but he is comable to stand still*. It is said and spoken in his praise: That when his Souldiers cried out against him, because they could not indure the extreme frost, and make way, but with extreme difficultie, through the snow, that *Alexander* forooke his horse, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremitie, thereby to shew how well himselfe can indure it? His walking on foote did no otherwise take off their wearinesse that followed him, than his sometime for bearing to drinke did quench their thirst, that could lesse indure it. For mine owne little judgement I shall rather commend that Capitaine, that makes carefull provision for those that follow

follow him, & that seekes wisely to prevent extreme necessity, than those witlesse arrogant fooles, that make the vaunt of having induced equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glorie and importance.

We finde in all the Warres that *Caesar* made, or the best of the *Roman* Commanders, that the prouision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Coligni*, Admirall of *France*; *That whose will shape that best* (meaning Warre) *must begin with his belly*.

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Persopolis*, where those Historians, that were most amorous of his vertues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemencie, towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drinke; That he smothered in carrowling cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reuerend Throne of the great King, into the companie and familiaritie of base Harlots, he beganne to be despised both of his owne and all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, hee caused the most sumptuous and goodly Cattle and Citie of *Persopolis*, to be consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrarie, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perswasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most groeue perswasion to the *Asians*, to thinke hardly of him, and thereby aliene their hearts: For 20 they might well beleuee that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing lesse than (after such vastation) to hold their possession. *Fore uolentiam crudelitas sequitur; Crudelitas dicitur commonly followe drunkennesse*: For so it fell out soone after, and often, in *Alexander*.

§. XIII.

The Treason of *Bessus* against *Darius*. *Darius* his death.

ABout this time he received a new supply of Souldiers out of *Cilicia*, and goes on to finde *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Armie, which hee meant to haue increased in *Bactria*, had not heard of *Alexander* comming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as hee had, which was numbred at thirtie or fortie thousand) hee determined once againe to trie his fortune. He therefore calls together his Captaines & Commanders, and propounds vnto them his resolution, who being desperat of good successe vsed silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of Warre, who had sometime liued with *Philip* of *Macedon*, brake the yce, and protesting that hee could neuer be beaten by any aduersitie of the Kings, from the faith which he had euer ought him, with firme confidence, that all the rest were of the same disposition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) hee approved the Kings resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, *Naburzanes*, and *Bessus*, whereof the latter was Governour of *Bactria*, had conspired against their Master, and therefore aduised the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the gods nor Fortune had in all things declared themselves to be an enemy: this preamble *Naburzanes* vied, & in conclusion aduised the election of his fellow Traitor *Bessus*, with promise, that the warres ended, the Empire should againe be restored to *Darius*. The King swollen with disdain prest towards *Naburzanes* to haue slaine 30 him, but *Bessus* & the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the meane while *Naburzanes* with-drew himselfe, and *Bessus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Armie. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull seruant, perswaded him to be aduised, and serue the time, seeing

seeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that hee would at least make shew of forgetting the offence made, which the King being of a gentle disposition, willingly yeelded, vnto. *Bessus* makes his submission and attends the King, who remoues his Armie. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of foure thousand *Greekes*, which had bin all the former Battailles serued *Darius* with great fidelitie, and alwayes made the retreat in sight of the *Macedonians*, offered himselfe to guard his person, protesting against the Treason of *Bessus*, but it was not in his dcltine to follow their aduice wio from the beginning of the Warre gaue him faithfull counsell but hee inclined still to *Bessus*, who told him, that the *Greekes* with *Patron* their Capaine were corrupted by 10 *Alexander*, and practised the diuision of his faithfull seruants. *Bessus* had drawne vnto him thirtie thousand of the Armie, promising them all those things by which the louers of the World and themselves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, safetie, and honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainly discovered the purposes of *Bessus*, and being overcome with passion, as thinking himselfe vnable to make head against these vngratefull and vnaturall Traytors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithfull seruant, to depart from him, and to provide for himselfe. In like sort he discharged the rest of his attendants, all save a few of his Eunuchs; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His *Persians* being most base Cowardes, durst not vnderake his defence 20 against the *Bactrians*, notwithstanding that they had foure thousand *Greekes* to ioyne with him, who had beene able to haue beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forsakes himselfe, no man followes. It had beene farre more Man-like and King-like to haue dyed in the head of those foure thousand *Greekes*, which offered him the disposition of their liues, (to which *Artabazus* perswaded him) than to haue lien bewailing himselfe on the ground, and suffering himselfe to be bound like a Slave by those ambitious Monsters that layd hand on him, whom neyther the consideration of his former great estate, nor the honours he had giuen them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could moue to pittie: no, nor his present aduersitie, which aboue all things should haue mooued them, 30 could pierce their viperous and vngratefull hearts. Vaine it was indeed to hope it, for infidelitie hath no compassion.

Now *Darius*, thus forsaken, was bound and layd in a Cart, covered with hides of Beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not bee discovered; and to adde despayt and derision to his aduersitie, they fastned him with Chaynes of Gold, and so drew him on among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For *Bessus* and *Naburzanes* perswaded themselves to redeeme their liues and the Prouinces they held, eyther by deliuering him a Prisoner to *Alexander*, or if that hope failed, to make themselves Kings by his slaughter, and then to defend themselves by force of Armes. But they failed in both. For it was against the nature of God, who is most iust, to pardon so strange villanie, yea though against a Prince purely Heathenish and an Idolater.

Alexander hauing knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durst not abide his comming, halsted after him with a violent speed, and because hee would not force his Foot-men beyond their powers, hee mounted on horse-backe certaine selected Companies of them, and best aimed, and with fixe thousand other Horse, rather ranne than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treason of *Bessus* and secretly forsooke him, gaue knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Bessus* tooke, and how neere hee was at hand: to many men of worth daily ranne from him. Hereupon *Alexander* againe distilled his 50 pace, and his Vant-gard being discovered by *Bessus* his R care, *Bessus* brought a Horse to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perswading him to mount therein, and to saue himselfe. But the vnfortunate King refusing to follow those that had betrayed him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beasts that drew him, and slew two poore seruants that attended his person. This done, they

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all fled that could, leaving the rest to the mercie of the *Macedonian* Swords.

Polystratus a *Macedonian*, being by pursure of the vanquished preit with thirst, as he was refreshing himselfe with some water that he had discovered, espying a Cart with a Teame of wounded beasts breathing for life, and notable to mowe, leached the same, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his owne blood. And by a *Persian* captive which followed this *Polystratus*, he vnderstood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of this barbarous Tragedie. *Darius* also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the liuing God can bee comforted) that hee cast not out his last sorrowes vnheard, but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on those Traitors, which had dealt no lesse vnworthily than cruelly 10 with him, recommending their reuenge to *Alexander* by this Messenger, which hee besought him to pursue, not because *Darius* had desired it, but for his owne honor, and for the sake of all that did, or should after weare Crownes. Hee also, hauing nothing else to present, rendred thankes to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace vied towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, desiring the immortal Gods to submit vnto him the Empire of the whole world. As hee was thus speaking, impatient death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he desired water, which *Polystratus* presented him, after which he liued but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, where-with to desire the Gods to reward his compassion. 20

§. XIII.

How *ALEXANDER* pursued *Bessus*, and tooke into his grace *Darius* his Captaine.

IT was now hoped by the *Macedonians*, that their trauells were neere an end, every man preparing for his retorne. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, hee was greatly grieved; for the bounded earth 30 sufficed not his boundlesse ambition. Many arguments hee therefore vied to draw on his Armie farther into the East, but that which had most strength was, that *Bessus*, a most cruell Taitor to his Master *Darius*, hauing at his deuotion the *Hyrcanians*, and *Bactrians*, would in short time (if the *Macedonians* should retorne) make himselfe Lord of the *Persian* Empire, and enioy the traits of all their former trauailes. In conclusion, hee wanne their consents to goe on: which done, leaving *Craterus* with certaine Regiments of foot, and *Amyntas* with fixe thousand Horse in *Parthia*, hee enters not without some opposition into *Hyrcania*, for the *Mardons*, and other barbarous Nations, defended certaine passages for a while. Hee passeth the River of *Zioberus*, which taking beginning in 40 *Parthia*, dissolues it selfe in the *Caspian* Sea: it runneth vnder the ledge of Mountaines, which bound *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, where hiding it selfe vnder ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riseth againe and followeth its former course. In *Zabacarta* or *Zendacarta*, the same Citie which *Ptolomie* writes *Hyrcania*, the Metropolis of that Region, hee rested fiftene dayes, banquetting, and feasting therein.

Phataphernes, one of *Darius* his greatest Commanders, with other of his best followers, submit themselves to *Alexander*, and were restored to their places and governments. But of all other hee graced *Ariabazus* most highly for his approved & constant faith to his Master *Darius*. *Ariabazus* brought with him ten thousand and five hundred *Greekes*, the remainder of all those that had serued *Darius*; He treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end they render themselves simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the *Lacedemonians*, whom he imprisons; their Leader hauing slaine himselfe. Hee was also wrought, though

(though to his great dishonour) to receiue *Nabarchanes* that had joyned with *Bessus* to murder *Darius*.

§. XV.

Of *THALESTRIS* Queene of the *Amazons*; where, by way of digression it is shewed, that such *Amazons* haue beene, and are.



10 Ere it is said, that *Thalestris* or *Minthea*, a Queene of the *Amazons*, came to visite him, and her sute was, (which shee easily obtayned) That shee might accompanie him till shee were made with childe by him: which done (refusing to follow him into *India*) she returned into her owne Countrie.

Plutarch citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of *Thalestris* with *Alexander*, and some contradicting it. But, indeede, the letters of *Alexander* himselfe to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this *Amazonian* businesse, may iustly breed suspition of the whole matter as forged. Much more iustly may we suspect it as a vaine tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his bookes to *Lysimachus* (then King of 20 *Thrace*) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage, was taught at by the King for inserting such newes of the *Amazons*, as *Lysimachus* himselfe had neuer heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander* tooke vpon him to write his acts; which to amplify, He tolde how the King had fought single with an Elephant, and slaine it. The King hearing such stuffe, caught the booke, and threw it into the River of *Indus*; saying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inserting such fables, disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet was we beleue and know that there are Elephants, though it were false that *Alexander* fought with one; so may we give credit vnto writers, making mention of such *Amazons*, whether it were true or false that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaves the matter vndetermined. 30 Therefore I will heere take leaue to make digression, as well to shew the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some moderne discoverers touching these warlike Women, because not onely *Strabo*, but many others of the these our times make doubt, whether, or no, there were any such kinde of people. *Iulius Solinus* wares them in the North parts of *Asia* the lesse. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them; the one, on the River *Thermodon*; the other, neere the *Caspian* Sea; *Quæ* (saith hee) *Sauromatides* appellant; Which the people call *Sauromatides*. The former of these two had the *Cimerians* for their Neighbours; *Certum est* (saith *Vadianus*, who hath Commented vpon *Mela*) *illos proximos Araxenibus iussit*; It is certaine that the *Cimerians* were the next Nations to the *Amazons*. *PTOLOMÆ* 40 lets them farther into the Land North-wards, neere the Mountaines *Hippiæ*, not farre from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in *Asia* it selfe toward *India*, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tell vs; Where they gouerned a people called the *Pandæans*, or *Padeans*, so called after *Pandæ* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the rest deriue themselves. *Claudian* affirms, That they commanded many Nations: For he speaks (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

Medis lenibus, Sabæis
Imperat hic sexus: Reginarumq; sub armis,
Barbaria pars magna iacet.

*Cluid. de cap.
Ptolepinæ.*

50 Over the Medes, and light Sabarans, raigens
This female sexe; and vnder armies of Queene,
Great part of the Barbarian Land remains.

L. 2. *Diadormus Siculus* hath heard of them in *Lybia*, who were more ancient (saith hee) than those which kept the banks of *Thermodon*, a Riuer falling into the *Euxine* Sea neere *Heracium*.

Herodotus doth also make report of these *Amazons*, whom hee tells vs that the *Scythians* call *Aorpatas*, which is as much as *Vindictors* or Men-killers. And that they made incursion into *Asia* the lesse, sackt *Ephesus*, and burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manethon* and *Suennius* report, which they performed thirtie yeeres after *Troy* was taken. At the siege of *Troy* it selfe were reade of *Penthesilea*, That shee came to the succour of *Priamus*.

L. 22. 7. *Am. Marcellinus* gives the cause of their inhabiting vpon the riuer of *Thermodon*, to speaking confidently of the Warres they made with diuers Nations, and of their overthrow.

Plutarch in the life of *Theseus*, out of *Philochorus*, *Hellanicus*, and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of *Antiope* Queene of the *Amazons* by *Hercules*, and by him giuen to *Theseus*, though some asseigne, That *Theseus* himselfe got her by force when shee came to visit him aboard his ship. But in substance there is little difference; all confessing, That such *Amazons* there were. The same Author in the life of *Pompey* speaks of certaine companies of the *Amazons*, that came to aide the *Albanians* against the *Romans*, by whom, after the battaile, many Targets and Buckins of theirs were taken vp: and hee saith farther, That these women entertaine the *Gela* and *Lelages* once a yeere, Nations inhabiting betwene them and the *Albanians*.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times; *Fran. Lopez* who hath written the navigation of *Orellana*, which he made downe the Riuer of *Amazons* from *Pern*, in the yeere 1542. (vpon which Riuer, for the diuers turnings, he is said to haue sailed sixe thousand miles) reports from the relation of the laid *Orellana*, to the Council of the *Indies*, That hee both saw those women and fought with them, where they fought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea.

It is also reported by *Vlricus Schmidel*, that in the yeere 1542. where he sailed vp the Rivers of *Paraguana* and *Parabol*, that he came to a King of that Countie, called *Scherues*, inhabiting vnder the Tropick of *Capricorne*, who gaue his Captaine *Eryandio Rieffere*, a Crowne of silver, which hee had gotten in fight from a Queene of the *Amazons* in those parts.

Ed. Lopes, in his description of the Kingdome of *Congo*, makes relation of such *Amazons*, telling vs, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burne off their right brest, and liue a-part from men, save at one time of the yeere, when they feast and accompanie them for one moneth. These (saith he) possesse a part of the Kingdome of *Monomotapa* in *Africa*, nineteene degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest guards of this Emperour, all the East Indian Portegals know.

I haue produced these authorities, in part, to iustifie mine owne relation of these *Amazons*, because that which was deliuered mee for truth by an ancient *Cacique* of *Guiana*, how vpon the Riuer of *Papayena* (since the Spanish discoueries called *Amazons*) that these women still liue and gouerne, was held for a vaine and vnprobable report.

¶ XVI.

How ALEXANDER fell into the Persians Luxurie: and how hee further pursued BESSVS.

NOW as *Alexander* had begunne to change his condition after the taking of *Perspolis*: so at this time his prosperitie had so much overwrought his vertue, as hee accompted clemencie to bee but basenesse, and the temperance which hee had vied all his life-time, but a poore and deiectiond humour, rather becoming the instructors of his youth, than the condition and state of so mighty a King, as the world could not equall. For hee perswaded himselfe that he now represented the greatnesse of the gods; he was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground, and adore him; hee wore the Robes and garments of the *Persians*, and commanded that his Nobilitie should doe the like; hee entertained in his Court, and Campe, the same shamelesse rabble of Curtians, and *Sodomitical* Eunuchs, that *Darius* had done, and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, and detested manners of the *Persians*, whom hee had vanquished. So licentious is felicitie, as notwithstanding that hee was fully perswaded, that the Gods whom hee serued (detesting the vices of the inuaded) assisted him in all attempts against them, he himselfe, contrarie to the Religion he profest (which how Idolatrous soeuer it were, could not be but fearefull vnto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, and not by ignorance or education, a more foule and fearefull Monster than *Darius*, from whose tyrannic hee vaunted to haue deliuered so many Nations. Yea, those that were dearest and neerest vnto him, began to be ashamed of him, entreating each other with this, and the like scornefull discourse; That *Alexander* of *Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the *Macedonians* were in the end of so many traualles, more impouerished in their vertues, than enriched by their victories; and that it was hard to iudge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered were the baser slaves. Neither were these opinions so reuerend, but that the noise of them came to his eares. He therefore with great gifts sought to pacifie the better sort, and those of whose iudgements he was most ialous; and making it knowne to the Armie, that *Bessus* had assumed the title of a King, and called himselfe *Artaxerxes*, and that hee had compounded a great Armie of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, hee had arguments enow to perswade them to goe on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themselves (so farre ingaged) be cast away. And because they were possessed with the spoiles of so many Cities, as the whole Armie seemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much vnlike the warfare of the *French*) hauing commanded euery mans handells to be brought into the market-place, he together with his owne, caused all to bee consumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but haue prouoked most dangerous vnto him, seeing the common-Souldiers had more interest in these things which they had bought with their painfull traualles, and with their blood, than in the Kings ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often obserued) his happie temeritie ouer-come all things. As hee was in his way, newes came to him, that *Satibarzanes*, whom hee had established in his former gouernement ouer the *Arrians*, was revolted; whereupon leauing the way of *Bactria*, he fought him out, but the Rebelle, hearing of his coming, fled to *Bessus*, with two thousand Horse. Hee then went on towards *Bessus*, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire, with the aduantage of a strong winde, wonne a passage ouer an high and vnaceffable Rocke, which was defended against him, with thirteene thousand foote. For the extremitie of the Flame and smoke, forced them from the place, otherwise inuincible. I saw in the third ciuill warre of *France*, certaine Caves in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rockes, which wee knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last, by certaine bundels of straw, let downe by

by an yron chaine, and a waigty stone in the middle, those that defended it, were so smothered, as they rendered themselves with their plate, monie, and other goods therein hidden. There were also some three yeeres before my arrival in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Countrie people, who did set the long dry grasse on fire to the Eastward of them, (the winde in those parts being alwayes East) so as notwithstanding their flying from the smoke, there was not any one that escaped. *St. John Borriowes* also, with a hundred *Englishs*, was in great danger of being lost at *Margarita*, in the *West-Indies*, by hauing the grasse fired behind him, but the smoke being timefully discovered, hee recovered the Sea before with the losse of sixtene of his men. I remember these things, but to giue caution to those that shall in times to come invade any part of those Countreies, that they alwayes, before they passe into the Land, burne downe the grasse and fedge to the East of them; they may otherwise, without any other enemy, than a handfull of straw set on fire, die the death of honey-Bees, burnt out of the Hiuie.

§. XVII.

A Conspiracie against ALEXANDER. The death of PHILOTAS and PARMENIO.

ALXANDER was, after he parted hence, no where resisted, till he came into *Aria*, to the East of *Bactria*, where the chiefe City of that Province, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended against him, by the revolt of *Sartibarzanes*, but in the end hee receiued the Inhabitants to mercie. At this place his Armie was re-enforced with a new supply of five thousand and five hundred foote, and neere five hundred Horse, out of *Greece*, *Theffalie*, & other places. His iourne out of *Persia* into these parts, is very confusedly described. For hauing (as all his Historians tell vs) a determination to find *Bessus* in *Bactria*, he leaues it at the very entrance, and takes the way of *Hyrcania*; from thence he wanders Northward towards the obscure *Mardi*, vpon the *Caspian-Sea*, and thence ouer the Mountaines *Coronus* into *Aria*, and *Drangianus*.

At this time it was that the treason of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the foane of *Parmenio* was accused, as accessarie, if not principall. This *Dimnus*, hauing (I know not vpon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a yong man whom hee loued, into the same treason. The Youth, although hee was firmlie bound by oath to secrecie, when he heard so foule a matter vttered, beganne to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to haue slaine him for securitie of his owne life. So, constrained by feare, hee made shew as if hee had bene wonne by perswasion, and by seeming at length to like well of the businesse, hee was told more at large what they were, that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of ranke; whose names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned vp to *Nicomachus*, *Nicomachus* had no sooner freed himselfe from the company of this Traitor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his owne brother *Cebalinus* with the whole Historie: whereupon it was agreed betwene them, that *Cebalinus* (who might with least suspition) should goe to the Court, and vtter all. *Cebalinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole businesse; desiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which hee promised to doe, but did not. Two dayes passed, and *Philotas* neuer brake with the King about the matter, but still excused himselfe to *Cebalinus* by the Kings want of leisure. This his coldnesse bred suspition, and caused *Cebalinus* to adresse himselfe to another, one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Armourie, who forth-with brought him to *Alexanders* presence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had passed betwene *Cebalinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perswade himselfe that this concealment of the treason,

son, argued his hand to haue bene in the businesse. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the Traitor no other question then this: *Wherein haue I offended thee, that thou shouldst thinke PHILOTAS more worthe to be King than I?* *Dimnus* perceiuing, when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had so wounded himselfe, that he liued no longer, than to giue his last groane in the Kings presence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the suspition, which his silence might iustly breed. His answer was, That when the practice was reuealed vnto him by *Nicomachus*, he judging it to be but frivolous, did forebore to acquaint *Alexander* therewithall, vntill he might haue better information. This error of his, (if it were onely an error) although *Alexander*, for the notorious seruices of his Father *Parmenio*, of his brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himselfe, had freely pardoned and giuen him his hand for assurance; yet by the instigation of *Craterus*, hee againe swallowed his Princely promise, and made his enemies his Iudges: *Curtius* giues a note of *Craterus* in this businesse; How hee perswaded himselfe, that hee could neuer finde a better occasion to oppress his priuate enemy, than by pretending pietie, and dutie towards the King. Heerof a Poet of our owne hath giuen a note as much better, as it is more generall in his *Philotas*.

See how these great men cloathe their priuate hate,
In these faire colours of the publike good,
And to effect their ends, pretend the State,
As if the State by their affection stood,
And arm'd with power and Princes jealousies,
Will put the least conceit of discontent
Into the greatest ranke of treacheries,
That no one action shall seeme innocent;
Yea valour, honour, bountie, shall be made
As accessaries vnto ends vnjust:
And euen the seruice of the State must lade
The needfull't vndertaking with distrust,
So that base vileness; idle Luxurie,
Seeme safer farre, than to doe worthily, &c.

Now although it were so, that the King, following the aduice of *Craterus*, had resolved the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very euening of the same night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him beganne to binde him; he cryed out vpon the King in these wordes: O ALEXANDER, the malice of mine Enemies hath surmounted thy mercie, and their hatred is farre more constant than the word of a King. Many circumstances were urged against him by *Alexander* himselfe; (for the Kings of *Macedon* did in person examine the accusations of treason) and this was not the least (not the least offence, indeede, against the Kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a God) That when *Alexander* wrote vnto him concerning the title giuen him by *Iupiter Hammon*; Hee answered, That hee could not but reioyce that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the gods, and yet hee could not but withall grieve for those that should liue vnder such a one as would exceede the nature of man. This was (saith *Alexander*) a firme perswasion vnto me, that his heart was changed, and that hee held my glory in despiight. See what a strange Monster Flatterie is, that can perswade Kings to kill those that doe not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to bee abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude, to heare the Kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in wilde garments, and bound like a Thiefe; where hee heard himselfe, and his absent Father the greatest Captaine of the World, accused, his two other Brothers,

Helior and *Nicanor* having beene lost in the present Warre. Hee was so greatly oppressed with griefe, as for a while he could utter nothing but teares, and sorrow had so waited his spirits, as hee sunk vnder those that led him. In the end the King asked him, in what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the King to accuse him, which hee did, to the end that the *Persians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might vnderstand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perswading the assembly, that hee disdained the language of his owne Countre, and so with-drawing himselfe, left him to his mercilesse enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the King, who had so sharply inuoyed against him, would not vouchsafe to heare his excuse. For, 10 not his enemies onely were emboldened thereby against him, but all the rest, having discovered the Kings disposition and resolution, contended among themselves, which of them should exceede in hatred towards him; Among many other arguments, which hee vied in his owne defence, this was not the weakest; That when *Nicomachus* desired to know of *Dimnus*, what men of mark and power were his partners in the conspiracie (as seeming vnwilling to aduenture himselfe with meane and base Companions) *Dimnus* named vnto him *Demetrius* of the Kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, and some others, but spake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly haue valued the partie, and haue incouraged *Nicomachus*. Indeede, as *Philotas* said well for himselfe, it is likely that *Dimnus*, 20 thereby the better to haue heartned *Nicomachus*, would haue named him, though hee had neuer dealt with him in any such practice. And for more certaine proofe, that he knew nothing of their intents, that practised against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforced by torments, or other wise, that could accuse him, and it is true, that aduersity being seldom able to beare her owne burden, is for the most part found so malicious, as shee rather desires to draw others (not alwayes deseruing it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howeouer it were, to auoide the extremity of resilesse and vnnaturall torments, deuised by his profligate enemies *Craterus*, *Cennus*, *Ephesion*, and others, *Philotas* accused his owne selfe; being perswaded that they would haue slaine him 30 forthwith. But hee failed euen in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be layd on flesh and blood, hee was forced to deliuer, not what he knew, but whatsoeuer best pleased their cares, that were farre more mercilesse than death it selfe.

Of this kinde of iudiciall proceeding *S. Augustine* greatly complaineth as a matter to bee bewailed, saith he, with Fountaines of teares. *Quid cum in sua causa quisq; torquetur: & cum queritur vitium sit nocens cruciatur: & innocens (sui pro incerto scelere certissimas penas: non quia illud commississe detegitur, sed quia non commississe nescitur) What shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his owne case; and tormented & whil- 40 lest yet it is in question whether he be guiltie, and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault, of which there is no certaintie, not because he is knowne to haue committed the offence, but because other doe not know that he hath not committed it?*

It had beene enough for *Alexanders* sagacity, if *Philotas* had beene put to death without torment, the rest would not much haue grieued thereat, because hee was greatly suspected. But *Hemelaus*, who afterward conspired against him, made the Kings cruelty and delight in blood, the greatest motive of his owne ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca*, speaking of *Alexander*, saith thus: *Crudelitas minime humanum malum est, indignum tam miti animo; feruissimas rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus. & abiecto homine, in siluestre animal transire; Crueltas non est humane vice; it is unworthy of so milde a spirit. It is euen a beastly rage to delight in blood and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a savage Monster.*

For the conclusion of this Tragedie, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the confession that *Philotas* made, were to giue end to the torments which hee could not any longer indure, or that the same was true indeede; For (saith hee) in this case, they that speake truly, or they that deny falsly, come to one and the same end. Now, while

Aug. de Ciuit.
Dei, l. 19. c. 6.

Sen. de Clem. l. 1.

while the Kings hands were yet wet in blood, he commanded that *Lyncestes*, sonne in Law to *Antipater*, who had beene three yeeres in prison, should be slaine: The same dispatch had all those that *Nicomachus* had accused: others there were that were suspected, because they had followed *Philotas*, but when they had answered for themselves that they knew no way so direct to winne the Kings fauour, as by loving those whom the King fauoured: they were dismissed. But *Parmentio* was yet liuing; *Parmentio*, who had serued with great fidelitie as well *Philip* of *Macedon* the Kings Father, as himselfe; *Parmentio* that first opened the way into *Asia*; That had deprett *Attalus* the Kings enemy; that had alwayes, and in all hazards, the leading of 10 the Kings Vant-guard, that was no lesse prudent in counsell, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloued of the men of Warre, and, to say the truth, hee that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the glorie and fame hee had: That he might not therefore reuenge the death of his Sonne, though not vpon the King, (for it was unlikely that hee would haue dishonoured his fidelitie in his eldest age, hauing now liued threescore and ten yeeres) yet vpon those that by the witchcraft of flatterie had posselt themselves of his affection; it was resolved that he should be dispatched. *Polydamas* was employed in this businesse, a man whom of all other *Parmentio* trusted most, and loued best, who (to bee short) finding him in *Media*, and hauing *Cleander* and other Murderers with him, slew him walking in his 20 Garden, while hee was reading the Kings letters. *Hecce vixit PARMENIO, fuit, Lib. i. militis domus, clari viri; Multa sine Rege prospera, Rex sine illo nihil magna rei gesserat; This was the end of PARMENIO (saith CURIUS) who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King, without him, did neuer effect any thing worthy of praise.*

¶ XVIII.

How *ALEXANDER* subdued the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, and other people. How *Bessus* was deliuered into his hands. How hee fought with the *Seythians*.



When these things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Armie, and brought vnder his obedience the *Arasians* or *Euergetians*; hee made *Amendes* (sometime *Darius* his Secretarie) their Gouvernour; then hee subdued the *Arachosians*, and left *Menon* to command ouer them. Heere the Armie, sometimes led by *Parmentio*, findes him, consisting of twelve thousand *Macedons* and *Greekes*, with whom hee passeth through some cold Regions with difficultie enough. At length hee came to the foote of the Mountain *Taurus* towards the East, where hee built a Citie which hee honoured with his owne name, and peopled it with seuen thousand of his olde *Macedons*, worne with age and with traualles of the warre, The *Arians*, who since hee left them were reuolted, hee subdued againe by the industrie and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigenus*; And now hee resolves to finde out the new King *Bessus* in *Bactria*. *Bessus*, hearing of his coming, prepares to passe ouer the great Riuer of *Oxus* which diuides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabazus* is made Gouvernour of *Bactria* abandoned by *Bessus*; The *Macedonian* Armie suffereth for want of Water, in so much as when they came to the Riuer of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinately, then *Alexander* had lost in any one battaile against the *Persians*. And it may well be; For as *Clytus* had after obiect vnto him hee fought against women, not against men, and not against their persons but their shadows. Hee found on the banks of this great Riuer no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boates, bridges, or rafts, but was forced to fow together the Hides that couered his carriages, and bushe them with straw, and on them in sixe daies to passe ouer his Armie; which *Bessus* might easily haue distrest, if hee had dared but to beholde the *Macedonian* Ar- 50 farre

30

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farre off. Hee had formerly complained againſt *Darius* for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tigris*, and other paſſages, and yet now, when this traitorous ſlaine had ſtyled himſelfe a King, hee durſt not performe any thing worthy of a ſlaine. And therefore thoſe that were neereſt vnto him, and whom he moſt truſted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Armie, moued both by the care of their owne ſafety, and by the memorie of *Bessus* his Treason and cruelty againſt *Darius*, bound him in the like manner that hee had done his Maſter, but with this difference, that he had the chaine cloſed about his neck like a maſtiue Dog, and ſo was dragged along to be preſented to his enemy.

In the meane while *Alexander* was arrived at a certaine Towne inhabited with *Greekes* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before he returned out of *Greece*, whoſe iſſues had well-neere forgotten their Countrey-language. Theſe moſt cruelly (after they had receiued him with great ioy) hee put to the ſword, and deſtroyed their Citie. At this place he receiued *Bessus*, and hauing rewarded *Spitamenes* with the reſt that deliuered him, he gaue the Traitor into the hands of *Oxaites*, *Darius* his brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himſelfe ſecure, ſome twenty thouſand Mountainers aſſaulted his Camp; in repelling whom he receiued a ſhor in the leg, the arrow head ſticking in the fleſh, ſo as hee was carried in a Horſe-Lytter, ſometime by the horſe men, ſometime by the foote.

Soone after hee came vnto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Peroninus* takes to be *Samar-chand*, the regall Citie of the great *Taneriſine*. It had in compaſſe threeſcore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* ſaith.) Heere he receiued the Embaſſadors of the *Scythians* (called *Anians*) who offered to ſerue him.

The *Bactrians* are ſhortly againe with the *Sogdians* ſtirred to Rebellion, by the ſame *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, who had lately deliuered into his hands the Traitor *Bessus*. Many Citieſ were reſoluedly defended againſt him, all which, after victorie, hee deſaced and raſed, killing all therein. At one of theſe hee receiued a blow on the necke which ſtrucke him to the ground, and much diſabled him for many daies after. In the meane while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, againſt whom hee employed *30* *Menedemus* with three thouſand foote and eight hundred horſe.

In the heate of theſe tumults *Alexander* marched on (if we may beleue *Curtius* and others) till he came to the Riuer of *Tanais*, vpon whoſe banke he built another *Alexandria* threeſcore furlongs in compaſſe, which hee beautified with houſes within ſeuentene daies after the walls built. The building of this Citie is ſaid to haue bene occasion of a warre betwene him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perſwading himſelfe, that this new Towne was fortified of purpoſe to keepe him vnder. I doe not well vnderſtand, why the *Scythians*, offering warre in ſuch terrible manner that *Alexander* was iudged by his owne Souldiers to counterfeit ſickeſſe for very feare, ſhould neuertheleſſe make ſuite for peace: neither finde I the reaſon why *Alexander* (not intending the conqueſt of thoſe Northerne deſarts, but only the defence of his owne banke) ſhould reſuſe to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further then they ſhould agree to ſuffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a victorie deſcribed; in purſuit of which the *Macedons* ranne beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus* his expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Trogus* haue greatly miſtaken this Riuer which they call *Tanais*. For it was the Riuer of *Iaxartes*, that runnes betwene *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* paſt ouer, while *Menedemus* was employed in the recoverie of *Samar-chand*. But *Tanais* which diuides *Aſia* from *Europe*, is neere two thouſand miles diſtant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, and the way deſart & vnknowne. So that *Alexander* had (beſides *Iaxartes*) the great Riuer of *Volga* and many others to ſwimme ouer, ere he could recouer *Tanais*: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly haue diſcouered with the Armie that followed him, if he had imploied all the time that he liued in *Aſia* in that trauaile.

Where-

Wherefore it is enough to beleue, that the *Aſiaticke Scythians*, making ſome effort to diſturb the erection of this new Citie, which was like to giue ſome hindrance to their excuſions, were driuen away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of deſentine Armes, eaſily chaſed ſome tenne or twelue miles, which is the ſubſtance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his iourne; like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life time he were as ſober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken God) went not verie farre into that waile Countrey, where hee could finde nothing but trees and ſtones, nor other buſineſſe than to ſet vp a monument.

Threeſcore of the *Macedons* are ſaid to haue bene ſlaine, and one thouſand one hundred hurt in this fight, which might eaſily be in paſſing a great Riuer, defended againſt them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horſes one thouſand eight hundred were brought into the Campe, and many priſoners. It is forbidden by ſome Hiſtorians, and indeede it is hardly poſſible, to ſet downe the numbers of ſuch as periſh in battell: yet *Cæſar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hath bene ſo iniquitiuſe into the greatneſſe of their owne ſucceſſe, that writers haue bene able to deliuer ſuch particulars by credible report, I hold it not vnlawfull to ſet downe what wee finde; eſpecially when it ſerues to giue light to the buſineſſe in hand. The ſmall number which the *Macedonians* loſt; the omiſſion of the number which they ſlew (a thing not vſual in *Curtius*, who forbears nothing that may ſet out the greatneſſe of *Alexander*) and the little bootie that was gotten; doe make it probably, that this warre was no better than the repulſion of a few rousing *Tartars* (the like being yeerely performed by the *Moſſonite*, without any boalt) and therefore better omitted by ſome Hiſtorians, than ſo highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While *Alexander* was aſſuring himſelfe of thoſe *Scythians* bordering vpon *Iaxartes*, he receiued the ill newes that *Menedemus* was ſlaine by *Spitamenes*, the Armie (by him led) broken, and the greateſt numbers ſlaine, to wit, two thouſand foote, and three hundred horſe. He therefore, to appeaſe the rebellion, and to take reuenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haſte he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* ³⁰ kills, burnes, and laies waſte all before him; not ſparing the innocent children, and ſo departs, leauing a new Governour in that Prouince.

To repaire this loſſe he receiued a great ſupply of nineteene thouſand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; with all which, and the old Armie, hee returns towards the South, and paſſeth the Riuer of *Oxus*; on the South-ſide whereof hee built fixe Townes neere each other for mutuall ſuccour. But hee finds a new ſtave-³⁰ vp-Rebell, called *Arimazes*, (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirrie thouſand Souldiers that defended againſt him a ſtrong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when *Alexander* had fought in vaine to winne by faire words, hee made choiſe of three hundred yong-men, and promiſed ten talents to the firſt, nine to the ſecond, and ſo in proportion to the reſt, that could finde a way to creepe vp to the top thereof. This they performed with the loſſe of ſome two and thirrie of their men, and then made a ſigne to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandement. Hereupon he ſent one *Cophes* to perſwade *Arimazes* to yeeld the place; who, being ſhewed by *Cophes* that the Armie of *Macedon* was already mounted vp, yeelded ſimply to *Alexanders* mercie, and was (with all his kinned) ſcourged and crucified to death; which puniſhment they well deſerued for neglecting to keepe good watch in ſo dangerous a time. For the place, as ſeemes by the deſcription, might eaſily haue bene defended againſt all the Armies of the World. But, what ſtrength cannot doe; Mans wit, being the moſt forcible engine, hath often effected; Of which ³⁰ I will giue you an example in a place of our owne.

The Iland of *Sarkis*, ioyning to *Garnſey* and of that gouernement, was in *Queene Maries* time ſurpriſed by the *French*, and could neuer haue bene recovered againe by ſtrong hand, hauing cartell and come enough vpon the place to feede ſo many men as will ſerue to defend it, and being euer way ſo inacceſſible, that it might bee held

held against the Great *Turke*. Yet by the industrie of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this fort regained. Hee anchored in the roade with one Ship of small burden, and, pretending the death of his Marchant, besought the *French*, being some thirtie in number, that they might burie their Marchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappell of that Isle; offering a present to the *French* of such Commodities as they had aboard; whereto (with condition that they should not come ashore with any weapon, no not so much as with a Knife) the *French-men* yielded. Then did the *Flemings* put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead carcase, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebusses; The *French* received them at their landing; and searching euery of them so narrowly as they could not hide a Pen-knife, gaue them leaue to draw their Coffin vpon the Rocks with great difficultie; some part of the *French* tooke the *Flemish* Boat and rowed aboard their Ship, to fetch the commodities promised, and what else they pleased, but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, shut the doore to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, let vpon the *French*; they runne to the Cliffe and cry to their Companie aboord: the *Fleming* to come to their succour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings*, yielded themselves and the place. Thus a Fox-taile doth sometimes helpe well to piece out the Lions-skinne, that else would be too short.

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§. XIX.

How ALEXANDER slew his owne friends.



For these *Sogdian* and *Sythian* Warres, we reade of *Alexanders* killing of a Lion, and other frivolum matter, and that hee committed the Government of *Macedonia*, & the Country about it, to *Clytus*; and how he slew him soone after, for valuing the vertue of *Philip* the father before that of *Alexander* the sonne, or rather because he objected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, and derided the Oracle of *Hammon*: for therein hee toucht him to the quicke, the same being deliuered in publike and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus*, indeed, had deserued as much at the Kings hands, as any man liuing had done, and had in particular faued his life, which the King well remembered when he came to himselfe, and when it was too late. Yet to say the truth, *Clytus* his insolencie was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgot whom he offended, so the King in his (for neyther of them were themselves) forgot whom he went about to slay, for the griefe wherof he tare his owne face and forwored so inordinately, as, but for the perswasions of *Callisthenes*, it is thought he would haue slaine himselfe.

Wine begat *Furie*, *Furie* matter of Repentance: but preceding mischiefs are not amended by succeeding bewailings: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit: obstantem malis conatibus recurdiam remouet; ubi possedit animum nimis vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, sed prouohat; Drunkenness both kindles and layes open euery vice; it remoues out of the way that shame which gues impediment vnto bad attempts; where wine gets the mastery, all the ill that before lay hid den or takes out: drunkenness indeed rather discouers vices, than makes them.*

Soone after this, *Spitamenes*, who slew *Bessus*, and had lately reuolted from *Alexander*, was murdered by his Wife, and his head presented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dahans* also seized vpon his fellow-conspirator *Dataphernes*, and deliuered him vp. So *Alexander* being now freed from all these pettie Rebels, disposed of the Provinces which hee past ouer, and went on with his Armie into *Gabaz*, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storme, as hee lost in one Tempest a thousand of his Train. From hence hee invaded the *Sacari*, and destroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territorie of *Cobortanes*, who submitted himselfe vnto him, feasted him greatly, and presented him with

thirtie

Curt. lib.9.

thirtie beautifull Virgins, among whom *Roxane*, afterward his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* disdained, yet none of them durst vfe any freedom of speech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his course towards *India*, hauing so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twentiethousand armed men.

In the meane while hee would needes bee honoured as a God: whereto that hee might allure the *Macedonians*, hee imploied two pernicious Parafites, *Hagu* and *Gleo*; whom *Callisthenes* opposed: For among many other honest arguments vfed to the assembly, he told *Gleo*, That he thought, that *Alexander* would disdaine the gift of God-head from his Vassalls; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did sometime follow the death of those, who in their life-time had done the greatest things, yet it neuer accompanied any one as yet liuing in the world. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a banquet, and vpon drinke, (for this matter was propounded by *Gleo* at a carowing feast) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they liued, they were in future and succeeding Ages numbered among the gods. *Alexander* stood behinde a partition and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunitie, to be reuenged on *Callisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a louer of the Kings honour, was yet soone after tormented to death, not for that hee had betrayed the King to others: but because hee neuer would condescend to betray the King to himselfe, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracie against the King made by one *Hermolans* and others (which they confest) he caused *Callisthenes* without confession, accusation, or triall, to be torne a-funder vpon the racke: This deed, vnworthy of a King, *Seneca* thus censureth. *Hoc est ALEXANDRI crimen aeternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa milia: opponitur, & CALLISTHENES: Quotiens dictum erit, Occidit DARIUM: opponitur, & CALLISTHENES. Quotiens dictum erit, Omnia Oceano tenus viciit, ipsam quoque tentauit nouis classibus, & Imperium ex angulo Thraciae vsque ad Orientis terminos protulit: dicitur, sed CALLISTHENES occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumque exemplar anserit, ex his que fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam scelus CALLISTHENES: This is the eternall crime of ALEXANDER, which no vertue nor felicity of his in warre shall euer be able to redeme. For as often as any man shall say, He slew many thousand Persians; it shall be replied, Hee did so, and he slew CALLISTHENES: When it shall be said, He slew DARIUS, it shall be replied, and CALLISTHENES; When it shall be said, Hee wonne all as farre as to the very Ocean, thereon also hee aduentured with vnusall Nauies, and extended his Empire from a corner of Thracia, to the utmost bounds of the Orient, it shall be said withall, But he killed CALLISTHENES. Let him haue out-gone all the ancient examples of Captaines and Kings; none of all his acts makes so much to his glory, as CALLISTHENES to his reproach.*

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§. XX.

Of ALEXANDERS iourney into India. The battaile betwene him and PORUS.



With the Armie before remembered, of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and horse, *Alexander* did enter the borders of *India*, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselves vnto him, hee entertained louingly, the rest hee constrained; killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they resisted. Hee then came before *Nisa* built by *Bacchus*, which after a few daies was rendred vnto him. From thence hee remoued to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens filled with delicate fruits and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom hee made feasts for ten daies together. Now when hee had drunke his fill, hee went on towards *Dadala*, and thence to *Andera*, Countries

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Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants, by reason whereof, victuals failing, he diuides his Armie; *Ptolemie* led one part, *Cenon* another, and himselfe the rest. They take many Townes, whereof that of greatest fame was *Masage*, which had in it three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yielded vnto him by *Crope* the Queene, to whom againe he restored it; at the siege of this Citie he receiued a wound in the legge. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polyperchon*, and a Rocke of great strength by himselfe: he wanne also a passage vpon one *Eryx*, who was slain by his companie, and his head presented to *Alexander*. This is the summe of *Alexander's* doings in those parts, before such time as he arriued at the Riuer of *Indus*. Comming to *Indus*, he found there *Ephesione*, who (being sent before) had 10 prepared boats for the transportation of his Army, and ere *Alexander's* arriuall, had perswaded *Omphis* King of that part of the Country to submit himselfe to this great Conquerour. Therefore, soone vpon *Alexander's* comming, *Omphis* presented himselfe with all the strength of his Country, and sixe and fiftie Elephants, vnto him; offering him his seruice and assistance. Hee made *Alexander* know, that hee was an Enemy to the next two great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abisares* and *Porus*; wherewith *Alexander* was not a little pleased, hoping by this diuision to make his owne victorie by farre the more easie. Hee presented *Alexander* with a Crown of gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and withall fourecore talents of siluer coine, which *Alexander* not onely refused, but to shew that hee was co-20 uetous of glory, not of gold, he gaue *Omphis* a thousand talents of his own treasure, besides other *Persian* rarities. *Abisares*, hauing heard that *Alexander* had receiued his enemy *Omphis* into his protection, resolved to make his owne peace also: For, knowing that his owne strength had but equall that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference betweene them, than that which the chance of Warre gaue, he thought it an ill match when *Alexander*, who had already beaten vnder foote all the greatest Princes of *Asia*, should make himselfe a Party and Head of the quarrell. So had *Alexander* none now to stand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he sent a commandement, that he should attend him at the border of his Kingdome, there to doe him homage. But from *Porus* hee receiued this manly answer; That hee 30 would satisfie him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement hee was resolved to take counsell of his Sword. To be short, *Alexander* resolves to passe ouer the Riuer *Hydaspes*, and to find *Porus* at his owne home. *Porus* attends him on the farther banke with thirtie thousand foote, fourecore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troupe of Horle. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had surely staied somewhat longer ere he had seene *India*. The Riuer was foure furlongs broad, which makes halfe a mile, and withall deepe and swift. It had in it many Ilands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacite. *Alexander* sent *Ptolemie* vp the Riuer with a great part of the Armie, throwing the rest from the view of *Porus*: who by this deuice being drawne from his first incamping, sets himselfe downe opposit to *Ptolemie*, supposing that the whole Armie of *Macedon* came to force their passage there. In the meane while *Alexander* recouers the farther thore without resistance. He orders his troups and aduanceth towards *Porus*, who at first rather beleecues, that *Abisares* his Confederat (but now the Confederat of fortune) had been come ouer *Hydaspes* to his aide, than that *Alexander* had past it. But he finds it otherwife, and sends his Brother *Hagis* with foure thousand horle, and a hundred armed waggons to entertaine him. Each waggon had in it foure to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little vse: for there had fallen so much ruine, and thereby the fields were 50 so moistned, as the horles could hardly trot. The *Seythians* & *Dahans* had the Vanguard, who so galled these *Indians*, as they brake their reines, & other furniture, overturning the waggons, and those in them. *Perdiccas* also gaue vp the *Indian* horle-men, and the one & the other were foor to recoile. *Porus* moues forward with grolle of his Armie

Armie, that those of his Vanguard scattered might recouer his Reare: *Alexander* being followed with *Ephesione*, *Ptolemie*, and *Perdiccas*, tooke on him to charge the *Indian* horle-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenon* or *Penon* to invade the right; *Antigonus* and *Leonatus*, hee directed to breake vpon *Porus* his battaile of foote, strengthened with Elephants, *Porus* himselfe being carried vpon one of them of the greatest stature. By these beasts the *Macedonian* foot were most offended; but the Archers and Darters being well guarded with the long and strong Pikes of the *Macedonians*, so galled them, as being enraged, they turned head, and ranne ouer the foote that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtfull fight, by the aduantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulnesse of the *Macedonian* Captaines, the victorie fell to *Alexander*, who also farre exceeded *Porus* in number: for besides the *Macedonians* and other Easterne and Northern Nations, *Porus* was assailed by his owne Confederate and Countrie people. Yet for his owne person he neuer gaue ground otherwife then with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his army, he became a prisoner to the Conqueror, from whom againe hee receiued his estate with a great enlargement.

§. XXI.

How ALEXANDER finished his expedition, and returned out of India.

For beare to trouble my selfe and others with a trifolious discourse of Serpents, Apes and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in these their trauailes: or of those pettie Wars which *Alexander* made betwene the ouerthrow of *Porus*, and his falling downe the Riuer of *Indus*. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better knowne vnto vs in this Age, by meanes of our late Navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those Kings we could in no sort be perswaded to belecue, till our owne experience had taught vs, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be seene betwene *London* and *Stanes*.

Our great trauceller *Mandevile*, who died in the yeere 1372. and had seene so much of the World, and of the East *Indies*, wee accompted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to iudge as we. Witnesse the Monument made of him in the Couent of the Friars *Guilminis* in *Liege*, where the religious of that place keepe some things of his, Comme pour hon- 60 norable memoire de son Excellence; For an honorable memoire of his Excellence, faith *Guichardine*.

The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where those many Riuer of *Hydaspes*, *Zaradrus*, *Aefines*, and the rest, fall into the maine streame, are now posselt by the great *Mogor*, the ninth from *Tamberlane*, who commands all that tract betwene *Persia* and *Indus* towards the West, as also a great extent of Countrie towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Ascension*, a ship of *London*, suffered shipwracke, in the yeere 1609. and some of the company trauailed ouer Land till they came to *Aggra*, the same great Citie (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dionysopolis*.

Phylotratius in the life of *Apollonius Tyanus*, speaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the East *India*, tells vs, that those two great Captaines (whom *Alexander* fought by all meanes to out-fame) when they indued to subiect vnto them the *Oxydrace*, a people inhabiting betwene the Riuer of *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the assault of their cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be vnderstood by the great Ordinance that those people had then in vse. For it is now certainly known, that the great Kings of the vntermost East, haue had the

vse of the Canon, many hundreds of yeeres since, and euen since their first ciuillie and greatnesse, which was long before *Alexanders* time. But *Alexander* pierst not so farre into the East. It sufficed, that hauing already ouer-wearied his Armie, hee discovered the rest of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the Riuer of *Ganges*, was the powerfulllest King of all those Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twentie thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more inflamed, than euer to proceede in this discouerie and conquest, yet all the art he had, could not perswade the Souldiers to wander ouer those great deserts beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible vnto them than the greatest Armie that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many perswasive Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discover such part of the Ocean Sea, as was neerer at hand, whereunto the Riuer of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander* seeing that it would be no otherwise, deuised a prettie trick, wherewith he hoped to beguile posteritie, and make himselfe seeme greater than he was. He enlarged his Campe, made greater trenches, greater cabins for the Souldiers, greater Horse-stalles, and higher mangers than his Horfes could feede in. He cauled all furniture of Men and Horfes to bee made larger than would serue for vse; and scattered these Armourrs and Bridles about his Campe, to be kept as reliques, and wondered at by the Sauages. Proportionable to these he raised vp twelue great Altars to be the monument of his iournies end. This was a ready way to encrease the fame of his bignesse; to his greatnesse it could adde nothing saue a suspicion, that it was lesse than is thought, seeing he stroue so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned againe to the banke of *Aeefines*, and there determined to set vp his fleet where *Aeefines* and *Hydaspis* incounter, where to testifie by a surer monument, how farre he had past towards the East, he built by those riuers two Cities: the one he called *Nicaea*, and the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloued Horse *Bucephalus*. Here againe he receiued a fourth supply of fixe thousand *Thracian* Horse-men, seuen thousand Foot, and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon* fixe and twentie thousand Armourrs, garnished with siluer and gold, which hee distributed among his Souldiers. About these Riuers he wanne many Townes, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted; It is then written of him, that assaunting a Citie of the *Oxidracans*, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of *Beuis of Southampton*, friuolous and incredible. Finally, hee past downe the Riuer with his fleet, at which time also the newes came vnto him of a rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arriual of an hundred Embassadors from a King of *India*, who submitted himself vnto him. Hee seated these Embassadors vpon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuosity that could bee deuised, who some after their dispatch returned againe with a present of three hundred Horse, one hundred and thirtie Waggons, and to each foure Horfes, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he sailes towards the South, passeth through many obscure Nations, which did all yeeld vnto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he took in this passage, *Samus* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poisoned Swords, with one of which *Ptolomie* (afterward King of *Egypte*) was wounded, and cured by an hearbe which *Alexander* dreamt that he had seene in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came neere the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies as they were on a sudden shuffled one vpon another by the Flood, so on the Ebbe they were left on the drigground, and on the sandie bankes of the Riuer,

uer, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed, but after he had a few daies obserued wel the course of the Sea, hee past out of the riuers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune* returned: and the better to informe himselfe, he sent *Nearchus* and *Onesiferus*, to discover the coast towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus* in the beginning of his sixth Booke hath written this passage downe the Riuer of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Vellels, in which hee transported his Army, the Commanders that were sed therein, and other the marvellous prouisions made.

Neere the out-lets of this Riuer, he spent some part of the Winter, and in eighteene daies march from thence recovered *Gedrosia*, in which passage his Armie suffered such miserie for want of foode, that of a hundred and twentie thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned aliuie.

§. XXII.

Of *Alexanders* Riot, Crueltie, and death.

Rom *Gedrosia*, *Alexander* led his Armie into *Carmania*, and so drawing neere to *Persia*, hee gave himselfe wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swinish vice bee hateful enough in it selfe, yet it alwaies inflamed this King to Crueltie. For (saith *Curtius*) the Hang-man followed the feast, for a space of one of his Provinciall Governours he commanded to be slaine, so as neither did the excess of voluptuousnesse qualifie his cruelty, nor his cruelty binder in ought his voluptuousnesse.

While hee refreshed his Army in these parts, a new supply of fixe thousand loote and a thousand horse, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had been employed in the killing of *Parmentis*. Against these Murderers great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Prouinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outrageous, as *Alexander* was perswaded, that had they not altogether despaired of his returne out of *India*, they durst not haue committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembering the vertue of him, whom they had slaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chiefe, with fixe hundred Souldiers by them imploied, were deliuered ouer to the Hang-man: euerie one reioicing that the Ire of the King was at last executed on the ministers of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Onesiferus* were now returned from the coast, and made report of an Island rich in gold, and of other strange things; wherevpon they were commanded to make some farther discouerie: which done, that they should enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and finde the King at *Babylon*.

As he drew neere to *Babylon*, he visited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Pasargada*, now called *Chelquera*: where he was presented with many rich gifts by *Orsines*, one of the Princes of *Persia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But because *Bagoas*, an Eunuch in especiall fauour with the King, was neglected, hee not only practised certaine loose fellows to witnesse against *Orsines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus* tomb, for which he was condemned to die; but hee assisted the Hang-man with his owne handes in tormenting him. At which time also *Alexander* cauled *Phradates* to be slaine, suspecting his gretnes. *Caperat* (saith *Curtius*) esse preceptis ad representanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; He began headlong to shed blood, and to beleue false reports. It is true, that he tooke a way to make all men wearie of his gouernement, seeing crueltye is more fearefull, than all the aduentures that can be made against it.

At this time it is said, that *Calanus* the Philosopher burnt himselfe, when hee had liued threecore and thirtene yeeres. Whether herein he followed the custome of his Countrey, being an *Indian*, Or sought to prevent the griefe and incommoditie of

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Arrianus hath a farre different description of *Cyrus* Tomb.

they were no lesse plagues to mankind, than an ouer-flow of waters, drowning all the leuill, or some burning drought, whereby a great part of liuing creatures is scorched vp.

CHAP. III.

The raigne of ARIDEVS.

10

§. I.

Of the question about succession to ALEXANDER.



THE death of Alexander left his Armie (as Demades the Athenian then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous Giant Polyphemus, hauing lost his only eye. For, that which is reported in fables of that great Cyclops, might well be verified of the Macedonians: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance vncffectuall, and harmefull chiefly to themselves. The causes whereof (vnder the diuine ordinance) were, partly the vncertainetie of Title to succession in the Kingdome of Macedon, partly the stubborne pride of Alexander himself, who thinking none

worthy to bee his Heire, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leaving euery one to his owne fortune; but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to suffer no equals; a lesson soone taught vnto spirits reflecting vpon their owne worth, when the reuerence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly bene shewed, That Philip (the Father of Alexander) gouerning in Macedon as Protector, assumed vnto himselfe the Kingdome, not rendering it vnto Amyntas, (the Sonne of his elder brother Perdiccas) when he grew to mans estate; but only bestowing vpon him in marriage a Daughter of his owne: by which bond, and much more by his proper strength, he assured the Crowne vnto himselfe: Amyntas neuer attempting ought against Philip; though (with price of his life) hee did against Alexander in the beginning of his raigne. Wherefore Eurydice the sole issue of his marriage, ought in reason to haue bene acknowledged Queene after Alexander; as hauing better Title thereto, than either He or Philip had, when they liued, vnlesse (peraduenture) some Law of that Nation forbade the raigne of women. But the excellent vertue of those two Princes had vtterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their owne bodies: and so great were their conquests, that Macedon it selfe was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix; and no way deferring to be laied in ballance against the demand of their posteritie, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royall seate.

Alexander hauing taken many wiues, had issue by none of the principall of them. Bar sine the Daughter of Artabazus a Persian had borne vnto him a yong Sonne; and Roxane the Daughter of Oxyartes (whom he had more solemnly married) was left by him great with child. But the basenesse of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alleaged in Barre of the Plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) haue wrought out their owne ends, vnder the name of Alexanders children.

Cleopatra

Cleopatra the sister of Alexander, widdow to the King of Epirus, and Arideus his base brother (sonne to Philip by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Ladie Eurydice before mentioned, were next in course. Of Cleopatra there was no speech, which may giue suspicion, that either Law or Custome had made that sexe vncapable of the Soueraignetie Arideus (besides his bastardie) was neither for person nor qualitie fit to rule as King; yet vpon him the election fell, but slowly, and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better: when the Counsaillers hauing ouer-labored their disagreeing wits in deuiling what was best, were content for very wearinesse to take what came next to hand.

Ptolomie (soone after King of Egypt) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the halfe-Persian broode, King Alexanders children, was of opinion, that the rule of all should be giuen to the Captaines, that going for law which by the greater part of them should be decreed: so farre was hee from acknowledging any one as true Heire to the Crowne.

This Ptolomie was called the sonne of Lagos, but reputed of Philip: who hauing vfed the company of Arsinoe Ptolomies mother, deliuered her in marriage to Lagos being great with child. Therefore, whether it were so, that he hoped well to worke his owne fortune out of those dissensions, which are incident vnto the consultations of many ambitious men, equall in place, forcing them at length to redeme their quiet with subiection to one, deferring regard by his blood, and trust for his euill carriage; or whether hee desired only to get a share to himselfe, which could not haue come to passe, had all bene giuen to one: plaine enough it is, that he thought not on preferring Arideus before himselfe; and therefore gaue such counsaile as fitted his owne and other mens purposes. Yea, this deuce of hisooke plaine in deede, though not in forme as he had propounded it: For, it was in effect all one, to haue assembled at Alexanders emptie chaire, as Ptolomie had conceived the forme of their consultations, or to set in the chaire such a King as Arideus, no wiser then the chaire it selfe. Also the controuersies arising were determined by the greater part of the Captaines; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterfeit shewes of dissembling aspirers, doe often take check by the plaine dealing of them, who dare to goe more directly to worke: so was it like to haue fared with Ptolomie and the rest, when Arsinus, another of the Captaines, interpreted the words of Alexander, saying, That he left his Kingdome to the worthiest, as designing Perdiccas, to whom (lying at the point of death) hee deliuered his ring. It seemed good in reason, that Alexander should bee disposer of his owne purchases; and those tokens of Alexanders purpose appeared plaine enough, so long as no man would interpose another construction: euery one being vncertaine how the secret affections of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their loue, or because they would not be of the latest, vrged Perdiccas to take vpon him the estate Royall. He was no stranger to the Royall blood; yet his birth gaue him not such reputation, as the great fauour of his dead King, with whom hee had bene very inward, and that especially since the death of Ephesius (a powerfull Minion) into whose place he was chosen. For his owne worth hee might well be commended, as a good man of Warre, and one that had giuen much proofe of his private valour. But very furly hee was: which qualitie (joynd with good fortune) carried a shew of Majestie: being checkt with misaduenture, it was called by a true name Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the present businesse a foolish ouer-wecning did him as great harme, as it had bene great happinesse to haue succeeded Alexander. For not content to haue the acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the sentence of Arsinus, he would needs counterfeit modestie; thinking that euery one of the Princes would haue intreated him to take the waightie burden of an Empire, which would bee the lesse enuious, the more solemnity he vfed in the acceptance. It is truly said, He that fainteth himselfe a sheepe, may chance to be eaten by a Wolfe. Melager, (a man by nature en-

uius,

uous, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*, took advantage of his irresolute behaviour, and very bitterly inveighed against him. In conclusion, he pronounced, that whosoever was Heire to the Crowne, the Souldiers ought to be Heires to the treasure; and therefore he invited them, who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation. The Captaines were left alone, farre enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Souldiers, who greedie of spoile thronged about *Meleager*.

§. II.

The election of *ARIDÆVS*, with the troubles thereabout arising;
the first division of the Empire.

DVring this vp-rote, mention was made of *Arideus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, vntill at last it grew to the voice of the Armie. *Meleager* hauing with drawne himselfe tumultuously from the company of the Lords, was glad of so faire an occasion to make himselfe great: therefore he produced *Arideus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, inuelling him in *Alexanders* Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this election, but in vaine: for they could not resolve what course to follow, reiecting this. Only *Python*, a hot-headed man, took vpon him to proclaim the Sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counsaile which *Perdiccas* at first had giuen, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his Protectors. But this child was not yet borne, which made that attempt of *Python* vaine. Finally, *Perdiccas* with fixe hundred men, and *Ptolomie* with the Kings Pages took vpon them to defend the place where *Alexanders* bodie lay: but the Armie conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whether he listed, easily brake in vpon them, & enforced them to accept *Arideus* for their Soueraigne Lord. Then by the intercession of the ancient Captaines, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

Leonatus, who was of the Roiall blood, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, issued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the horie, which consisted (for the most part) of the Nobilitie. *Perdiccas* abode in the Citie (but standing vpon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunitie of any commotion, that should happen among the infanterie. The King (who was gouerned by *Meleager*) commanded or gaue leave to haue *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither secretly carried, nor committed to sure executioners. Their coming was not unexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with such grauitie, that they departed honeste than they came, being forrie of their bad enterprise. Vpon the newes of this attempt the campe was in an vp-rote, which the King seeking to pacifie, wanted authoritie, as hauing newly got the Crowne by them, and holding it by their courtisie. The matter it selfe afforded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said, that no harme was done, for *Perdiccas* was alive: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which hee imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the surest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, vntill the King by offering to resigne his estate vnto them, renewed out of their pittie that fauourable affection, which had moued them to set him vp at the first.

Perdiccas hauing now ioyned himselfe with *Leonatus*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all prouision of victuals from the Citie. But after sundrie Embassies passing betwene the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to haue the Authors of sedition giuen vp into their handes; the King, that *Meleager* might be ioyned with

Leonatus

Leonatus and *Perdiccas*, as a Third ingouernment of the Armie) things were compounded according to the Kings desire. *Meleager* should haue done well to consider, that such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to giue him a principall place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treacherie lurked vnder their great facilitie. Generall peace was renewed, and much loue protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had bene in *Alexanders* time: but no longer now did the same heart giue it life; and windie spirits they were which moued in the arteries. False reports were giuen out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his owne disgrace, but in such termes as might seeme to haue proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, tooke it as an iniurie done to himselfe; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of *Perdiccas*, that such authors of discord might be punished. *Perdiccas* (as a lover of peace) did well approue the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receiue their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Armie. The plot was mischieuously laid: Had *Meleager* giuen way to seditious rumours, he must needs haue incurred the generall hatred of all, as a fower of dissension; and thereby with publike approbation might haue bene cut off, as hauing often offended in that kinde: his Prince being too weak a Patron. Now seeking redresse of these disorders, he hastened his owne ruine, by a lesse formal, but more speedie way. This kinde of Muster was very solemne, and practised with many ceremonies, as for cleansing of the Armie. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the *Macedonian* foot, the Mercenaries, were each according to their qualitie set in array, a part from others, as if they had bene of sundrie sorts, met at adventure: which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to direction of their severall Captaines. But at that time the great battaile of *Macedonian* Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disadvantage; and the countenance of the horse and Elephants beginning to giue charge vpon them, was such, as discovered no jesting pastime nor good intent. Kings were alwaies wont to fight among the horse-men: of which cullome *Perdiccas* made great vse that day, to the vtter confusion of his enemies. For *Arideus* was alwaies gouerned by him; which for the present had him in possession. Two or three daies before he had sought the death of *Perdiccas* at the instigation of *Meleager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* vp and downe about the foot-men, commanding them to deliuer vnto the death all such as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were cast vnto the Elephants, and by them slaine, in the presence of the King, who should haue defended them, and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Meleager* had expected: they were such as had followed him, when he disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especial friends. Hauing therefore kept himselfe quiet a while, as vnwilling to giue offence to them which had the advantage; when hee saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they sent and slew him.

The Armie being thus corrected was led into the Citie, where a new Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, diuided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves; leauing to *Arideus* the office of a Visitor, and yet making *Perdiccas* his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought vpon; whose bodie hauing bene seuen daies neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the *Egyptians*: no signe of poison appearing, how great fouler the suspicion might be. The charge of his buriall was committed to *Arideus*: one of the Captaines, who was two yeeres preparing of great and costly shew, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coarces of his friends being laied in the ground, before

before that of *Alexander* was beltowed in *Alexandria*, a Citie of his owne building in *Egypt*.

§. III.

The beginning of the Lamian Warre.

WHilest these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* and *Craterus*, two principall Noble men, and inferiour to none of *Alexanders* followers; if not greater than any of the rest, were builed in *Greece* 10 with a Warre, which the *Athenians* more brauely than wisely had begunne in *Alexanders* life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, vpon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander*, not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished *Greekes* (few excepted) should be restored vnto their former places. Hee knew the factious qualitie of the *Grecian* Estates, and therefore thought so to provide, that in euery Citie hee would haue a sure partie. But it fell out otherwise: For hee lost the hearts of many more than hee wanne by this proud iunjunction. His pleasure indeede was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyrannie. The *Athenians* greatly decayed in citie, but retaining more, than was needfull, of their ancient spirits, forbade the execution of this decree in their Dominions; so did also the *Ætolians*, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them tooke Armes, but seemed to beare themselves, as men that had done no more then they might well iustifie by reason: neuertheless to prevent the worst, the *Athenians* gaue secret instructions to *Leosthenes* a Captaine of theirs, willing him to leaue an Armie, but in his owne name, and to keepe it in a readinesse for their vse. This was no hard thing for *Leosthenes* to doe: great numbers of *Grecke* Souldiers being lately returned from the *Asian* Warre in poore estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captaines. Of these he had gathered vp eight thousand, when the certaine newes were brought of *Alexanders* 30 death: at which time the Citie of *Athens* declared it selfe, and more honorably than wisely, proclaimed open Warre against the *Macedonians*, for the libertie of *Greece*. Here vpon *Leosthenes* drew in the *Ætolians*, and some other Estates, gaue battaile to the *Boeotians*, who sided with *Antipater*, and ouerthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in Adherents; That *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his owne strength) was faine to send into *Asia* to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vaine than the feares and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies a farre off, which deceiue all mortall wisdom, even when they seeme neere at hand. One moneth was scarcely past, since nothing so heavily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the returne of *Craterus* into *Macedon*; which hee then feared as death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured vnto him, was sent into *Macedon* to conueigh home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to succed *Antipater* in the gouernement of *Macedon* and *Greece*. The suspitions were strong that he had a priue charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published found much better; which was, That *Antipater* should be sent vnto the King, as Captaine of the yong Souldiers, newly to be leauied in *Europe*. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias*; and would sometimes giue out speeches testifying his owne iousellie and hatred of him; but yet hee stroue to smother it, which in a cruell Prince becometh little good. Few of *Alexanders* Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeede were meane persons in regard of those who followed him in his *Indian* expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour

gour was such, as could finde rebellious purposes (for so hee interpreted euen lewd gouernement) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who hauing sitten *Piercy* ten yeeres in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the enuie of a Court, wherein they had bene his inferiours, which would now repine to see him their equall. Therefore whether his feare drew him to preuention, working first the Kings death by poison, giuen by his Son *Isolau*, *Alexanders* cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth vntill opportunitie had changed it into the passion of reuenge, which was cruelly performed by his Sonne *Cassander*: great cause of much feare hee had, which I note in this place, as the ground 10 of effects to be produced in very few yeeres.

At the present *Craterus* was sent for, and all the Captaines of companies lying neere, solicited to make haste. Not without cause. For in *Macedon* there could not at that time be raised more than thirteene thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse; which Muster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Countrie being emptied into *Asia*. The *Thessalians* indeede who had long stood firme for *Philip* and *Alexander*, who also were the best horse-men of *Greece*, furnished him with very braue troupes, that might haue done great seruice, had their faith held out, which they changed for the libertie of *Greece*. With these forces did *Antipater* in *Thessalie* trie the fortune of a battaile with *Leosthenes*; rather (as may seeme) fearing the increase 20 of his enemies power and rebellion of the *Greekes*, (were they not checked at the first) than presuming on his owne strength. For *Leosthenes* had of *Athenians*, *Ætolians*, and Mercenaries, two & twentie thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signories, and of some *Illyrians*, and *Thracians*: of horse hee brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but ouer-strong hee was that way also, when once the *Thessalians* had revolted vnto him. So *Antipater* lost the day: and his losse was such, that hee neither was able to keepe the field, nor to make a safe retraite into his owne Countrie: therefore hee fled into the Towne of *Lamis*, which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessarie to beare out a siege. Thither did *Leosthenes* follow him, present him battaile againe, and vpon the refusall close vp the 30 Towne with earth-works, and a wall. There will wee leaue him for a while, travelling in the last honourable enterprife that euer was vnder taken by that great Citie of *Athens*.

§. IIII.

How *PERDICCAS* employed his Armie.

KING *Arideus* liuing vnder the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his owne Prouince, kept a naked Court: all his greatnesse consisting in a bare citie, supported by the strength of his 40 Protector, who cared not for him other wise than to make vse of him. *Perdiccas* had no Prouince of his owne peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his Gouernement. A stronger Armie then any of the rest hee had, which he might easily hope in that vnsettled condition of things to make better worth to him, than many Prouinces could haue been. The better to accomplish his desires, hee closely sought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*; yet about the same time hee either married *Nicea* the Daughter of *Antipater*, or made such loue to her as blinded their eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings.

50 *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, the second of that name, and tenth King of that Countrie, had continued faithfull to the *Persian* Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his forefathers, euen from *Pharnaces* the first that reigned in *Cappadocia*, who married *Atossa* sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Ancesters had (indeede) bene oppressed by the *Persians*: but what Fortune took from them at

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one time, Vertue restored at another, and their faithfull Princes had much increased all. But now in the fatal Period of so great an Empire, with much wisdom, and (*Darius* being slain) with sufficient honour, he might have acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the *Perfians* toome. This hee did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with greater cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater business, wherein to entertaine his Armie, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take in that in-land Kingdome, surrounded with Prouinces of the *Macedonian* conquest, and for his owne particular to haue one opportune place of sure retreat, vnder the gouernement of a stedfast friend. Therefore he entred *Capadocia*, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field thirtie thousand foot, and fiftene thousand horse (a strong Army, had it not encountered a stronger, and better trained) wanne the victorie, and thereby the whole Kingdome. But with much crueltie did he vse the victorie: for hauing taken *Ariarathes* prisoner with many others, hee crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light vpon: and so deliuered that Prouince to *Eumenes*, whom of all men liuing he trusted most.

Another part of his forces he had committed to *Pythion*; rather as to the most honourable of such as remained about him, than as to the most assured. *Pythion* was to subdue the *Greekes*, rebelling in the high Countries of *Asia*. About twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by *Alexander*, to bridle the barbarous Nations, were soone wearie of their 20 vnpleasant habitations, and the rude people, among whom they liued: and therefore tooke aduantage of the present troubles to seeke vnto themselves a better fortune. Against these *Pythion* went, more desirous to make them his owne, than to destroy them: which intent of his *Perdiccas* discouraging, did both giue him in charge to put all those Rebels to the sword, giuing the spoiles of them to his Souldiers, and further enioyned it vnto *Pythions* Captains (his own creatures) that they should see this command executed. These directions for vse of the victorie might haue procured needlesse; so vncertaine was the victorie it selfe. A Capitaine of the Rebels commanding ouer three thousand, corrupted by *Pythion*, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire without needlesse to a Hill not farre off. This dis- 30 maied the rest, and gaue the day to *Pythion*: who being farre enough from *Perdiccas*, offered composition to the vanquished, granting vnto them their liues and libertie, vnder condition of laying down their armes; and hereupon he gaue them his faith. Being master of these companies, he might well haue a good opinion of his owne power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himselfe as free Lord of any Territorie. He had thirteene thousand foot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new Companions, whom needlesse feare without great losse had caused to leaue the field: but in true estimation all the greatnesse wherof *Pythion* might thinke himselfe assured, was (and soone appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thousand foot, 40 and eight thousand horse, of those which followed *Pythion*, leauied; the Rulers of the Prouinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enioyned to giue assistance to that business: and by vertue of the precept giuen vnto them by *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in pieces all those poore men who had yielded themselves; leauing *Pythion* as naked as he came forth to returne vnto his great Maister.

Now was *Perdiccas* mightie above the mightie, and had faire leisure to pursue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himselfe Lord of all; but this must be secretly carried for feare of opposition. How it succeeded will appeare, when the *Lamian* warre taketh ending.

d. V.

d. V.

The proesse of the *Lamian* warre.

Elefth *Antipater* hardly besieged, wanting meanes to free himself without succours from his friends in *Asia*. Those helps not appearing so soone as he expected, he came to parle with *Leofthenes*, & would haue yielded vnto any termes of reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victorie, do seldome limit their desires. *Leofthenes* willed him without further circumstance to submit himselfe to discretion. This was too much for him, that had once commanded ouer them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extremities, from which as yet he was far enough, could bring no worse with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Towne, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingering warre, the *Atolians* (whether wearie of sitting still at a siege, or hauing business which they pretended at home) took their leaue, & returned into their owne Countrey. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that *Antipater* found means to fall out vpon his enemies to their great losse: for many were slain, and *Leofthenes* himselfe among them, ere he could be repulsed into the Towne. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieved, their victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deale with the *Greekes* in open fight. *Craterus* was long in coming, *Lysimachus* who was neere at hand in *Thrace*, had work too much of his own, leading no more than 4000. foote, and 2000. horse, against *Senthes* the *Thracian* King, who brought into the field about four times that number; and though *Lysimachus*, not without losse, had gotten one victorie, yet the enimie abounding in multitude, felt not the blow so much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leonatus* was earnestly sollicit for *Antipaters* friends, ere he could be repulsed into the Towne. He had the gouernement of *Phrygia* the lesse, and was able to raise an Army of more than 20000. foote, and 2500. horse, whether leauied out of his Prouince, or appointed vnto him out of the maine Armie, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the iourney into *Greece*, than *Antipater* was to haue him come.

For *Cleopatra* had written vnto him, desiring his presence at *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her selfe to be his wife; which letters he kept not so close as had bene requisite, and therefore brought himselfe into great suspicion, that soone ended with his life. *Antiphilus*, chosen Generall by the *Athenians* in place of *Leofthenes*, hearing of his approach, forsooke the siege of *Lamia*, and took the ready way to these great Conquerors of *Asia*, with purpose to giue them an euill welcome home, before *Antipater* and they should ioyne in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the *Atolians*) the aduantage of *Leonatus* in horse, by the ods of 2000. *Thessalians*; in other things he was equall to him in cause he thought himselfe Superior, in the fortune of that day he proued so: for he won a great victorie (chiefly by vertue of the *Thessalians*) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himselfe; who fighting valiantly, was driuen into a marshie piece of ground, where hee found his death, which desperately he had sought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home, not far fro the place of his natiuitie. He was the first of *Alexanders* Captaines which died in battaile, but al, or most of the rest, shal follow him the same way. After this day, the *Athenians* did neuer any thing futable to their ancient glory.

The vanquished *Macedonians* were too weake to renew the fight, & too proud to flee. They betooke themselves to high grounds, vntil for seruice on horse back, and so abode in sight of the enimie that day: the day following *Antipater* with his men came into their camp, and tooke the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiving their strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enimie should increase, did earnestly seeke to determine the matter quickly by another battaile. But still *Antipater* kept himselfe on ground of aduantage: which gaue more than reasonable confidence to the *Greekes*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enimie to be vanquished. This rechelesse (incorrigible in an Armie of voluntaries)

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was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by Land were much detacted by losses at Sea, where the *Athenians* labouring to haue made themselves once againe Masters, were put to the work.

But now the fatal captiuitie of *Greeke* came on, of which she neuer could bee deliuered vnto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Armie hauing made great marches from *Cilicia*, passed ouer into *Europe*, and comming into *Thessalie*, ioyned himselfe with *Antipater*. The forces of *Lamachus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus*, being ioyned in one, contained fortie thousand mightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and five thousand horse; of which numbers the *Greekes* wanted a thousand and five hundred in horse, in foot eightene thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antiphilus* labour to auoid the necessity of a battaile, vntill such time as the Townes confederate, should returne vnto the campe those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in comming, and *Antipater* so vrgent vpon the *Greekes*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more helpe they had carried away the victorie: for the *Thessalians* had the vpper hand, and held it, vntill such time as they perceiued their battailes (ouer-laid with multitude) retire vnto the higher grounds, which caused them also to fall back. So the *Macedonians* became Lords of the field, hauing little else to boast of, considering that with the losse of a hundred and thirtie men, they had purchased only the death of some five hundred enemies. Yet herof was great vse made. For the *Greekes*, as not subiect vnto the full command of one General, and being euerie one desirous to prelerue his owne estate, and Citie; concluded to make a treatie of peace with *Antipater*; who being a subtille artificer, & well vnderstanding their apptell to diuision, refused to harken to any generall composition, but willed euery Citie to deale apart for it self. The intent of this deuiſe was so apparent, that it was reiected; the *Greekes* choosing rather to abide the comming of their Assitants, whose vnreasonable carelesnes betraied the cause. *Antipater* and *Craterus* besieging & winning some townes in *Thessalie*, which the army of the Confederates wanted meanes & courage to relieue, wearied that Nation from attending any longer vpon other mens vnlikely hopes, with their owne assured and present calamity.

§. VII.

Of the peace granted to Athens by ANTIPATER. OF DEMOSTHENES his death.

THe *Thessalians* falling off, all the rest soone followed severally, and sued for peace; the gentle conditions giuen to the most forward, inuiting such as were slack. Only the *Athenians* and *Etolians* held out. Little fauour could they hope for, hauing bene Authors of this tumult; and their feare was not great; the state of the warre being farre from them. But the celeritie of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who sate still at Athens, deuiſing vpon courses of prosecuting the Warre to come, which came to their dores, before their consultation could finde issue. He was ready to enter vpon their Frontiers; they had no abilitie to resist, and were as heartlesse as friendlesse. All that remained was to send Embassadors, desiring peace vpon some good termes: necessity enforcing them to haue accepted even the very worst. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, were chiefe of this Embassage; *Phocion* as the most Honorable; *Demades* as a strong Perswader; (both of them well respected by *Antipater*) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wisdom, grauitie of manners, and vertue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of lesse regard, when their admiration was to cost much in reall effects.

Antipater calling to minde the pride of *Leofthenes*, required of the *Athenians*, that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the warre past, to pay a fine, and entertaine a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the

the gouernement of the Citie to those of most wealth, depriving of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a conuenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the Common-wealth was giuen; a number great enough to retaine the name and forme of a *Democratie*. But the rascal multitude of beggerly persons, accustomed to get their liuings out of the common troubles, being now debarr'd from bearing offices and giuing their voices, cried out, that this was a meere *Oligarchie*; the violent vsurpation of a few inroaching vpon the publike right. These turbulent fellows (of whom King *Philip* had bene wont to say, That warre to them was peace, and peace warre) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gaue them lands to manure, leauing as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of Athens.

To the same end (yet withall for satisfying his owne suspitions and hatred) hee caused *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* famous Orators, with some others to bee slaine. Had the death of these two, especially of *Demosthenes*, bene forborne, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well haue passed for very milde: whereas now all such, as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demosthenes*, or haue surrendered their iudgements to Authors iustly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that euer did speake and write, condemne him vterly, calling him a bloudy tyrant. Such grace and reputation doe the learned arts finde in all ciuill Nations, that the euill done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemish any action, how good soeuer otherwise it be, or honourably carried.

Demosthenes had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Isle of *Calauria*; there did *Archias* (sent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) finde him, and gently perswade him to leaue the place, but not so preuailling, hee threatened violence. Then *Demosthenes*, entreating a little respite as it had bene to write somewhat, secretly took poison, which he had kept for such a necessity, and so died; rather choosing to doe the last execution vpon himselfe, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable, perhaps, in a Heathen man) argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in battaile, how soeuer valiant in perswading to enterprises; wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. Hee loued monie well, and had great summes giuen him by the *Persians*, to encourage him, in finding worke for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did hee (in me thinks) in taking from the *Persians* which loued not his Countrey, great reward, for speaking such things as tended to his Countreys good; which hee did not cease to procure, when the *Persians* were no longer able to giue him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can indure no honourable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) beleue *Lucian*, who tells vs, That it was *Antipaters* purpose to haue done him great honour. Sure it is, that hee was a stedfast enimie to the *Macedonians*; therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of Athens being thus ordered, the chiefe command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a vertuous man, and louer of his Countrey, yet applying himselfe to the necessity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the Citie much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to free-men, yet fauourable to the vanquished) hee endeouored carefully to prelerue.

§. VII.

How CRATERUS and ANTIPATER were drawne from their *Ætolian* Warres into *Asia*. The grounds of the first civil Warre betweene the *Macedonian* Lords.

SO Antipater with Craterus returned into *Macedonia*, where they strengthened their friendship with a new alliance; Craterus taking *Phila*, the Daughter of Antipater, to Wife. Shortly after they went against the *Ætolians*, whose pouertie was not so easily danted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of *Athenes* had bene. Their Countrie was rough and mountainous, hauing many places of great fastnes, into which they conueied such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people, as were least fit for warre: with the rest they fortified the strongest of their Cities, and so abode the coming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully resisted. With great obstinacie did the *Macedonians* contend against the difficulties of the places, which the *Ætolians* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when Craterus had shut vp all passages, and viterly debarred them of reliefe; then were they put to a miserable choice; either to descend from their strong holds, and fight vpon equall ground, with vnequall numbers; or endure the miseries of hunger and cold, against which they could make no long resistance; or to yeild themselves to the *Macedonians*: who incensed by the losse of many good Souldiers, were not like to leaue so stubborn enemies in places, which might giue confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremitie, much finenesse of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger commonly doth more hurt, than a blunt consideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These *Ætolians* did not as yet want meat; but their enemies daily molested them: wherefore as yett they thought vpon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For such newes came out of *Asia* into the *Macedonian* campe, as made Antipater and Craterus thinke euery houre a moneth, till they had rid their hands of these *Ætolians*, giuing them whatsoever conditions they would aske: yett with purpose to call them to seuer account; yea, to roote them out of *Greece* by death, or by captiuitie, when once they should haue settled the affaires of *Asia*; as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is the disposer: in whose high Counsell it was ordained, that this poore Nation should continue a troublesome barre to the proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchie) an open gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into those and other Prouinces. Likewise concerning the matters of *Asia*, the reformation intended by Antipater and Craterus, was so farre from taking effect, that it serued merely as an introduction to all the ciuill warres ensuing.

The grounds of the *Asiaticque* expedition, which did set the world in an vp-rore, were these: Antipater and Craterus were of *Alexanders* Captaines the mightiest in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedencie, and the present rule which he bare in the parts of *Europe*. The other, as of all men the best beloved, and most respected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Armie. Next vnto these had *Perdiccas* bene; whom the aduantage of his presence at the Kings death did make equall, or superiour, to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of *Perdiccas* were, to haue comforted with these two, and to haue bene with them a third partner in the gouernment of all; to which purpose hee entertained the discourse of marriage with one of Antipaters Daughters. But seeing in short space the strength of that gale of winde which bore him vp, he began to take wing and soare quite another way. *Arideus* was a very simple man, yett serued wel enough to weare the title of that Maistie, whereof *Perdiccas* being Administrator, and hoping to become proprietarie, the practice was more seuer than had been in the daies of *Alexander*.

ander: the desire to seeme terrible, being very familiar with weake Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other meanes of preferring themselves from contempt, and of giuing such a fierie lustre to their actions, as my darrell the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poore *Greekes* in the higher *Asia* were all put to the sword; and how tyrannously the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath alreadie bene shewd. The *Pisians* were the next who felt the wrath of these counterfait *Alexanders*. One Citie of theirs was vterly razed; the children sold for slaues, and all the rest massacred. The *Isaurians* by this example growne desperate, when after two or three daies triall they found themselves vnable to continue the defence, lockt themselves into their houses, and set the Towne on fire, into the flame whereof the yong-men did throw themselves, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the wals.

These exploits being performed, the Armie had no other worke than to sift the ashes of the burnt Citie for gold and siluer; but *Perdiccas* had businesse of greater importance troubling his braines. Nothing was more contrarie to his ends, than to sit still without imploiment: letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilst others grew great, and tooke deeper roote in their seuerall Prouinces. Hee purposed therefore to transport his forces into *Europe*, vnder pretence of bringing the King into *Macedonia*, the seate of his Ancestors, and head of the Empire. The Kings preference would make the offices of his Vice-royes (during the time) actually void; Antipater with Craterus being once in case of priuate men, and onely *Perdiccas* holding authoritie, the match with *Cleopatra* might easily bee made. So should greatness meete with a good title; and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomie* might giue, who held *Egypt* well fortified with men, but much better with loue of the people; yett if the businesse prospered in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolomie* would follow of himselfe, or bee driuen to come to reason. Antigonous likewise then gouerning in *Phrygia*, a busie-headed man, and ill affected to the side, was to bee looked into, and made away, for feare of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceived in so thinking. Antigonous was as good a man of warre, of as deepe a judgement, as high a spirit, and as great vnder taking, as any of *Alexanders* Captaines. His imploiments had bene lesse than some of theirs, which made him also the lesse respected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for, he valued himselfe by his owne worth, not by the opinions of other men; with carefull attention had hee watched *Perdiccas*, and founded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discouer. For *Perdiccas* hauing with a jealous eye pried into the demeanour of Antigonous, and finding him no way fit for his turne, caused him to be charged with such accusations, as might suffice to take away his life, especially by a Iudge that fought his death. This deuice Antigonous would not seeme to perceiue, but prepared himselfe in shew to make answere, in deede, to make escape, which easily he did, putting himselfe and his sonne *Demetrius* aboard of some *Armenian* Gallies, that carried him to Antipater, laden with such tidings, as finished the *Ætolian* warre before mentioned.

As the coming of Antigonous made Craterus and Antipater manifestly perceiue their owne danger: so his flight gaue *Perdiccas* to vnderstand that his intentions were laid open, and must now be justified by the sword. Therefore hee prepared as fast as he could, not only for defence, but (as hauing on his side the Kings name) to meet with them at home; who were nothing slack in providing to encounter him. *Ptolomie* being aduertised of these proceedings, and considering how neerely they concerned him, sided with Antipater. To his gouernment of *Egypt* hee had annexed the Dominion of *Cyrene*, not without consent of the chiefe Citizens; and now in the midst of these garboiles he celebrated the funeral of *Alexander* with great solemnitie, purchasing thereby to himselfe much good will and many partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the Kings Armie comming against him.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

PERDICCAS his voyage into Egypt, and his death.

PERDICCAS, vncertaine which way to bend his maine power, at length resolved to set vpon *Ptolomie*; leaving *Eumenes* to keepe to his vie, against *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Asia* bordering vpon *Europe*.

It may seeme strange, that hee did not rather make head against thole who were out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men 10 than *Ptolomie* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Ptolomie*, or beleeued that *Craterus* would not be readie for him soone enough. Sure it is that he rooke a bad course, and made it worse with ill handling.

Ptolomie by his sweet behauiour allured many to his partie, without helpe of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwise was full of insolencie, which neuer faileth to be rewarded with hatred; that is truly defined. An affection founded vpon opinion of an vnjust contempt. The whole storie of his proceedings in *Egypt* is not worth relating: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilfull man) tired his followers, and wasted them in hard enterprises without successe. His most forceable attempt was vpon a little Towne, called the *Camels Wall*: thither he marched by 20 night, with more halte then good speed; for *Ptolomie* preuenting him, did put himselfe into the place, where behauing himselfe not only as a good Commander, but as a stout Souldier, hee gaue the foile to *Perdiccas*, causing him to retire with losse; after a vehement, but vaine, assault continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another iourne, (which was his last) and came to the diuisions of *Nilus*, ouer against *Memphis*. There with much difficultie hee beganne to passe ouer his Armie into an Iland, where he meant to incampe. The current was strong, the water deepe, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants about the passage, to breake the violence of the streame, and his horse-men beneath it; to take vp such as were carried away by swiftnesse of water. A great part of his Armie being arriued on the further banke, the channell beganne to waxe deepe; so that whereas the former companies had waded vp to the chinne, they who should have followed could finde no footing. Whether this came by rising of the water, or flitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feete of so many Men, Horse, and Elephants) no remedie there was, but such as had passed must repasse againe, as well as they might: for they were too weak for the enemy, and could not be relieved by their fellows. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the Riuier, wherein about two thousand of them perished, a thousand were deuoured by *Crocodiles*; a miserable spectacle euen to such as were out of danger; such as were strong and could swimme, recovered the Campe; many were 40 carried downe the streame, and driuen to the contrarie banke, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Souldiers against their Generall, giuing libertie to their tongues, which long time had concealed the cull thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, newes came from *Ptolomy*, which did set them in an vp-rore. *Ptolomie* had not only shewed much compassion on those who fell into his hands aliue, but performed all rights of funerall to the dead carcases, which the Riuier had cast vpon his side; and finally, sent their bones and ashes to be interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not onely moue the common Souldier, but made the Captaines fall to mutinie, thinking it vnreasonable to make warre vpon so 50 vertuous and honorable a person, to fulfill the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, vsing them like slaues. The sedition growing strong wanted only a head, which it quickly found. *Pythion* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the disgrace which hee had suffered by his procurement, after the victorie vpon the rebellious

Greekes.

Greekes. *Pythion* had liued in honourable place about *Alexander*; he was in the diuision of the Prouinces made Gouvernour of *Media*; hee had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorship excepted) equall to him, had neuertheless beene scornefully vsed by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captaines, & a good part of the horse, which consisted of the Gentrie, (the footmen having declared themselves before) he entred the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumstance they all ranne vpon him, and slew him. Such end had the proud mis-governing authoritie of *Perdiccas*. Hee might haue liued as great as any, could he haue suffered any as great as himselfe; yea, peradventure 10 master of all, had he not bene too masterly ouer those which were already his.

The next day *Ptolomie* came into the campe, where he was joyfully received; he excused himselfe of things past, as not hauing bene Author, or giuen cause of the Warre, and was easily beleeued: the fauour of the Armie being such toward him, that needs they would haue made him Protector in the roome of *Perdiccas*. But this hee refused. It was an office fit for one, that would seeke to increase his greatness with his trouble. *Ptolomie* was well enough already; wherefore, for his owne quiet he forbore to accept it, and for their well-deferring of him hee procured that honourable charge to *Pythion*, and to *Arideus* the Captaine, who hauing had some companies of Souldiers, to furnish with their attendance the solemnities of *Alexander's* 20 Funerals, did with them adhere to him against *Perdiccas*.

In the middelt of these businesse came newes of two great victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which newes, had they arriued two or three daies sooner, had bene entertained with joyfull acclamations; and would haue giuen such reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had caused both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to haue accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings comming in ill time, when death had stopped the eares which would haue giuen them wel-come, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

§. IX.

Victories of EUMENES in the lower Asia.



Efore wee proceede in the relation of things, happening about the person of the King, it is meete that wee speake of those businesse in the lower *Asia*, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexterity, whilest *Perdiccas* was occupied in the *Egyptian* warres. *Alcetas*, the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had receiued command from *Perdiccas* to be assistant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made flat answere, That he would not; alleging the backwardnesse of his men to 40 beare armes against so great a person as *Antipater*, and a man so much honoured as *Craterus*, *Neoptolemus* was content to make faire shew, but inwardly hee repined at the Precedencie giuen to *Eumenes*, as thinking himselfe the better man. *Eumenes* discouering, through the counterfaieted looks of *Neoptolemus*, the mischief lurking in his heart, wisely dissembled with him, in hope to winne him by gentle behauiour, and sweet language, that commonly are lost, when bestowed vpon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himselfe, that hee might stand vpon his owne strength, he raised out of the Countreies vnder his iurisdiction, about fixe thousand horse, giuing many priuiledges to such as were seruiceable, & training them well vp. Not without great neede. For when vpon aduertisement of the great preparations 50 made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly passed the *Hellepont*) for the inuasion of his Prouinces, hee willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power, *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) aduance, but in hostile manner, though vnprovoked, presented him battaile. *Neoptolemus* had secretly couenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the conquest of *Asia*, which now intending to performe, he

was

was shamefully disappointed. For though his foot-men, being all *Macedonians*, had much the better, and prevailed farre vpon *Eumenes* his battailes; yet were his horse driuen out of the field, and himselfe compelled, with a few of them, to runne away, leauing naked the backs of his *Macedonian* foot-men, to bee charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in such wise, that calling downe their Pikes, they cried for mercie, and gladly tooke their oath to doe him faithfull seruice. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeouored with many goodly promises to draw *Eumenes* into their societie, who contrariwise offered himselfe, as a meane of reconciliation, betwene *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearly loued; professing withall his hatred to *Antipater*, and constant faith to the cause which he had vnderaken to maintaine.

Whilest these negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crue to *Antipater*, and his Associates, vilifying *Eumenes*; and calling him a *Scribe* (at which foolish railing they laughed) but extolling the vertue of *Craterus* (as well hee might) with high commendations; assuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appeare, or that his voice were but heard by any *Macedonian* in *Eumenes* his Campe, the victorie was wonne, for they would all forth-with requit vnto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to giue him aide against *Eumenes*, and especially requested that *Craterus* might haue the leading of the Armie to be sent. Their owne affections did easily lead them to condescend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might preuaile as much, as the force which hee drew along. For hee had in the middle of *Alexanders* venities, when others (imitating their King) betooke themselves to the *Persian* fashions of garments and customes, retained the ancient *Macedonian* forme of behaviour, and apparel; whereby hee became verie gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld these new tricks of *Asia*, with discontented eyes, as reprochfull and derogatorie to the manners of their native countrie. So *Antipater* tooke the way toward *Cilicia*, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to ioyne with *Ptolomie*. *Craterus* vied great celeritie, to haue taken *Eumenes* reuelling (as he hoped) according to the common fashion of Captaines after a great victory. But hee had a watie and well aduised enemy to encounter, who kept good espiall vpon him, and with much wisdom fore-saw all that was to bee feared, and the meanes of preuention, which his courage did not faile to execute.

Eumenes was not ignorant, that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without battaile, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Armie following him: (yet the Armie following him was such, as much exceeded his owne in foot-men, but was inferiour in horse-men) and thought it more vncasie to keepe the *Macedonians* from reuolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon hee tooke in hand a strange piece of worke, which desperation of all courses else taught him, and wise managing, prosperously accomplished. He gaue out reports, that *Neoptolemus* was returned with such companie as hee could gather together, and had gotten *Pigres* (a Captaine of no great estimation, who lay not farre off) to ioyne with him. Having animated his men against *Neoptolemus*, whom hee knew to be despised and hated among them, (as hauing been vanquished by some of them, & forsaken others in plaine field, whilst they valiantly fought in his quarrell) hee tooke great care to keepe them from receiuing any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded, that no Messenger nor Trumpeter should be admitted; and not herewith satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one *Macedonian*, nor any other that much would haue regarded him had he been knowne: but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians*, and *Persians*, vnder the leading of such, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* and himselfe. To these also hee gaue in charge, that without speaking or hearkening to any word, they should runne vpon the enemy, and giue him no leisure to say or doe any thing, but fight. The directions which hee gaue to others, hee did not faile to execute in his owne person; but placing himself in the right wing of his battaile, opposite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as hee vnderstood) conducted the left wing on the contrarie side, he held the *Macedonians* arranged in good order, and readie to charge

charge the enemy as soon as the distance would giue leaue. A rising piece of ground lay betwene them, which hauing ascended, the Armies discouered each other: but that of *Eumenes* euery way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long iournies, which ouer-hastily they had made, seeking the deceitfull issue of fruitles hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (hauing failed in surprising them as enemies) to discouer himselfe to his old friends and fellow-souldiers, of whom hee could see none. *Phoenix* a *Tenidion*, and *Artabazus* a *Persian*, had the leading of that side, who mindfull of their instructions, beganne to giue vpon him, with such countenance as told him his errour; which to redeme, hee bade his men fight and winne the day, and take the spoile to themselves. But the Beare whose skinn hee fels is not yet caught. The ground whereon the battaile was fought gaue most aduantage to the horse, who encountered very roughly on all parts: especially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*, who as soone as they had discouered one another, could not containe themselves, but with great rage met bodie to bodie, and letting loose their bridles, grappled so violently together, that their horses ran from vnder them, leauing both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* rose first vp, but *Eumenes* had his sword first drawne, where-with hee houghed the other, causing him to fall downe and fight vpon one knee. In this conflict they receiued many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giuing slight ones tooke such as were deadly, by which hee died in the place, and was there (being half-dead half-alive) stripped by his mortall enemy, whose reuillings hee required, lying euen at the last gaspe, with one wound in the groin, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* caused his followers to runne away vpon the spur, and seek shelter behind the battailes of their foe. They were nothing hotly pursued. For *Eumenes* pained himselfe to carrie succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed; but found accompanied with the same fortune, that had assisted him when he fought in person. *Craterus* had gallantly borne himselfe a while, and sustained the impression of *Artabazus* and *Phoenix*, with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little estimation or note. Other wise it is not vnlike, that hee might haue either carried the day, or preferred himselfe to a better aduention by giuing ground, as the rest (when he and *Neoptolemus* were slaine) did. But whilst hee fought to preserve his reputation, hee lost his life by the fall of his horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound receiued; vpon which accident hee was trampled vnder foot by many that knew him not, and so perished vnknowne, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* comming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as hauing alwaies loued and honoured *Craterus*, of whose death hee was now become the instrument. The vanquished Armie entertained a Treatie of peace with *Eumenes*, making shew of willingness to become his followers; but their intent was only to refresh themselves, which (by his permission) hauing done, they slea away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This battaile fought within ten daies of the former, wanne to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his owne Souldiers took the death of *Craterus* heavily, and the Armies lying further off were enraged with the newes. But other matters there were which incensed men against him, besides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifestly appeared, that hee was as sorrie as any that pretended greater heavinesse. His Armie wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wisely amended, by giuing to them the spoile of such Townes as were ill-effected to him. So hee deemed the loue of his owne men, who of their meere motion appointed vnto him a guard for defence of his person. Others were not so easie to be reconciled. They who had bene Traitors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithlesse, as greatly, as they thought that he would hate them for their faithfull; neither found they any fairer way of excusing their late reuolt, than by accusing and condemning the side which they had forsaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and con-

condemned him to die: but it was an easier matter to giue that sentence, than to put it in execution.

¶ X.

Quarrels betweene Eurydice the Queene, and Python the Protector.
Python resignes his office, into which Antipater is chosen.

PYTHON and Arideus being chosen Protectors of King *Aridaeus*, and the children of *Alexander*, tooke the way to *Asia* the lesse, conducting the Armie through *Syria*. Of these two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet farre too weake to sustaine so important a charge. For *Eurydice*, wife to King *Aridaeus*, was come to her husband, a Lady of a masculine spirit, well understanding what she was or should bee, and thinking her selfe able to support the waight which Fortune had laied vpon her foolish husband, being due to her owne title. Her Mother *Cyna*, sister to *Alexander* by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath beene shewed) to *Amyntus*, who was right Heire to the Kingdome of *Macedon*, being the onely sonne of King *Perdiccas*, *Philip*s elder brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; shee had led Armies, and (as a true Sister of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Caria* Queene of the *Phrygians*, a *Virago* like vnto her selfe, had slaine her. Shee brought vp this *Eurydice* in the same vnuomanly art of warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practise the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of *Python*, that could not brooke her curious intermeddling in his charge. Whether it were so, that *Python* had some purpose to aduance the sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdome; (as once he had fought to doe) or whether the Queene did suspect him of some such intent; or whether onely desire of rule caused her to quarrell with him; quarrell shee did, which disturbed the proceeding against *Eumenes*. The Armie hauing taken off such a rank-riider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward be reined with a twined thread, *Python* bearing himself vpon his office, took vpon him to giue directions in the kings name, which the Queene did oftentimes controuersing the same name, with more authoritie, and better liking of the Souldiers. *Python*, seeing this, would needes resigne his office, whether vpon wearinesse of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queene into enuie, it is vncertaine. Perhaps hee thought, that now being the farre worthiest man in the Campe, he should be intreated to retaine the place, and haue his authoritie confirmed, or (as might be increased, were it but for want of a fit Successeur. *Eurydice* was nothing forie at this course; for now he thought to manage the affaires of the Empire at her owne wil, being freed from the troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her and *Python*, of their contrarie expectations: choosing *Antipater*, the onely powerful man of *Alexander*s Captaines, then liuing, into the roome of *Python*. Hereat the Queene fretted exceedingly, and beganne to deale earnestly with the *Macedonians*, that they should acknowledge no Lord saue onely the King their Soueraigne. Yet shee failed of her purpose, being hindred (as may seeme) by three things: the apparent weaknesse of her husband; the growth of *Alexander*s children, who (though borne of outlandish women) were bred in the *Macedonian* campe; and the mightinesse of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Armie newe at hand arrived in few daies at the campe, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her selfe content. *Antipater* was of such power, that he needed not to worke by any close deuices, as *Perdiccas* had done: he had no concurrents, all the Governours of Provinces that remained aliue, acknowledged him their better: yea, many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their roomes. This done, hee tooke the King, Queene, and Princes along

along with him into *Macedonia*, leauing *Antigonus* General of the Royall Armie: to whom for his good seruices done, and to be done against *Eumenes*, hee gaue the rule of *Susiana*, besides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the government of *Asia* during that warre.

¶ XI.

Antigonus Lieutenant of Asia, winnes a battaile of Eumenes, and begetteth him in Nora: He vanquisheth other followers of Perdiccas.

HERE begins the greatnesse of *Antigonus*, whose power in few yeeres oner-growing, the rest wanted little of spreading it selfe ouer the whole Monarchie. Hee was to make warre vpon *Eumenes*, *Alectus* the brother, and *Attalus* the brother-in-law to *Perdiccas*: worke enough to keepe his Armie employed in the publike seruice, till such time as he might find occasion to make vse of it in his owne businesse. The first of these which he vnderooke was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alectus* and *Attalus* refused to ioyne, hauing vnseasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. *Eumenes* had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needfull provisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tried all waies of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Armie with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made shew as if he himselfe had scattered abroad those letters, to trie the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captaines, as hee thought most easie to be wonne. Of these Captaines one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any helpe was neere him, yet looking so carelessly to himselfe, that he and his were surpris'd, when he thought his enemies were off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with *Antigonus*) kept his treacherie secret, reseruing it for the time of execution. Vpon confidence of the treason which this fall man *Apollonides* had vnderaken, *Antigonus* presented battaile to *Eumenes*; in the heate whereof *Apollonides*, General of the horse to *Eumenes*, fled ouer to the contrary side, with such as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose company he desired not. *Eumenes*, perceiving the irrecoverable mischiefe which this traiterous practice brought vpon him, pursued the villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himself into the troups of *Antigonus*, and boast of his treacherie. This was some comfort to *Eumenes* in the losse of that battaile, which disabled him vtterly to keepe the field; and left it very hard for him to make a safe retreat. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* himselfe to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victorie to get possession of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whilst *Antigonus* held him in chace, turned out of the way, and fetching a compass, returned to the place where the battaile had been fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and almes of the Captaines, and common Souldiers, apart, raising vp heapes of earth as Mountaines ouer them, and so went his way. As this bold aduenture bred in the *Macedonians*, (returned to their campe) great admiration of his braue spirit: so the newes which *Menander* (who was set to looke vnto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to loue him as their honourable friend. He had found *Menander* in an open Plaine, carelesse, as after an assured victorie, and loaden with the spoiles of many Nations, the rewards of their long seruice; all which hee might haue taken: but fearing lest such a purchase should proue a heauie burthen to him, whose chiefe hope consisted in swift expedition, he gaue secret warning to *Menander* to flie to the mountaines, whilst he detained his men (vvhom authoritie could not haue restrained) by this sleight, setting them to bait their horses. The *Macedonians* extolled him for this courtisie, as a

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condemned him to die: but it was an easier matter to giue that sentence, than to put it in execution.

§. X.

Quarrels betwene Eurydice the Queene, and Python the Protector.
Python resignes his office, into which Antipater is chosen.

PYTHON and Aridæus being chosen Protectors of King Aridæus, and the children of Alexander, tooke the way to Asia the lesse, conducting the Armie through Syria. Of these two, Python was the greater in reputation, yet farre too weak to sustaine so important a charge. For Eurydice, wife to King Aridæus, was come to her husband, a Ladie of a masculine spirit, well understanding what she was or should bee, and thinking her selfe able to support the waight which Fortune had laide vpon her foolish husband, being due to her owne title. Her Mother Cyna, sister to Alexander by her Father King Philip, was married (as hath bene shewed) to Amyntas, who was right Heire to the Kingdome of Macedon, being the onely sonne of King Perdiccas, Philips elder brother.

This Cyna was a warlike woman; shee had led Armies, and (as a true Sister of Alexander) fighting hand to hand with Caria Queene of the Phrygians, a Virago like vnto her selfe, had slaine her. Shee brought vp this Eurydice in the same vnmannerly art of warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of Python, that could not brooke her curious intermeddling in his charge. Whether it were so, that Python had some purpose to advance the sonne of Alexander by Roxane, to the Kingdome; (as once he had fought to doe) or whether the Queene did suspect him of some such intent; or whether onely desire of rule caused her to quarrell with him; quarrells did, which disturbed the proceeding against Eumenes. The Armie having shaken off such a rank-rider as Perdiccas, would not afterward be reined with a twined threed, Python bearing himself vp in his office, took vpon him to giue directions in the kings name, which the Queene did oftentimes controule, vsing the same name, with more authoritie, and better liking of the Souldiers. Python, seeing this, would needes resigne his office, whether vpon wearinesse of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queene into enuie, it is vncertaine. Perhaps hee thought, that now being the farre worthiest man in the Campe, he should be intreated to retaine the place, and haue his authoritie confirmed, or (as might be increased, were it but for want of a fit Successour. Eurydice was nothing forie at this course; for now she thought to manage the affaires of the Empire at her owne wil, being freed from the troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her and Python, of their contrarie expectations: choosing Antipater, the onely powerful man of Alexanders Captaines, then liuing, into the roome of Python. Hereat the Queene fretted exceedingly, and beganne to deale earnestly with the Macedonians, that they should acknowledge no Lord saue onely the King their Soueraigne. Yet shee failed of her purpose, being hindred (as may seeme) by three things: the apparent weaknesse of her husband: the growth of Alexanders children, who (though borne of outlandish women) were bred in the Macedonian campe; and the mightinesse of Antipater, who commanding a great Armie neere at hand arrived in few daies at the campe, and enforced Eurydice to hold her selfe content. Antipater was of such power, that he needed not to worke by any close deuices, as Perdiccas had done: he had no concurrents, all the Gouvernours of Provinces that remained aliue, acknowledged him their better: yea, many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their rooms. This done, hee tooke the King, Queene, and Princes along

along with him into Macedonia, leauing Antigonus Generall of the Royall Armie: to whom for his good seruices done, and to be done against Eumenes, hee gaue the rule of Susiana, besides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the gouernment of Asia during that warre.

§. XI.

Antigonus Lieutenant of Asia, winnes a battaile of Eumenes, and besiegeth him in Nora: He vanquisheth other followers of Perdiccas.

HERE begins the greatnesse of Antigonus, whose power in few yeeres ouergrowing, the rell wanted little of spreading it selfe ouer the whole Monarchie. Hee was to make warre vpon Eumenes, Alextus the brother, and Attalus the brother in-law to Perdiccas: worke enough to keepe his Armie employed in the publike seruice, till such time as he might find occasion to make vse of it in his owne businesse. The first of these which he vnderooke was Eumenes, with whom Alextus and Attalus refused to ioyne, hauing vnseasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. Eumenes had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needfull provisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore Antigonus tried all waies of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Armie with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of Eumenes (who made shew as if he himselfe had scattered abroad those letters, to trie the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captaines, as hee thought most easie to be wonne. Of these Captaines one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any helpe was neere him, yet looking so carelessly to himselfe, that he and his were surpris'd, when he thought his enemies farre off. Another follower of Eumenes (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with Antigonus) kept his treacherie secret, reseruing it for the time of execution. Vpon confidence of the treason which this fal man Apollonides had vnderaken, Antigonus presented battaile to Eumenes; in the heate whereof Apollonides, General of the horse to Eumenes, fled ouer to the contrary side, with such as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose company he desired not. Eumenes, perceiving the irrecoverable mischiefe which this traitorous practice brought vpon him, pursued the villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himself into the troups of Antigonus, and boast of his treacherie. This was some comfort to Eumenes in the losse of that battaile, which disabled him vtterly to keepe the field; and left it very hard for him to make a safe retreat. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused Antigonus himselfe to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victorie to get possession of the dead bodies. Eumenes, whilst Antigonus held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compass, returned to the place where the battaile had bene fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and almes of the Captaines, and common Souldiers, apart, raising vp heapes of earth as Mountaines ouer them, and so went his way. As this bold aduventure bred in the Macedonians, (returned to their campe) great admiration of his braue spirit: so the newes which Menander (who was set to looke vnto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to loue him as their honourable friend. He had found Menander in an open Plaine, carelesse, as after an assured victorie, and loaden with the spoiles of many Nations, the rewards of their long seruice; all which hee might haue taken: but fearing lest such a purchase should proue a heauie burthen to him, whose chiefe hope consisted in swift expedition, he gaue secret warning to Menander to flie to the mountaines, whilst he detained his men (whom authoritie could not haue restrained) by this sleight, setting them to baite their horses. The Macedonians extolled him for this courtesie, as a

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noble Gentleman, that had forborne when it lay in his power to stripp them out of all their wealth, and make their children slaves, and to rauish their wives: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborne to do this out of any good will to them; but out of mere subtiltie had auoided those precious fetters, which would haue hindered his speedie flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not onely thinke all carriages to be ouer-burden some, but the number of his men to be more trouble-some than auailable in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to suist for themselves; and retaining onely five hundred horse, and two hundred foote. When he had wearied *Antigonus* awhile in following him vp and downe, he came to *Nora*: where againe, keeping no more about him, than necessity required to make good the place, he louingly dismissed all the rest. *Nora* was a little Fortresse in the borders of *Lycania* & *Cappadocia*, so strongly situated that it seemed impregnable, and so well victualled and stored with all necessities, that it might hold out for many yeeres. Thither did *Antigonus* follow, him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in warre. To this purpose he entertained parlee with him, but in vaine. For whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon, and his loue; *Eumenes* required restitution of his Prouinces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* consent. Then was *Nora* closed vp; where *Antigonus* leauing sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, tooke his iourne into *Pisidia* against *Aleutus* and *Attalus*, with whom hee made short worke. He came vpon them vnexpected, and seized on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Captain as *Eumenes* to haue defended them. *Aleutus* and *Attalus*, as they had beene too secure before his comming, so were they too aduenturous in fighting at the first sight, vpon all disadvantages; and their folly was attended with futable euent. *Attalus* with many principall Captaines was taken; *Aleutus* fled to the Citie of *Termessus*, where the loue of the younger sort was toward him so vehement; that stopping their eares against all perswasions of the ancient men, they needes would hazzard their liues and their Countrey in his defence. Yet this auailed him nothing: For the Gouernours of the Towne hauing secretly compounded with *Antigonus*, caused the yong men to fall out; and vsing the time of aduantage, they with their seruants did set vpon *Aleutus*, who vnable to resist, slew himselfe. His dead body was conueied to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarously torne, was cast forth without burial. When *Antigonus* was gone, the yong men interred the carcasie with solenne funerals, hauing once bene minded to set on fire their owne towne in reuenge of his death. Such fauour had hee purchased with courteous liberalitie: but to make an able Generall, one vertue, howe great soeuer, is insufficient.

§. XII.

PTOLOME winnes Syria and Phœnicia. The death of ANTIPATER.

WHilest these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather seeking to enioy their Governments for the present, than to confirme or enlarge them. Onely *Ptolome* looking abroad, wanne all Syria and Phœnicia: an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumstance in the managing. Hee sent a Lieutenant thither with an Armie, who quickly tooke *Lamædon* prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may seeme) without any great strength of Souldiers, farre from assistants, and vainely relying vpon the authority which had giuen him that Prouince, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with seeking to maintaine him in his Office.

Antipater was old and sickly, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* pursue the dispatch of those busineses in Asia. Hee had with him *Polyperchon*, one of the most ancient of *Alexanders* Captaines, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the *Ætolians*, which Nation had stirred in the

quarrell of *Perdiccas*, preuailling farre at the first, but soone losing all that they had gained, whilest *Antipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* expedition. In this *Polyperchon*, *Antipater* did repose great confidence; so farre forth, that (suspecting the youth of his owne Sonne *Cassander* of insufficiency in so great a charge) hee bequeathed vnto him on his death-bed the Government of *Macedon* and *Greece*, together with his Office of Protectorship. So *Antipater* died, being foure-score yeeres old, hauing alwaies trauailed in the great affaires of mightie Princes, with such reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatesse was ialous of him, and the successours of *Alexander* did either quietly giue place vnto him, or were vnfortunate in making oppositions. In his private qualities he was a subtile man, temperate, frugal, and of a Philosophicall behauiour, not vnlearned, as hauing bene Scholler to *Aristotle*, and written some Histories. Hee had bene much molested by *Olympias*, *Alexanders* mother, whom after the death of her Sonne, hee compelled to abstaine from comming into *Macedonia*, or entermeddling in matters of estate: yea, at his owne death he gaue especiall direction, that no woman should be permitted to deale in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was soone forgotten; and yet, ere long, by forthfull experience approued to haue been found and good.

§. XIII.

OF POLYSPERCHON who succeeded vnto ANTIPATER in the Protectorship. The insurrection of CASSANDER against him.

POLYSPERCHON was very skilfull in the art of warre, hauing long time bene Apprentise in that occupation; other qualities, requisite in so high an Office as he vnderwent, either Nature had not giuen to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He manageth his busines more formally, then wisely, as a man of a second wit, fitter to assist, than command in chiefe. At the first entrance vpon the stage, hee called to counsaile all his friends, wherein, for waigbtie considerations (as they who weighed not the contrary reasons held them) the Queene *Olympias* was reuoked out of *Epirus* into *Macedon*, that the presence of *Alexanders* mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For the condition of the times requiring, that the Gouernours of Prouinces abroad should keepe greater Armies, than were needefull or easie to be retained about the person of the King in *Macedonia*; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all maiestie, that might giue authority to the Iniunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard containe within the bounds of dutie such as could not by force haue bene kept in order, being strong, and lying too farre off.

Such care was taken for prevention of imaginarie dangers and out of sight, whilest present mischiefe lay vnregarded in their bosomes. *Cassander*, the Sonne of *Antipater*, was not able to discouer that great sufficiency in *Polyperchon*, for which his father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could hee discern such odds in the qualitie of himselfe and *Polyperchon*, as was in their fortune. Hee was left Captaine of one thousand; which Office by practice of those times was of more importance, than the title now seemes to imphie. He should thereby haue bene as Campe-master, or Lieutenant general to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himselfe the better man. Therefore hee began to examine his owne power, and compare with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relied on his Father, were his owne assured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons bestowen in the principall Cities of *Greece*. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principall authority, in those Common-weales, whose formes had bene corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow his side, and draw in many partakers: it concerned these men in their owne particular

to adhere vnto the Captains, by whom their faction was vp-held; and by whom the rascall multitude, couetous of regaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised ouer the principall Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Besides all these helpes, *Cassander* had the secret loue of *Queene Eurydice*, who had in priuate rendered him such courtisie, as was due onely to her husband. But neither the *Queenes* fauour, nor all his other possibilities, gaue him confidence to breake out into open rebellion; because he saw *Polyperchon* much reuerenced among the *Macedonians*, and strong enough to suppress him, before he could haue made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the countrey, and calling many of his friends about him, vnder pretence of hunting, aduised 10 with them vpon the safest course, and most free from all suspicion. The necessitie was apparant of raising an Armie, before the businesse were set on foot; and to doe this, opportunitie presented him with faire meanes. *Ptolomie* had by fine force, without any commision, annexed *Syria* to his gouernement of *Egypt* and *Cyrene*; this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus* vpon the first newes of *Antipaters* death, began to lay hold vpon all that he could get, in such sort, that he manifestly discovered his intent of making himselfe Lord of all *Asia*. These two therefore stood in neede of a ciuill Warre; which *Cassander* well noted, and presumed withall, that the friendship which had passed betweene his Father and them, would auail him somewhat. Whereupon he secretly dispatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conueied himselfe on a sudden ouer the *Hellepont*, that hee might in person aduance the businesse with greater speede. Much perwasion is needlesse in winning a man to what he desireth. *Antigonus* coueted nothing more, than to finde *Polyperchon* worke, by raising some commotion in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) *Cassander* did very earnestly presse him, by the memory of his Father, and al requisite exhortations, to assist him in this enterprife; telling him, that *Ptolomie* was readie to declare for them, and vrging him to a speedie dispatch. *Antigonus* on the other side repaid him with the same coine; saying, That for his owne sake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearly loued, hee would not faile to giue him all manner of succour. Hauing thus seasted one another with words, they were nothing slacke 30 in preparing the common meanes, leading to their seuerall ends.

§. XIII.

The unworthie courses held by *POLYSPERCHON*, for the keeping
daye of *CASSANDER*.

Great necessitie there was of timely prouision. For *Polyperchon* needed no other instructions to informe him of *Cassanders* drift, than the newes of his departure. He was no ignorant of the ready disposition, which might be found in *Antigonus* and *Ptolomie*, to the strengthening of rebellion; and well hee knew that one principall hope of *Cassander* was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the *Græcian* Estate. Therefore (loving to work circumspectly) he called another Councell, wherein it was concluded, that the Popular forme of gouernment should be erected in all the Cities of *Greece*; the Garrisons withdrawne; and that all Magistrates and principall Men, into whose hands *Antipater* had committed the supreme authority, should forthwith bee either slaine or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of *Cassanders* friends, and to raise vp many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an vnthankfull nature in *Polyperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the Sonne went about to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose only bountie had enabled him to doe it? or what could bee said in their defence, who sought to destroy 50 many

many worthie men, friends to the State, by whom the *Greekes* were held restrained from stirring against the *Macedonians*: and in opposition to their priuate Enemy, gaue the rule of things to base Companions, and such as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans bodie, through sinnewes newly issuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next Neighbour, than by any disemper in the contrarie hand: so in bodie politique, the humours of men, subdiuided in faction, are more enraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curbe them in their nercest purposes, than they are exasperated by the generall opposition of such as are diuided from them in the maine trunk. Hereby it comes to passe, that contrarie religions are invited to helpe against Neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawne in, to the part in ciuill warres; and ancient hatred called to counsaile against iniurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guiltie; shee hath taught the arme to offer it selfe vnto manifest losse in defence of the head: they are depraued affections, which render men sensible of their owne particular, and forgetfull of the more generall good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the *Greekes* were presented with a vaine shew of libertie, ranne vnder the Kings name; but so, as one might easily discern, that *Polyperchon* had guided his pen. For the maine point was, That they should follow such directions, as *Polyperchon* gaue, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it 20 contained such a deale of kindeesse, as proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subiection, might well appeare to haue some other root than the pretended good will; and was of it selfe too base and vnfit for a King to vse toward his conquered Subiects, and often-subdued Rebels.

§. XV.

Of the great commotions raised in *Athens* by *POLYSPERCHONS* decree.
The death of *PHOCION*.

Euertheless the *Athenians* with immoderate ioy entertained this happy-seeming Proclamation, and sought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captaine of the Garrison, which kept one of their Hauens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Towne, would needes take longer time of deliberation, than was 30 pleasing to their hasty desires.

Nicanor, as a trusty follower of *Cassander*, was by him shifted into the place, and *Meniskus* (that was Captaine there before) discharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His coming to *Athens* was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who soone after hearing the newes of *Antipaters* death, cried out vpon *Phocion*, saying, That hee had sufficient intelligence of that accident, and might by aduertising them in due time, haue put into their hands a faire opportunity of thrusting out the *Macedonians*. But these exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Farre more grieuouly would they haue bene offended, had they knowne the instructions, which *Cassander* had giuen to *Nicanor*, and his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, that he should not onely retain *Munychia*, any inhibition to the contrarie notwithstanding; but that hee should finde meanes to thrust some Companies into *Piræus*, and fortifie that also, which was the principall Hauen, against the high Towne. How to accomplish this, he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good abilitie. But the *Athenians* were not long in giuing him sufficient cause to do that, which he would haue done without any cause giuen. They 50 desired him to come vnto their Councell, assembled in the *Piræus*, there to consider of the Kings Proclamation: whither vpon *Phocions* word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the warre which was ready to breake forth. Contrariwise they vrged him first of all, to make them Matters of

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their owne, which how to vie, they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend vnto the others demand; the *Athenians* (who did alwaies measure iustice by profit, yet seldom thrust by that course) practised with *Dercylus*, a Captaine following *Polyperchon*, and then lying neere at hand, that he should enter into the Towne, and take *Nicanor* prisoner. But *Phocion*, who then governed in *Athen*, a man very vnlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politike dishonestie, did quietly suffer him to depart and saue himselfe.

Nicanor hereupon beganne to deuise vpon taking *Piræus*; not as following now the protect of *Cassander*, but prosecuting his owne iurruence. He leauied as many 10 Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychia*; which done, he issued into *Piræus*,ooke it, and intrenched himselfe therein, to the exceeding discomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Haven, saw him now Master of both. *Alexander*, the sonne of *Polyperchon*, came thither shortly after with an Armie. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recouering all, and addressed themselves vnto him; who made faire shewes, intending more mischief, which they perceiued not, being blinded with the vaine Epistles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queene. *Olympias* taking vpon her to command, before shee durst well adventure to returne into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* 20 to restore to the *Athenians* the places which hee held: but hee would first consider more of the matter. *Polyperchon* had further ordained, that the Isle of *Samos* should be rendred vnto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeede) so farre from purposing to let them haue *Samos*, that as yet he did not thoroughly intend to let them haue themselues. The commoditie of their Hauens was such, as he would rather get into his owne hands, than leave in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs, than in *Cassanders*. His sonne *Alexander* notwithstanding this, made faire shew to the *Athenians*, and spent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labor, to intermeddle with the businesse. Hereupon the Citizens grew zealous, and the displeasure they conceived against him they poured out vpon *Phocion*, depriving him of his office. This 30 was done with much tumult: banished men and strangers, thrusting themselves into the assembly of the Citizens, who distracted with sundry passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought euery one that best could inuigill against things past, a most likely man to finde some remedie for the euill threatening them. In this hurly burly was *Alexander* deuising how he might come to some good point of composition with *Nicanor*, and held much priuie conference with him; which he could not so secretly carrie, but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the vp-rore in the Towne was so farre increased, that *Phocion* with many of his friends were accused, and driuen to seeke saueguard of their liues by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gaue them his letters of commendation to his Father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

Polyperchon was in the Countrey of *Phocis*, readie to enter with an Armie into *Attica*. Thither came *Phocion* with his Companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their owne deserts, (having alwaies bene friends to the *Macedonians*, as farre as the good of their Countrey gaue leaue) should be enough to get patronage to their innocence. Besides all this, *Dinarchus* a Corinthian, *Polyperchons* familiar friend, went along with them, (in an euill houre) who promised to himselfe and them great fauour, by means of his acquaintance. But *Polyperchon* was an vnstable man, very earnest in what he tooke in hand, yet, either for want of iudgement in following them, or of honestie in holding the best of them, easily 50 changing his intended courses, and doing things by the halues, which made him commonly faile of good successe. For feare of *Cassander*, he had offered wonderfull kindnesse to the *Athenians*; this had caused them to loue him: out of their loue hee gathered hope of deceiuing them, which made him to change his minde, and seeke how

how to get into his owne hands those keyes, with which *Cassander* held them fast lockt vp: finding himselfe disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false dishonourable man, hee stood wauering betwene the contrarie allurements of profit and reputation. To keepe the *Athenians* perforce at his deuotion, would indeede haue done well: but the effecting of this beganne to grow desperate; and many Townes of importance in *Greece* beganne to cast their eyes vpon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore hee thought it the wisest way to redeme their good opinion, by giuing all contentment vnto the popular faction, which then was growne to be Master of that Citie. And in good time for this purpose were the *Athenian* 10 Embassadors come, treading (as one may say) vpon *Polyperchons* heeles, whom they were sent to accule. These had solemne audience giuen to them in the Kings presence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for ostentations sake was glorified with all exteriour shewes of maiestie; yet all too little to change *Arideus* into *Alexander*: for he did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as hee saw others do. For beginning of the businesse *Polyperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* should be tortured and laine. This was enough to tell his hearty affection to the Commonaltie of *Athen*, in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their sake, whole Embassadors hee then bade to speake. When their errand was done, and answer to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the rest were 20 pronounced guiltie of treason; but to giue sentence, and doe the execution vpon them, was (for Honours sake) referred vnto the Citie of *Athen*, because they were Burgeses. Then were they sent away to *Athen*, where the rascall multitude, not suffering them to speake for themselves, condemned them to die. So they perished being innocent. But the death of *Phocion*, a man very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to be of the lesse regard. Five and fortie times had hee bene chosen Gouverneur of the Citie, neuer suing for the place, but sent for when hee was absent: so well was his integritie knowne, and so highly valued, euen of such as were no pretenders to the same vertue. Hee was a good Commander in Warre, wherein though his actions were not verie great, yet were they of good importance, and neuer vnfortunate. Neuer did the Citie repent of hauing followed his counsaile: nor any priuate man of hauing trusted his word. *Philip* of *Macedon* highly esteemed him; so, and much more did *Alexander*, who (besides other signes of his loue) sent him two hundred talents of siluer, and offered to bestow vpon him of 30 foure Cities in *Asia* any one which hee would choose. But *Phocion* refused these and other gifts, howsoever importunately thrust vpon him; resting well contented with his honest pauerie: wherein hee liued aboue foure score yeeres, and then was compelled by the vnjust iudgement of wicked men to drinke that poyson, which by just iudgement of the righteous God, so infected the Citie of *Athen*, as from that day forwards it neuer brought forth any worthe man resembling the vertue of their 40 Ancients.

§. XVI.

Of POLYSPERCHON his vaine expedition against CASSANDER.

50 **N**ot long after these things were done, *Cassander* with such forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entred into *Piræus*; which newes drew *Polyperchon* head-long into *Attica*, with a great Army, but so ill victualled, that he was faine to depart without any thing done. Onely hee had giuen some impediment to the enemy; who not contented with defending what he held, beganne to looke out, and make new purchases abroad. Finding therefore himselfe vnable to drue *Cassander* out of *Athen*, hee left his sonne *Alexander*, with such number of men, as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, 80

to withstand his further incroching. The greattill part of his Armie he carried into *Peloponnesus*, to make the Countrie sure to himselfe, wherein *Cassander* had many Friends.

His doings in *Peloponnesus* were such, as they had beene in other parts of *Greece*. First, he beganne to fight with Edicts, restoring the *Democratie*, or Popular forme of gouernement. He commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by *Antipater* bene made Rulers, should be either slaine, or driuen into exile. This decree tooke immediate effect in most places: The vulgar sort being very ready to seale the Charter of their freedom and authoritie, with the blood of those who had kept them in subjection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chiefe Citizens; and many which wished well to *Cassander*, especially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polyperchon* meant to inflict an exemplarie punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fiftene thousand serviceable men, well furnished of necessaries, and resolved to endure the worst. And neede there was of such resolution. For *Polyperchon* comming thither with all his power did so much, that he ouerthrow, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall betweene them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the *Macedonians* which came vp to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised vp an inner wall, to beare out the next assault. The Assailants hauing failed to carrie the Towne at the first attempt, tooke much paine to cleare the ground, 10 and make faire way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to ouerthrow all that came in their way. But the townes-men perceiuing their drift, prepared boords driuen through with long nailes, which they vsed as gall-throps, bestowing them slightly, couered with the points vpwards, in the way by which the beafts were to passe. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certaine light-armed men to beat vpon their sides with Arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Asian* Warres. Of these prouisions they made happie vse in the next assault. For by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemie chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driuen back vpon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled vnder feet. *Polyperchon* came as ill furnished for long abode to *Megalopolis*, as before to *Athens*. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the businesse quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, hee forsooke the siege, with some losse, and much dishonour; leauing some part of his Armie to lie before the Towne for his credit.

After this hee sent *Clitus*, his Admirall, to Sea, to ioyne with *Arrianus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemy out of *Asia*. *Cassander* also sent his whole Fleet vnder *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where hee fought with *Clitus*, and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the ouerthrow, gathered together the ships that were elaped, and manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* againe, 40 affuring him of the victorie, as well he might. For hee sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom hee had caused to bee waisted ouer the Straights in small Vessels by night; these before day-light letting vpon *Clitus*, draue his men, that lay securely on the land, head-long into their ships; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriuing did assaile them so lustily, that few or none elaped him.

This losse at Sea, together with his bad successe by Land, brought *Polyperchon* into great contempt. He had a good facilitie in penning bloody decrees, but when the execution was referred to his owne sword, he could finde the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians*, perceiuing that hee had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to giue them protection against the enemie which lay in 50 their bosomes, came to agreement with *Cassander*; accepting a Governour of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the partie of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly reuolted vnto him; as to an industrious man,

man, and likely to preuaile in the end. Thus was the whole Countrie let in a combustion, vncable to be quenched; which presented vnto *Antigonus* an opportunitie, that he neglected not, of making himselfe Lord of *Asia*.

§. XVII.

ANTIGONVS seeks to make himselfe an absolute Lord; and thereupon treats with EUMENES, who disappointeth him. *Phrygia* and *Lydia* wonne by ANTIGONVS.

10 **A**NTIGONVS had in *Antipaters* life time a firme resolution, to make vnto himselfe the vtmost benefit that he might of the Armie committed to his charge. And in haire season for aduancement of his purposes came the newes of *Antipaters* death; euen then, when all the businesse in *Pisidia* was dispatched, and no more employment for the Armie remaining, saue onely the continuance of the siege of *Nora*; a smal thing of it selfe, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutabilitie, to which the present estate was mani- 20 festly subiect, would in continuance of some yeeres (which he might abide) worke more for him, than his enemies in that space could worke against him. His most feare was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men and horses might grow sickly and vnseruiceable: which made him to practise many deuices of keeping them in health and lustie. But when hee had continued shut vp in this manner about a yeere, his hopes came to good passe, and he was eased of his cares by *Antigonus* himselfe, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigonus knowing the great sufficiency of *Eumenes*, and considering his fidelitie shewed vnto *Perdiccas*, thought that hee could not finde in all the world a fitter man than him, to imploy in managing those high designs, wherein hee doubted 30 not that hee should bee withstood by the mightiest Princes of the Empire. Hee sent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a greater Lord than euer hee had bene, and the next man to himselfe, if things fell out as he desired: in regard whereof hee required onely his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleasure issue safely out of *Nora*, and enioy his perfect libertie. *Eumenes* perusing the forme of the oath, perceived the meaning of *Antigonus*, which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the blood, rather to keepe the *Deorum*, than vpon any loyall intent; the binding words and summe of 40 all the rest were such, as tied him fast onely to *Antigonus*, omitting all reueration of due to the King or any other. This hee liked not, holding it vnseemly to become a sworne man to him, with whom hee had fought for the maistrie, and being assured that his voluntarie assistance, which way soeuer he gaue, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would hee not therefore breake off the negotiation, and waite for some better occasion of enlargement, which might perhaps be long in coming; but seeming to bee well agreed with *Antigonus*, hee prepared to giue vp his Hold and depart. As for the oath it selfe, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemne enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifying their Allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay incamped before *Nora*, liked 50 his words, and gaue him leaue to put in *Olympias*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himselfe to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and so he departed.

Antigonus had taken vpon him, as soone as hee came downe to the Sea-side, to remoue

remoue some of the Gouvernours of Prouinces, behauing himselfe according to the authoritie which hee had receiued of *Antipater*, to exercise in the time of warre. Neither did hee want sufficient pretence whereby to iustifie his proceedings. For if *Polyperchon* might lawfully hold the *Protector-ship*, which the old man dotting on his death-bed bequeathed vnto him, as a legacie, without consent of the Princes or Souldiers; why might not he himselfe alwell retain the *Lieutenants-ship* of *Asia*, that was granted vnto him for the generall good of the State, in presence of the whole Armie, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordaine what should seeme conuenient whilet he liued, nor to dispose of things that should happen after his death? To giue a faire colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith satisfied, he had threescore thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, & thirtie Elephants in a readinesse to answer them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was *Arideus* Gouvernour of *Phrygia*; who fortified the Townes of his owne Prouince, and sought to haue wonne *Cyzicus*, a faire Haven Towne, and seated very conueniently for him, but was faine to go away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* tooke occasion to command him out of the Countrie. *Arideus* was so farre from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieue *Eumenes*. Neuerthelselfe finding that he was vnable of himselfe to make long resistance, heooke such companies as hee could draw along with him, and so passed ouer into *Europe*, to complaine at the Court. The like fortune had *Clitus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and fought the like remedy of his fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vanished, and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

§. XVIII.

ANTIGONVS pursues EUMENES. EUMENES hauing authoritie from the Court, raiseth great Warre against ANTIGONVS in defence of the Royall house.



ANTIGONVS hauing thus gotten into his hands all, or most of *Asia* thelesse, was able to haue entred *Macedon*, and seized vpon the Court; which that he forbore to doe, it proceeded (as may seeme) for some of these reasons. It would haue bred as much ialousie in *Cassander*, as feare in *Polyperchon*, which might haue brought them to tearmes of reconciliation; It would aske more time then hee could spare; and the enuie which followed the *Protector-ship* was such, as he that had power enough without the Office, ought rather to shunne, then to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest that *Eumenes* would not only refuse to take his part, but would make war vpon him in defence of the Royall house, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand well-affected. Against him therefore hee bent his course, and with an Armie of twentie thousand foote, and foure thousand Horse, made great haste toward *Cilicia*, hoping to suppress him before hee should bee able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithfull to their dead master, which being well knowne in the Court, hee had commission sent vnto him from thence to raise an Armie, and make warre vpon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings treasure as much as hee should neede. Other letters also there were directed to all the Gouvernours of Prouinces, requiring them to giue assistance to *Eumenes*, and bee ordered by his direction: especially to the Captaines of the olde Souldiers, called the *Argyrsphides*, or siluer-shielded bands, commandement was giuen to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foote, and five hundred

hundred horse, before this authoritie was giuen him: but now he purposed with all the strength which he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royall blood. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring him to bring help to her and her Nephew the sonne of *Alexander*; and in the meane time to giue her his aduice in that which *Polyperchon* required of her: for he was desirous to returne into *Macedon*, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawfull bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counseilled her to remaine in *Epirus*, till such time as hee could bring the warre to a good issue; which done, he promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the seede of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire scarce any one could be found among the Noble-men, in whom *Alexanders* mother, wiues, and children, might repose firme confidence, sauing onely this *Eumenes*, a stranger to the *Macedonian* blood, borne at *Cardia*, a Citie of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his owne vertue had made it; his followers obeyed at their owne discretion; and compelled hee was to traualle as farre as *Persia*, to gather together an Armie sufficient, to resist the enemies that pursued his heeles.

§. XIX.

How the Princes of *Macedon* stood affected mutually. *OLYMPIAS* takes *ARIDEVS* and *EVRYDICE*, whom shee cruelly puts to death.



Now, so farre as in this present warre all the Rulers of the Prouinces did entermiddle; and great alterations happened; not onely in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it selfe, which brought a new face vnto the State; by the extirpation of the royall house of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it conuenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the warre it selfe, to shew briefly how the great ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were drawne into those courses, which overthrow most of them, and out of their ruines built the greatnesse of a few: as likewise to what extremitie the faction brake out in *Macedon* it selfe, about the maine controuersie of title to the Crowne, whereupon all other quarrels were or should haue bene depending.

Arideus the King, being simple and fearefull, did onely what hee was bidden.

Polyperchon, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to aduance the sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the Kingdome, and become Gouvernour to a King of his owne making.

Eurydice the Queene discouering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing lesse than to let her husband serue as a Stale, keeping the throne warme till another were growne old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turne.

Cassander held fresh in mind the danger wherein his family had bene through *Alexanders* malice, together with the indignitie offered to himselfe by *Alexander*, who knocked his head against a wall for desiring one that adored him after the *Persian* manner. The displeasure hereof; and the pleasure which he tooke in the amorous Queene, made him to resolve, both to suppress the lineage which he hated, and to maintaine his beloued mistresse, either by supporting her weak husband, or by taking her to be his owne wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent who reigned ouer all, so as they might raigne in their severall Countries, and establish their authoritie in such way, that it might not be taken from them.

Among

Among these, *Ptolome* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would have suffered them to rest.

Pitho and *Selenus* lying farre off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach vpon their neighbours. Against these, *Pemesther* and some others with much adoe hardly made resistance, vntill such time as *Eumenes* came to them; who propounded to himselfe great matters which he liued not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queene (as it is common with Step-dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wifes. It was thought that shee had giuen poyson to *Aridaus*, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his bodie and wits. Now the considering, that *Eumenes* was too full of businesse to come home so soone as she wished that he should; and that *Cassander* daily preuailed in Greece: thought it the best way to ioyne with *Polyperchon*, and set vp, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the sonne of *Roxane*, remouing *Aridaus* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent he procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and so tooke her way towards *Polyperchon*, who ioyning with her, entred into *Macedon*.

Eurydice hearing these newes, wrote very earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to set aside all other businesse, and come to succour her. Shee her selfe by entreatie, gifts and promises, drew to her partie as many of the *Macedonians* as shee could, vntill shee thought her owne side strong enough; and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth against *Olympias*, and the Traitor *Polyperchon*.

These two Queenes met armed, as if the matter should haue beene determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the revolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soone as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to mind her former Estate, and the victorious reignes of her husband and sonne, they refused to lift any weapon against her. *Eurydice* finding her selfe thus forsaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted and made prisoner with her husband.

Olympias hauing obtained this victorie without blood, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and that vpon these same considerations for which they had refused to beare Armes against her, the *Macedonians* would not sticke to maintaine her, whatsoeuer her proceedings were. Hauing therefore shut vp *Aridaus* and his wife in a close roome, where they could scarce turne round, shee fed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head, (for feare lest the people should haue commiseration of him, that had reigned almost fixe yeeres and a halfe) to put them to death. So shee deliuered *Aridaus* to some barbarous *Thracians*, who tooke away his life by cruell torments: to *Eurydice* she sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of poyson, willing her to choofe the instrument of her owne death, who praying that the like presents might one day be sent to *Olympias*, yielded her necke to the halter, hauing spent her last curses not in vaine. *Nicanor* the brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chiefe of his friends, did *Olympias* then choofe out, all whom she commanded to be slaine. His brother *Iolani* that was already dead and buried, shee accused of poyson giuen to *Alexander*, & thereupon caused his Tombe to be throwne downe, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondering at this furie, began to condemne themselves, and the folly of *Polyperchon*, who had, quite contrarie to *Antipaters* charge giuen on his death-bed, called this outrageous woman to the gouernement of the Empire.

¶ XX. 50

¶ XX.

How *CASSANDER* was reuenged vpon *OLYMPIAS*.

† I.

The great expedition of *CASSANDER*. *OLYMPIAS* shuts her selfe in to *Pydna*, where *CASSANDER* besiegeth her. *ÆACIDES* King of *Epirus*, coming to succour *OLYMPIAS*, is for-
saken, and banished by his owne Subjects.



CASSANDER at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponnesus*; whither when all these ill tidings were brought to him, hee neuer staied to take the Citie, nor to giue order for the State of things in that Countrey, (though *Alexander* the sonne of *Polyperchon* were there with an Armie) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, hee willed his associates to looke to themselves as well as they could, till his returne, and so in al haste he tooke his iourne toward *Macedon*, carried headlong with the greedy desire of iust reuenge. The *Ætolians* had taken the Straights of *Thermopylae*, in fauour of the Queene and *Polyperchon*, to hinder his passage; but hee, not willing to mispend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ships as hee could, great and small, with which he transported his Army into *Thessaly*. There he diuided his companies, appointing some vnder *Callias*, a subtle Captaine, to hold *Polyperchon* busied, who then lay incamped neere to *Perbebia*; with the rest he marched directly against *Olympias*. Shee, hauing once preuailed by the respect giuen to her dignitie, tooke more care how to appeare Maiestically, than to make her selfe strong. To this ende she made a solemne progresse to *Pydna*, a Sea-towne, and well fenced, hauing in her companie all the flower of the Court, especially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, and her yong sonne *Alexander*, heire to the great *Alexander*, by his grandmothers designation: who, during his minority, kept the Sovereigne power in her owne handes. But all this pompe serued to little vfe, against the violence of the enimie, that soone presented himselfe before the walls; onely it fed the besieged with a vaine hope of succour, that would from all partes arrive, to rescue persons of their qualitie. And hereof there scone appeared faire likelihood, which as soone vanished, and went away in smoke.

For *Æacides* King of *Epirus*, made great haste to bring succour to *Olympias*, his consort, with whom *Desdamia* his daughter was also shut vp. Neuertheless, his Subjects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certaine passages taken in the way by *Cassanders* men, they called vpon him to retire, and quit the enterprife. The Kings importunitie vrging them to proceed, and the obstinate refusal of the Army, brake out at length into such termes, that when hee had raged in vaine against the multitude; his authority, with which hee thought to haue preuailed vpon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forsake his Kingdome, and to wander vp and downe in forraine Countries a banished man, his people ioyning with the enimie, against whom he had led them forth to warr.

Pydna in the meane time was closed vp straitly, both by Sea and Land, so that neither any could issue out of the Citie, nor any reliefe be conueied into it; but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorable seruice being done there, whilst great actions were manag'd abroad.

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† II.

†. II.

A continuation of OLYMPIAS her storie. POLYPERCHON
defeated. Extreme famine in Pydna. OLYMPIAS
yeldes to CASSANDER.

NOW, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of EYMEDES and ANTIQONVS in this place, leauing OLYMPIAS yet a while to the hower of her detuning, which growes the faster vpon her, because shee may discern it coming; yet that wee may not bee compelled to interrupt the course of our narration, by inserting her Tragedy in the midst of things, not manifestly coherent with it; wee will here (as elsewhere we haue done, and elsewhere must) continue to an ende one History, that we may not bee therewith distracted, when we shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the besieged, remaining in *Polyperchon*, was in like maner disappointed, as their former trust had been, which was repoled in the succours of the *Epirot*. For *Calles*, who was sent against him, found the means to corrupt the greatest part of his Army with money, leauing him within a little while so slenderly accompanied, that hee was fit for no other but necessity of warre, than a swift retreat. When famine had so farre preuailed in the city, that the horses were killed as a precious food, many me feeding 20 on the dead carcasses of their fellows, and sawdust being giuen to the Elephants for prouender; some of the souldiers obtaining the Queenes leaue, (who could not denie it) others, without asking leaue, yelded themselves to the enemy, & were by him gently relieued, and sent abroad into the Country. The newes of the Queenes affaires, dispersed by these men, did so affright her wil-willers, that such as had referred themselves to the event, came in apace, and submitted them to *Cassander*. At length, when the mortalitie was so great in the Towne, that the liuing were euen poysoned with the noysome sent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her selfe of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that she had: wherewith her successe was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Towne, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to 30 be vnto her as a house of torment, and a Iail, out of which shee should not be deliuered, but vnto an euill death. Being therefore vterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, vnaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered composition, and with much labour hardly obtained of *Cassander* (who hauing fetcht her Gally out of the Hauens, accounted himselfe as good as master of her bodie) a graunt of her owne life. Immediately vpon her apprehension, *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, was yelded to *Cassander*. *Amphipolis* did stand out: for *Aristonous*, to whom *Olympias* had giuen charge of such forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the successe of some pettie seruices wherein hee had preuailed, began to promise himselfe great vnlikelihoods. But *Olympias*, to win 40 *Cassanders* fauour, very earnestly required him vpon his faith to her, that he should giue it vp. He did so, and presently after was killed by his priuate enemies, that were set on by *Cassander*, who partly hated him vpon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seeke inuouation.

†. III.

The death of OLYMPIAS, and her condition.

WHEN *Olympias* had now heard sorrowfull tidings of all her friends, shee herselfe was called into question, and accused in an assembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murders (they were so filled in her affliction, which in time of prosperitie she called iustice) by her committed. There was shee, (being not heard nor called to speake) condemned to die. The suite was commenced and prosecuted

ted against her, by the kindred of those whom she had slaine. But it was at *Cassanders* intigation; who (to batten the execution) sent her word, that he would furnish her, with a ship, and other necessaries, to saue her selfe by flight: which when she refused, saying, that shee would plead for her selfe, and tell her owne tale; the dissembled no longer, but sent vnto her such men as hated her most, who tooke away her miserable life. Shee was daughter, and sister, vnto two Kings of *Epirus*; wife, and mother, vnto two the mightiest Kings, of that, or many other ages; a stout Lady, and of vnreproueable chastitie, but her ambition was boundlesse, her hatred vnappealable, and her furie in reuenge, most vnwomanly. Her peruerse conditions made her husband seeke other wiues and Concubines, which caused her to hate both him, and them. She was thought priuie to her husbands death; after which, very cruelly she slew his late wife *Cleopatra*, hauing first murdered one of her two children in her armes, and with a beastly furie broiled the other aliuie in fire, in a copper bason. For these things, her sonne *Alexander* (otherwise louing her wel) forbade her to meddle in the gouernement of *Macedon*. But God more seuerely vnto cruell Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wils, permitted her to liue & fulfill the rest of her wickednesse; (which was his iustice vpon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppression done by him and others) after all which, He rewarded her malice, by returning it vpon her owne head.

†. IIII.

CASSANDER celebrates the funeral of ARIDEVS and EYRYDICE;
and seekes to make himselfe King of Macedon.

AFTER her death, *Cassander* gaue honourable buriall to *Aridens* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his owne possibilities of greatnesse, he married the Lady *Theffalonica*, whom he had taken at 30 *Pydna*, being the daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his wiues; that by her he might haue some title to the Crowne. For the same end he committed *Roxane*, and her yong sonne, to close prison, remouing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to encrease his fame, and purchase loue, built a Citie, called by his owne name *Cassandria*, that soone grew to be very great and powerfull. He redified likewise *Thebes* in *Greece*, and restored it vnto the old inhabitants, after it had laine twentie yeeres waste, being vterly razed by *Alexander*. By these meanes, especially by the reitauration of *Thebes*, wherunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that few remained enemies vnto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could resist him. Leauing him therefore daily preuailling 40 in *Greece*, we will returne to them, who contended in *Asia*, for lesse titles, but larger Prouinces, with greater forces.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the great Lordship which ANTIGONVS
got in Asia.

§. I.

The iourney of EVMENES into Persia. His wife dealing with
those that ioynd with him.



EVMENES, having ioynd vnto his company the
Argyrasides, made halte into the Easterne parts, to
take possession of those Countries. according to his
commission, and strengthen himselfe against Antigo-
nus. Hee tooke his iourney through Celsyria and
Phenicia, hoping to reclaim those Prouinces, vsurp-
ped with the rest of Syria (as hath bene shewed) by 20
Ptolomie, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this,
his halte of his passing forward was too great, his
Armie too little, and the readinesse of the people, to
returne to their due obedience, none at all. Besides
all which impediments, one inconueniencie troubled him in all his proceedings, mak-
ing them the lesse effectfull. The Capitaines of the Argyrasides were so forward,
that they scorned to repaire to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was
so vntied, that he might haue more easily dealt with open Traitors. It was not
expedient, that he, being General, should weaken his authority by courting them;
neither lay it in his power to keepe them in order by compulsion. Therefore hee 30
fained, that Alexander had appointed vnto him in a dreame, a place for their mee-
ting, namely, in a rich pavilion, wherein an empty throne was placed, as if Alexander
himselfe had bene present at their consultations. Thus hee freed himselfe from
their vaine pride; but of their faith he could haue no assurance. Yet when Ptolomie
requeste them, & Antigonus bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though
not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So hee marched on, send-
ing before him the Kings warrant; which Pytho & Seleucus refused to obey; not as
reiecting the kings authority, but excepting against the person of Eumenes, as a man
condemned to die by the Macedonian Armie, for the death of Craterus. Eumenes,
knowing well that he was not to relye vpon their assistance, who stood otherwise 40
affected then his affaires required, and were not to bee dealt with by perswasion,
sought passage by strong hand, through the Countrey of Babylon, in such wise that
Seleucus, hauing in vaine attempted to hinder him, by opening the sluices of Euphrates,
was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be ridde of him. Thus
he came to Peucestes and the rest of the Easterne Lords, who were glad of his com-
pany, because of the differences betweene Pytho, Seleucus, and themselves. Yet the
contention about superiortie grew verie hot among them; every one finding wa-
ter enough, to feede his owne humour of selfe-worthinesse. But the former device
of assembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the conclusion euer being sure to fol-
low that which Eumenes propounded, who was both wisest in giuing aduice, and 50
best able to reward, by means of the authoritie giuen him, to take what he pleased
of the Kings treasures. By these meanes he wonne to himselfe many of those, who
had most power to doe good or hurt.

§. II.

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§. II.

How ANTIGONVS, coming to set vpon EVMENES, was
driven off with losse.



ANTIGONVS, hearing that Eumenes lay in the Prouince of Susa, had
an earnest desire to follow him, and driue him further from the Kings
treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soone as he had
made himselfe strong enough, he remoued out of Mesopotamia, where
he had wintered; and taking to him Pytho and Seleucus, with their
men, hee marched directly against the enemies, with intent to giue them battaile.
Eumenes had fortified the Cattle of Susa and was retired backe toward Persia, kee-
ping the Riuer of Tygris betweene him and his pursuers. The passages of the Ri-
uer were wel guarded, and good espiall kept vpon Antigonus, to obserue which way
he tooke. Before he came to Tygris it selfe, he was to passe ouer Coprates, a great Ri-
uer, and not foordable, which he sought to doe by small vessels, whereof he had no
great store. A great part of his Armie had gotten ouer, when Eumenes, who kept a
bridge vpon Tygris, came with a thousand horse, and foure thousand foot, to see
their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and
draue them headlong back into Coprates, wherein moit of them were drowned; ve-
rie few escapng with life, except foure thousand that yielded themselves prisoners, 20
in sight of Antigonus, that was not able to relieue them. This losse made Antigo-
nus glad to fall off; and the heat of that Countrey in the dog-daies, breeding diseases
in his Army, by which many perished, caused him to remoue as farre as into Media.
So hee tooke Pytho with him; (leauing Seleucus to besiege the Cattle of Susa) and
seeking to go the neerest way, passed through savage Nations, that continually vex-
ing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before hee could arriue in
Media, with his troups that were quite heart-broken.

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§. III.

Of EVMENES his cunning. A battaile betweene him
and ANTIGONVS.



AFTER his departure, Eumenes with his associates fell into consultation,
about the remainder of their businesse. Faine hee would haue had
them to enter vpon those Prouinces, which Antigonus had left be-
hinde him; to which also the Capitaines of the Argyrasides or Siluer-
shields were very inclinable, as desiring to draw neerer to Greece. But
Peucestes, and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high Countries, 40
had more care of their owne particular Estates, and would needes march East-
ward. These carried it; for the Armie was not strong enough to diuide it selfe in-
to parts.

When they came into Persia, Peucestes, ruling there, feasted them royally, & fought
by all meanes to win the Souldiers loue to himselfe. Eumenes perceiuing wherunto
those doings tended, suffred him awhile to keepe good cheare, till the time of warre
drew neere. Then did hee faine an Epistle, directed, as from Orontes Gouvernor of Ar-
menia, to Peucestes himselfe: The purport wherof was, that Olympias had vanquished
Cassander, and sent ouer a great Armie vnder Polyperchon, to ioyne with Eumenes.
These newes, as they filled the Campe with vaine ioy, so they wrought in all mens
minde a great willingnesse to obey Eumenes, by whom was the likeliest apparance
of their preferment; whereto they dealt wisely, he being farre the most sufficient
Commander, as they found soone after. For when Antigonus, coming out of
Media, drew neere vnto them, Eumenes by some mischance was fallen sicke, and
faine

faine to be carried in a Litter; the Armie marched in very bad array, and was likely to haue bene forced to take battaile in that disorder. But *Eumenes*, when the reit of the Captaines were amazed, was carried about the Armie in his Litter, and vpon the se-daine did call his men into so good forme, that *Antigonus*, perceiuing him a farre off, could not refrain from giuing him deserved commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the Captaines, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiuing him, he came to the triall of a battaile. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*; other wise, he was inferior in number both of horse and foote by a third part. The battaile was fought with variable successe, and great losse on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the victorie was vncertaine. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lie tarre from their carriages: by which meanes *Antigonus* (who had a more absolute command ouer his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; which was accounted the signe of victorie; for he buried his owne, and gaue leaue to his enemies crauing it, to doe the like. But a greater signe of victorie had *Eumenes*. For he abode still in the same place, and not onely buried his men very honourably, at great leisure, but held the Countre round about; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (hauing tarried but one day) to flicke away by night, and retorne into *Media*, from whence he came.

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§. III.

Of diuers stratagems practised by *ANTIGONVS*, and *EUMENES*, one against the other.

THus did the Warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greater length, each part hauing stout Souldiers, and skilfull Generals: but the side which had hitherto preuailed, being hindered by the equall authoritie of many, from pursuing all aduantages to the best. *Antigonus* grew daily weaker in men and reputation, so that to re-
40 pare himselfe he could finde no way faster, then to put all to aduenture. Hee knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered farre asunder, so that if he could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distresse. Betweene him and them, the way was not long, being onely nine daies iourney, but very bad, through a rough drie wildernesse, hardly passable. Another way, fairer and leading through a Countrey well peopled, but requiring twentie fise daies iourney, he forsooke, partly for the length, partly, and chiefly, because he would come vndiscovered. So therefore taking his iourney in the dead of Winter, he forbade vnto his men the vse of fire by night, because he would not haue them desired a
45 farre off. This commandement had bene well obserued foure or fise daies, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselves, being neerer to their wayes ende. The sight of these fires gaue notice of their comming; which being reported to *Penestes*, and other Captaines, they were so astonished with the sodaine danger, that in all haste they betooke themselves to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the newes, began to harden his affrighted companions, promising to make
50 *Antigonus* march lesse surely, and willing them to abide, and draw vp their men together. They could scarce beleue him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as hee appointed, who failed not in making his word good. Hee tooke with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith hee occupied certaine toppes of mountaines, looking toward the Campe of *Antigonus*: there he chose a convenient ground to incampe vpon, and made great store of fires in sundrie places, as if the whole Armie had bene present. This was a sorrowful spectacle to *Antigonus* who thought himselfe preuented of his purpose; and began to feare lest he should be compelled

compelled to fight, whilst his men were tired with a long and painefull iourney. Therefore hee resolved to turne aside, and take the way to such places, as might better serue to refresh his Armie. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how readie *Eumenes* would be vpon all aduantages. But after a while, considering that no enemy stirred about him, hee began to pause, and thinke in himselfe, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some Inhabitants of that Desert to be taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had seene no other Armie than his thereabout, but onely a few men that kept fires on the hill-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to finde that he had been so deluded. Therefore he went against these troupes with great furie, meaning to take sharpe vengeance on them, for hauing so deceiued him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much bulineffe, and long stay. All the Armie was come, saue onely *Eudamus*, Captaine of the Elephants, who, besides those beasts, had no more than foure hundred horsemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this supply comming to his enemies, sent aboue two thousand horse, and all his light-armed footmen, to cutt off by the way. *Eudamus* being talen into this danger, was faine to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and so to defend himselfe as well as he could; for his horsemen, overlaid with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driuen to runne away vpon the spurre. Neither knew they, who fate vpon the Elephants, which way to iurne them; for on all sides they receiued wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremitie there appeared braue troupes of horse and foot, that came vncpected to the rescue; and charging the assailants vpon the backe, draue them to seeke their owne safetie by speedy flight. These were sent by *Eumenes*; who though hee knew not what his aduersarie meant to doe, yet hee knew very well what was fittest for him to doe: and therefore, playing both games himselfe, provided the remedie.

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§. V.

The conspiracie of *PEVCESTES* and others, against *EUMENES* his life.

Y these meanes *Eumenes* wanne great honour, and was by the whole Armie acknowledged a most expert Generall, and well worthy of the chiefe command. But *Penestes*, and the other Captaines, gullie of their owne much insufficiencie, were so transported with enuie, that they could now no longer contain their vile thoughts, but held communication, as vpon a necessarie point, how they might finde meanes to murder him.

Surely, it is great iniustice to impute the mischief, contriued against worthy men, to their owne proud carriage, or some other ill deservings: For, though it often happen, that small vices doe serue to counterpoise great vertues; (the sense of euill being more quicke and lasting, than of good) yet hee shall bewray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimonie, will thinke it a part of wisdom, to finde good reason of the euils, done to vertuous men, which oftentimes haue no other cause than their vertue it selfe. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of singular courtlesse, of a very sweet conuersation among his friends, and careful by all gentle meanes to winne their loue, that seemed to beare him any secret ill affection. It was his meere vertue that ouerthrew him, which euen they that sought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that hee should not be slaine, before the battaile were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safety, to be gouerned by his directions. Of this reason,

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son, he was quickly advertised by *Eudamus*, to whom he had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom he vied to borrow money when hee needed not, to the end that they should be careful of his good, for feare of losing their owne. Considering therefore, and discoursing with himselfe of the villanie intended against him, hee made his last will, and burnt all his writings that contained any matter of secret: which done, hee reuolued many things in his minde; being doubtfull what course were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill affected to the Royall blood, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number, than in worth. How things at that time stood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to seeke their helpe, that needed his. To make his owne peace with *Antigonus*, had bene against his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that hee for bare, either to lose the battaile willingly, or to flye into *Cappadocia*, and make shift for himselfe among his old friends. At length hee refused to doe his best against the common enemy, and afterwards to looke to himselfe as well as he might.

§. VI.

The last battaile betweene *ANTIGONVS* and
EUMENES.

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THe Souldiers, especially those old bands of the *Silver-shields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victorie, but onely to bring them into the field, and set them in array; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacrity was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chiefe Commanders were so mischieuouly bent against him, that they could not endure to thinke vpon being beholding to him for the victorie. Yet he ordered the battaile so well, that, without their owne great fault, they could hardly 30 faile of getting the vpper hand.

Before the Armies came to joyning, a horse-man from the side of *Eumenes*, claimed with a loud voice to the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickednesse, in fighting against their owne fathers, would now bee punished, as it well deserved. This was not spoken in vaine. For the *Silver-shields* were men of threescore or seuerie yeeres olde, strengthened more by continuall exercise, than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having passed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that fight. Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often been beaten by them, and were now to trie their last hope with these resolute warriours, the most Ancient and best regarded of all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew very pen- 40 sive, and advanced heavily, suspecting their owne cause, and fearing the threatenings vttered would proue true.

Antigonus was now againe farre the stronger in horse, which gave him cause of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plaine leuelled field. Placing therefore himselfe and his sonne *Demetrius* in his right wing, and committing the left wing to *Pithon*, hee did set forward courageously against the enemies, that were ready to giue him a sharpe entertainment.

Eumenes tooke vnto him *Peucestes*, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his battaile, in the face of *Antigonus*, meaning both to prevent the Traitors, his Companions, of all meanes to make head against him on the sodaine, and (withall) to giue proofe of his owne valour, which perhaps he should no more doe, in the face of all his enemies. In the right wing, opposite vnto *Pithon*, hee bestowed the weakest of his horse and Elephants, vnder one *Philip*, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight

fight, and make a leisurable retrait, expecting the euent of the other side.

So they joyned very fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himselfe master of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honourable death, or to winne such a victorie vpon his open enemies, as might giue him leisure and opportunitie to deal with his false friends.

The footmen of *Antigonus*, being, euen in their owne opinions, farre inferior to those whom they must encounter, were at the first brunt presently defeated by the *Silver-shields*, who slew about five thousand of them, losing of their owne, not one man. But in horse, *Eumenes* was so ouer-matched, that he could not repell *Antigonus*, who pressed him very hard, but was faine to stand wholly vpon defence. Yet his courage wrought so well by example, among his followers, that the enemy could not winne one foot of ground vpon him, vntill such time as *Peucestes*, with one thousand five hundred horse, withdrew himselfe out of the battaile, leaving his companions fighting to defend his backe.

Then did *Eumenes* desperately rush amongst his enemies, labouring to breake open the way vnto *Antigonus* himselfe. And though hee failed of his purpose; yet with great slaughter hee did so beate vpon them, which came in his way, that the victorie hung a long time in suspence, vncertaine which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a slight sandie mould, through the trampling of horses, men, and Elephants, did cast vp such a cloud of dust, as hindered the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this aduantage, dispatched away some companies of horse, that passed vndiscovered beyond *Eumenes* his battailes, and came to his carriages, which lay about halfe a mile from the place of fight, slenderly guarded, (for that the whole body of the Armie lay betweene them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had *Peucestes* retired himselfe no further than vnto the carriages, hee might not onely haue defended them, but peraduenture haue surprised those which came to surpris 30 them, and so haue done as good a piece of seruise as a better man. But he was gotten somewhat further, to a place, where out of danger hee might expect the euent: and *Eumenes* was so ouer-laboured both in body and minde, that he could not giue

an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was. It happened so, that the Elephants meeting together, those of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himselfe euery way ouer-charged, began to giue back, and withdrew himselfe and his companies in good order, to the other side of the battaile, where *Philip* (as hee was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from losse. The *Antigonians* had felt so much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well contented to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come againe; as faine he would haue done.

The losse of the carriages was reported vnto him, as soone as he had any leisure to heare how things went: whereupon hee presently ordered his men for a fresh 40 charge, and sent for *Peucestes* that was not farre off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby hee trusted, not onely to recouer their owne goods, but to enrich themselves with the spoiles of the enemies. *Peucestes* not only refused to joyne with him, but immediately withdrew himselfe into a safer place, where he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

By this, the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to returne into their Campes. Yet *Antigonus* conceiued hope of doing somewhat more; and therefore taking halfe his horsemen, hee waited vpon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunitie to offend him: the other halfe hee committed to *Pithon*, willing him to set vpon the *Silver-shields* in their retraits; which 50 yet he forbore to do, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battaile ended; wherein *Antigonus* had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in foote: but the spoile which hee got, by surprisng his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

§. VII.

§. VII.

How EUMENES was betrayed to ANTIGONVS, and slaine.

EUMENES, comming into his Campe, and finding the *Siluer-shields* extremely discontented with their misfortune, beganne to cheere them vp, and put them in hope of recovering all with aduantage. For their braue demeanor that day had so cruſhed the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much leſſe able to draw their Carts after him, through that great Wilderneſſe, over the 10 high mountaines.

But theſe perſuaſions auailed nothing. *Peuceſtes* was gone; the other Capitaines would needs returne into the high Countries, and the Soldiers had no deſire either to ſie or to fight, but onely to reſcuer their goods. Wherefore *Tenamus*, one of the two Capitaines of the *Siluer-shields*, (who had in former times readily conſented vnto traitorous motions, in hope of gaine, but was letted by his partner *Antigenes*) finding, as he thought, a fit occaſion of making himſelfe great, and winning the loue of thoſe bands, dealt ſecretly with *Antigonus*, requeſting him to reſtore vnto thoſe old Souldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the onely reward of their ſeruices, in the warres of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a ſubtile man, knew very well, that they which requeſted more than they had reaſon to expect, would alſo, with a little entreatie, perſorme a great deale more than they promiſed; and therefore he louingly entertained the meſſengers, ſtilling them with hopes of greater matters than they deſired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were ſeduced to make warre againſt him. This anſwer pleaſed them ſo well, that they forthwith deuſed how to deliuer him aliue. Wherefore comming about him, as at other times, to doe their dutie, and pretending more joy of their victorie, than ſorrow of their loſſe, which they ſaid they would redeeme by another fight, in the middeſt of this goodly talk they leapt vpon him, caught hold of his ſword, and bound him faſt. So they haled 30 him away; and ſtopping their cares againſt all perſuaſions, would not yeeld ſo far, as to looſen one of his hands and let him kill himſelfe, but brought him aliue (that was their owne Generall, vnder whom they had obtained many victories) as it had beene in triumph, into the Campe of their enemies.

The preſſe of men, running out of the Campe to ſee him, was ſo great, that *Antigonus* was faine, to ſend a guard of horſemen and Elephants, to keep him from being ſmothered; whom he could not ſodainely reſolue, either to kill or ſaue. Very few they were that ſued for his life; but of theſe, *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Antigonus* was one; the reſt were deſirous to be rid of him quickly, thinking belike, that if he were ſaued, he would ſoon be the chiefe in reputation, for his great abilitie. So after 40 long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded, that it was the ſafeſt way, to put him to death; which intending to haue done by famine (perhaps becauſe he would keep it awhile in his owne power, to reuerſe the ſentence, as deſiring, if it might be, to haue him liue his friend) hate of other buſineſſe made him doe it by the ſword.

To this end came all the trauailes of that worthy generall *Eumenes*; who had with great wiſdome, fidelitie, and patience laboured in vaine, to vphold the family which God had purpoſed to caſt downe. He is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutabilitie, but more notable was his gouernment of himſelfe, in all her changes. Aduerſitie neuer leſſened his courage, nor Proſperitie his circumſpection. But all his vertue, induſtrie, and wit, were caſt away, in leading an Armie, without full power, to keepe it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill anſwered, by *Gaſpar de Colligne*, Admiral of France in our dayes, to one that foretold his death, which enſued ſoone after in the maſſacre of *Paris*; That rather than to leade againe an Armie of Voluntaries, he would die a thouſand times.

Antigonus

Antigonus himſelfe gaue to the bodie of *Eumenes* honourable Funerall; and rewarded the Treason, wrought againſt him, with deſerued vengeance. One chiefe Capitaine of the *Siluer-shields* he burnt aliue; many of the other Capitaines he ſlue; & to the whole multitude of the *Siluer-shields*, that had betrayed to worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader, that ſhould carrie them into ſarre Countries, vnder pretence of warres; but with a priuy charge, to conſume them all, as perierd wretches, letting none of them returne aliue vnto his friends and kindred, or ſo much as once behold the Seas, that beate vpon the ſhoares of Greece and Macedonia.

§. VIII.

How ANTIGONVS ſlew PITHON, and occupied MEDIA. How he removed Governours of Provinces, and made himſelfe Lord of Perſia, carrying away PEUCESTES.

HHe two Armies being ioyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they ſpent the reſt of the Winter; the common Souldieridly, the principall men intently bent vnto the buſineſſe enſuing. *Pithon* began to conſider his owne deſertings; for that the whole warre had beene chiefly maintained by the ſtrength and riches of his Province. Beſides, he thought himſelfe as good a man as *Antigonus*, yntilſe it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he iudged eaſie to be purchaſed with gifts, and therefore ſpared not to aſſay them with great liberality. But in following this courſe, hee was driven by neceſſitie to ruſt many, of whom he ſlumbled vpon ſome, that were vnſecret, and others, bearing him no ſincere affection. Thus was his purpoſe diſcovered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Pithon*) diſſembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of diſſention betwene him, and his honourable friend, vnto whom hee meant to commit the Government of all thoſe Countries: his owne buſineſſe calling him into the lower *Aſia*. Theſe reports, comming 30 daily to his cares, did finely delude *Pithon*. By his greatneſſe with *Alexander*, his authority in that Province where they lay, whereof he was Gouernour; and the loue of the ſouldiers which he had bought with money; he was ſtrong enough to maintaine, even an offenſiue warre. But what neede had he to vſe the ſword, when hee was likely without contention, to obtaine more than his owne asking? Therefore he came as ſoone as he was ſent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to diuide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing leſſe than to yeeld to any ſuch diuiſion. As ſoone as he came, he was taken, and accuſed, condemned to die, and ſlain out of hand. For *Antigonus*, hauing begunne with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterwarde reſtrained by any conſideration of old acquaintance, from cutting down 40 indifferently all that ſtood in his way: but ſwamme careleſſly through the blood, wherein at the firſt he doubtfully waded.

When this buſineſſe was ended, he appointed a new Gouernour in *Media*, to order the Province, and a Capitaine, to ſuppreſſe all commotions: thinking belike, that the power and authoritie, ſo diuided, would hardly agree in one againſt him, from whom both were deriued.

After this he marched into *Perſia*, where he was entertained, as abſolute Lord of *Aſia*. There began he to ſhew how well he vnderſtood his owne mightineſſe. For he placed and diſplaced, at his pleaſure, Gouernours in all Provinces, leaving none in Office, that were not his owne creatures, excepting ſuch as lay too farre off to be diſlodged eaſily.

Peuceſtes, who ruled in *Perſia*, thought with good cheere to redeeme old offences, but was deceived, hauing to doe with one, that could not be taken with ſuch baits: he was caried away, and traſted with goodly words of promiſe, that neuer rooke effect. Thus he, that enuid the vertue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in vaine) the

the fortune of his enemy; after which he liued a contemptible life, till hee died obscurely a man forgotten.

¶ IX.

How SELEVCVS was chased out of Babylon, by ANTONIVS. The great riches of ANTONIVS.

SELEVCVS was the next in this visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good-will to *Antonius*, and now gaue proofe of his heartie affection toward him, by making the Captainie of the Cattle of *Susa* to meete him on the way, rendering vnto him that strong Peece, and all the treasures therein bestowed. This offer was so great, that *Antonius* (though hauing in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly beleue it; but vfed him with excessive kindnesse, for feare so good a moode should change. In that Cattle he found all the treasures of *Alexander*, with the Jewels of the *Persian* Kings, which, added to his former store of money, made vp twentie five thousand talents. Hauing all this, he might well account himselfe a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happinesse. But large dominion was the marke at which hee aimed; therefore hee proceeded, with intent to leaue no Country behind his back, that should not acknowledge him for Soueraigne Lord. Comming to *Babylon*, hee was entertained by *Seleucus* with all possible demonstration of loue, and honoured with presents, beseming the Maiestie of a King. All this he accepted with great grauitie, as being due to him, and beganne to require an account of the reuenues of that Prouince. This demand *Seleucus* held vnreasonable; laying, that it was not needfull for him to render vnto any man an account of that Prouince, which was giuen vnto him, in respect of his many good seruices to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that *Antonius* was powerful; who vrged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessitie, moued *Antonius* to presse him thus, but onely the desire to picke matter of quarrell against him, whereof it was likely that hee should find such issue, as *Pithon* and *Pencestes* had done. Therefore taking with him onely fiftie horse, he conueied himselfe away, and fled into *Ptolomies* Dominions; desiring him to protect him from the violence of such a man, as went about to oppress all, that in former times had bene his betters, or at least his equals. *Antonius* was glad of his flight; for now all those Countries were yielded vnto him without battaile, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them hee wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his desire, hauing receiued many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldeans* brought a strange prophesie to *Antonius*, bidding him looke well to himselfe, and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, hee should recouer *Babylon*, yea, winne all *Asia*, and kill *Antonius* in battaile. Easie beleueers may giue credit to this tale. Had it bene true, me thinks, *Antonius* rather should haue hanged those *Chaldeans*, for giuing him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they say that hee did) after him, whom the destinies preferred for so great purposes. When he had settled things at *Babylon*, he tooke his iourne into *Cilicia*, where hee wintred. There hee tooke vp ten thousand talents more of the Kings treasures, and casting his accounts, found his yeerely income to amount vnto eleuen thousand Talents.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the great ciuill Warre betweene ALEXANDERS Captaines: and how they assumed the name and state of Kings.

¶ I.

The combination of PTOLOMIE, CASSANDER, and others, against ANTONIVS. Their demands, and his answer.



HIS great riches, and the rest of his power, made *Antonius* dreaded, enuied, and suspected, whereby hee quickly was embarked in a new War. *Ptolomie*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*, had priuily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason, than of his owne accord he seemed like to yeeld vnto. Of their practices he had some notice; the good entertainment giuen vnto *Seleucus*, giuing him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Embassadors to them severally, entreating them to continue firme in their loue toward him, that would be readie to requite them with the like. The cold answers which they made, occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was *Ptolomie*; it being likely that a good arme should preuaile more than a faire message. Therefore, as soone as the season of the yere would permit, hee tooke the way toward *Syria*, and was encountered by Embassage from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much reioyce at his victorie, obtained against *Eumenes* their common enemy, and the honor that hee had thereby gotten. In which war, so far as much as they being his Confederates, must haue endured great losse with hazzard of their whole estates, if the contrary faction had preuailed, they held it verie iust, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voyage, wherein they had been all adventurers. Wherefore they desired him, that making betwene them all an equall diuision of the treasures that were in his hands, (a thing easie to be done) he would also take some conuenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best bee to euery ones liking, if hee would make ouer *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Cassander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering vpon the *Hellepont*, to *Lysimachus*; for whereas his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victorie, he might well spare some of those western Prouinces, to those that were seated in the West. As for *Ptolomie*, he would not craue any new addition, but rest contented within his owne Territories. Provided alwaies, that *Seleucus* their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be restored to his owne, out of which he had bene driuen so iniuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly consent vnto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtaine with armed hands. *Antonius* knew, that after many losses received, hee should yet be able to redreeme peace whensoever he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was he so weak, to giue away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad friends, for feare only, lest it should bee taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to find them worse, more than enough to defend their owne. Therefore, hee roundly answered the Embassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victorie, which hee alone without other mens helpe had obtained. Though indeed they had already sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, hauing by his means kept

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their governments, whereof they were like to be dispossessed by *Polyperchon*, and the counsell of estate in *Macedon*. But what marvaile was it, if they considered not how he had faued them, seeing one of them had forgotten the time, when comming to him as a fugitive, & begging succour, he was by his meere bountie relieued, and enabled to gett all that he now held? *Cassander* did not (said he) in those daies command me to surrender Provinces, and giue him his equall share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers sake) desired me to pittie him, and help him against his enemies: which I did; by lending him an Armie, and Fleet, on confidence whereof hee now presumes to threaten me. As for *Selencus*, how can he complaine of wrong, that durst not slay to plead his guilt? I did vsell him well; but his conscience told him that he had defruded ill: else he would not haue fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their owne, which some of them can hardly iustifie. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolomies* proceedings; and after him to deale with others, if they continue to prouoke me.

§. II.

The preparations and beginnings of the warres.

WHen the Embassadors were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought vpon but warre. *Antigonus* perceiuing that he should bee²⁰ invaded from *Europe*, as soone as hee were entred into *Syria*; left his Nephew *Ptolomie* to guard the Sea coasts, and hinder *Cassander* from landing in *Asia*: giuing him also in charge, to drive out of *Cappadocia* some that were already sent ouer to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into *Greece* and *Cyprus*, not vnurnished of monie, to draw friends to his side, and raise vp troubles to his enemies. Especially, he laboured to make himselfe the strongest by Sea; to which purpose he rather hastened, than forelosed his iourney into *Syria*, that he might gett possession of Mount *Libanus*, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a Nauie. Therefore, hauing erected Beacons, and laid post-horles throughout all *Asia*, to giue swift aduertisement of all occurrences,³⁰ hee invaded *Syria*, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to maintain the field.

Ptolomy lay in *Egypt*, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloued and honoured of the people as their naturall Lord: his other Provinces hee kept with a few Garrisons, better scruiing to containe the people within obedience, than to confront a forraigne enemy. So *Antigonus* tooke many Cities, and Places, of that Countrey, and beganne to sett great numbers of Artificers on worke in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these busineses he consumed a yecere and three months; not idly. For he tooke *Ioppe*, and *Gaza*, which were yeelded vnto his discretion, and well used. The strong Citie of *Tyrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end, by famine, to render it selfe vpon composition, that *Ptolomies* Souldiers might depart with their Armes; which was permitted.

Ptolomie was not asleepe, whilst these things were in doing, though he kept himselfe within the bounds of *Egypt*, as indeede it behoued him to doe. His forces were not able to stand against *Antigonus* in plaine field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Neuerthelesse by Sea (where his enemy was as yet vnready) he sent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Selencus* had the chiefe command.

Selencus passed with an hundred saile along the coast of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus*, and his Armie, to their no little discomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which⁵⁰ was then gouerned by many petty Lords; of whom the greatest adhered to *Ptolomie*, the rest were, by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the *Egyptian* with sharpe Steele.

The same commoditie of aide by Sea encouraged the President of *Caria* (called also

also *Cassander*, but not the sonne of *Antipater*, how soeuer by the painefull and learned writer *Reimerus Remezius*, he is by some oversight, counted for the same) to declare for *Ptolomie*, and his Confederates, and busily employ in their quarrell all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutralitie, and thereby enioyed rest; but now he threw himselfe into dangerous warre, choosing rather to vndergoe trouble at hand, than to fall vnder certaine ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would haue ouerwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the rest.

§. III.

How each partie sought to winne the assistance of Greece. ANTIGONVS his declaration against CASSANDER, ALEXANDER the sonne of POLISPERCHON resoluth from ANTIGONVS, who had set him vp.

IN the meane season all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure vnto them the people of *Greece*, whose aide which way soeuer it inclined was of great importance. Herein at the first, *Antigonus* sped so well by large effusion of his treasure, that hee drew to him the *Lacedaemonians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, of whom hee waged eight thousand, and caused *Polyperchon* (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowle²⁰ himselfe againe, and taking vpon him the title of Capitaine of *Peloponnesus*, to make head against *Cassander*.

These hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kind. Wherefore to make *Cassander* the more odious, hee called together both his owne Souldiers, and all the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*; that were to bee found thereabouts. To these he declared, That *Cassander* had very cruelly slain *Olympias*, mother to the great *Alexander*; and not herewith contented, had shut vp in close prison the poore Ladie *Roxane*, *Alexanders* wife, and his sonne begotten on her bodie. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himselfe King ouer the *Macedonians*; which will appeare by his enforcing the Ladie *Thessalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match³⁰ vnit for a man of no greater Parentage than he, to ioyne with him in marriage. That in meere despight of those dead Princes, *Philip*, and *Alexander*, hee had planned the *Olympians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new Citie by him built, and called by his owne name *Cassandria*; and had reedified the Citie of *Thebes*, which for the great treason of the inhabitants, was luellued with the ground by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For these reasons hee required them to make a decree, that *Cassander* should restore to absolute libertie the Ladie *Roxane*, and her sonne; and should yeeld obedience to the Lord Lieutenant Generall of the Empire (by which name *Antigonus* himselfe was vnderstood) or else should be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemy to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of *Greece*,⁴⁰ should be restored into freedome; this he did, not because he was carefull of their good, but for the neede which he had of their assistance.

These things being decreed, *Antigonus* was perswaded, that not only the *Greekes* would adhere vnto him, as to their louing Patron, and fall off from *Cassander*; but that the Rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardfull of nothing, but his owne benefite, would correct their opinion, and thinke him the most faithfull of all others to the Royall bloud. But concerning his loyaltye to the young Prince, the world was too wise to be deceived with vaine shewes. His vnder-taking for the libertie of the *Greekes* was more effectuall, and got easie belief, in regard of his present hatred to *Cassander*. Yet herein also *Ptolomie* strove to be as earnest as he, making the like decree, in hope to winne to himselfe that valiant Nation, which afforded men farre more seruiceable in warre, than were to be found in any Province of the Empire.

And this indeede was the point, at which both sides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* intending to make all sure, deceived himselfe, not without great cost. For he gaue to

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Alexander

Alexander the sonne of Polyperchon five hundred talents, willing him to set the warre on foot in Peloponnesus, whereby it might appeare, that on his side was meant nothing else, than what was openly pretended.

In Peloponnesus, Cassanders men had, with much blood-shed, grievously afflicted the contrarie faction; and he himselfe perceiving, that they were more easily spoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way, to make what vie he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that Alexander came furnished with plenty of gold, wherewith he was able, not only to winne the doubtful, but to corrupt such as might seeme best assured: hee thought it a good part of wisdom, to surrender vpon faire conditions, that which he could not assure himselfe to hold any long time by force. Therefore he sent one to deale with Alexander, about the matters in controuersie; letting him know, that Antigonus was verie skillful in setting men together by the eares, not caring who preuailed, but only desiring to haue them weary themselves, whilest he was busied elsewhere; that so at length he might finde opportunitie to set vpon the stronger. If therefore Alexander were so wise, as to keepe in his purse the five hundred Talents which he had, and without broke stricken, to receive the whole Lordship of Peloponnesus; it should be freely put into his hands by Cassander. Provided, that hee should from thenceforth renounce all confederacie made with Antigonus, and enter into a sure and faithfull league with Ptolomie, Cassander, and the rest of the Confederates. Otherwise, he might well perswade himselfe, that the Countrey which his Father could not keepe, when he was indeede the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in haste be wonne by him, that was only the Factor of a proud inurious man, so stiling himselfe, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had liued a while with Antigonus since the beginning of these wars; among whose followers it was not hard to discover the intent, (which hee did not carrie verie secret) of making himselfe absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soone entreated to accept so good an offer; and did not sticke to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and subiect vnto no mans controule.

Howbeit this his honour continued not long, ere he lost both it and his life together, by treason of the Sisyonians; who thinking thereby to haue made themselves free, were soone after vanquished in battaile by Cratespolis, Alexanders wife, a discrete and valiant Ladie. Shee in reuenge of her husbands death, crucified thirtie of the Citizens taken in fight; and hauing by severity taught them obedience, did afterwards containe her Armie in good order, and governed those places that shee held, with the loue and commendation of her Subiects and Neighbours.

§. IIII.

The Aetolians rise against Cassander in fauour of Antigonus, and are beaten. After and last armie of Antigonus, utterly defeated by PTOLOMIES Lieutenant. In what termes the warre stood at this time. ANTIGONUS drawes nearer to Greece.



ANTIGONUS, when he found, that with so much monie he had onely bought an enemy, beganne to raise troubles to Cassander and his other aduerfaries in Greece, by stirring vp the Aetolians against them; Likewise he laboured to winne to his partie the Ilands in the Greeke Seas, by whose assistance he might be the better able to deale with Ptolomie, that greatly preuailed by reason of his strong fleet. But neither of these attempts had the successe which he expected. The Aetolians, a factious Nation, and alwaies enuying the greatnesse of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but

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so, that commonly their gaines equalled not their losses. Cassander wanne some of their owne Countrey; fortified the Acanians against them, and compelled Glaucaus, King of the Illyrians, whom he vanquished in battaile, to forsake their side, and binde himselfe to beare no Armes against Cassanders friends.

On the other side, as many pettie Ilands were drawne to ioyne with Antigonus: so the fleet of the Rhodians vnder Theodatus, who was Admirall to Antigonus, passing along the coast of Asia towards Cyprus, with an Armie vnder conduct of Perilaus marching on the shore for mutuall assistance, was quite overthrowne by Ptolomies Nauie. Polyestus, who in Ptolomies behalfe had been sent into Peloponnesus against Alexander, finding no neede of his seruice in that Countrey, because Alexander was come ouer to their side, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the course which these Antigonians held, whom he very cunningly surprisid. Hee rode with his Fleet behinde a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambush, wherinto Perilaus falling was taken prisoner, with many of his men, and many were slaine, making little resistance. Theodatus the Admirall perceiving this, made all haste to helpe his fellows that were on Land; but while he with all his Fleet were intentiue only to that businesse, Polyestus appeared at their backs; who as soone as he perceived their disorder, halted about the Cape, and charging them behinde suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings caused Antigonus to deale with Ptolomie about some composition. First, hee sent Embassadors; afterwards they met in person. But Antigonus would not yeeld vnto the demands of Ptolomie: so the parlie was vaine.

Hitherto each part seemed to haue indifferently sped in the Warre, and thereby to haue equal cause of hope and feare. This late victorie with the good successe of his affaires in Cyprus, did seeme to make amends to Ptolomie for his losses in Syria. Likewise the revolt of Alexander from Antigonus did equal the Confederacy, made betwene the Aetolians and him; as also those pettie skirmishes, that had bene in Asia the lesse, to Antigonus his aduantage, were sufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but aduerse to him; and by the troubles brought vpon his estates in those parts by the two Cassanders.

Contrariwise, Antigonus valued the losse of his men, monie, and ships, no otherwise than as the paring of his nailes, that were left long enough, and would easily grow againe; but the enlargement of his Territorie by addition of Syria, he prized at a higher rate, as if thereby he had fed vpon a limbe of Ptolomies his enemy, and strengthened the body of his owne Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoize the bad, he meant to proceed as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no monie.

That which most molested him was the attempts of his enemies vpon Asia the lesse; wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to feare, lest the people being tyed vnto him by no bond of allegiance, might vpon small occasion revolt from him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himselfe. To prevent this, and to be neerer to Greece, he held it expedient for him to be there in person, where his affaires did seeme to prosper the worke, by reason of his absence. Therefore he left part of his Armie in Syria, vnder his sonne Demetrius, to whom being then but two and twenty yeeres old, he appointed many ancient Captaines as assistants, or rather as Directors: the rest he carried with him into Phrygia, where he meant to winter.

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§. V.

§. V.

How *LYSIMACHVS* and *CASSANDER* vanquished some enemies; raised against them by *ANTIGONVS*. The good successe of *ANTIGONVS* in *Asia* and *Greece*: with the rebellion of many Cities against *CASSANDER*.

THe comming of *Antigonus* into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the procelle of his businesse thereabouts. For his enemies had short leisure to thinke vpon molesting him in *Asia*: they themselves were held ouer-hardly to their owne worke on *Europe* side. Semles a King of the *Thracians*, ioyning with some Townes that rebelled against *Lysimachus*, brought also the bordering *Scythians* into the quarrell. All these relied vpon *Antigonus*, who was to helpe them with monie, and other aide. The *Ætolians* likewise tooke courage, and rose against *Cassander*, having *Acides*, lately restored to the Kingdome of *Epirus*, their assistant. But *Lysimachus* gaue vnto his Rebels no time to confirme themselves. Hee sodainly presented himselfe before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by feare to returne to their dutie. He fought a battaile with the *Scythians*, and wilde *Thracians*, and draue them out of the Countrie. Finally, he ouercame *Seuthes*; and following the heate of his victorie, slew *Pausanias* in battaile, whom *Antigonus* had sent ouer with an Armie; and all his men he did either put to ranfome, or fill vp with them his owne Bands. The like successe had *Philip*, *Cassanders* Lieutenant, against the *Ætolians*. For he waisted their Countrie; fought with the *Epirotos*, that came to helpe them; and after the victorie, fought againe with their forces ioynd in one, overthrowing them, and killing *Acides* that vnfortunate King. Finally, hee draue the *Ætolians* out of most of their Countrie, and forced them to seek their safetie among the wild Mountaines. Of the *Epirotes* he sent as prisoners to *Cassander*, the principall authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present Warre.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied *Antigonus* his aduerfaries with painefull trauaile; after which they remained onely fauers. *Antigonus* himselfe at faire leisure, wanne all *Caria* the whilest, and sent Armies into *Peloponnesus*, and other parts of *Greece*, bestowing libertie vpon all the Cities he tooke out of *Cassanders* hands. The whole Countrie of *Peloponnesus* (excepting *Steyon* and *Corinth*) with the Ile of *Eubœa*, and many places of the firme Land, were by these meanes wonne to be his in true and vehement affection, ready to do or suffer any thing for him that had made for euident a demonstration of his readinesse, to giue them the libertie indeede, which others promised in idle words. Many States desirous of the same benefit, would faine haue shewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Cassanders* Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made shew as if he would passe ouer into *Macedon*: by which terror he forced *Cassander* to repaire thither in al haste, with the best of his strength, leauing many good Townes of *Greece* so weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to helpe themselves, if any fortaile succour appeared. The aide which they desired was not long wanting. The Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, taking the aduantage of *Cassanders* departure, entred the Countrie; draue his Garrisons out of diuers Cities; forced the Governour of *Athens* to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Citadell of *Thebes*, and set the people at libertie. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For *Thebes* had not long before beene raised out of her old ruines by the meere power of *Cassander*; of which act he was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had beene some hainous crime. Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the Citie, and the loue of the Inhabitants, onely by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thanke the Inreaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to looke forward vpon those hopes, which vainely they extend beyond all measure, than

than backward vpon their miserable nullitie, that held them vncapable of being any thing.

§. VI.

Victories of *PTOLOMIE* by Sea. A great battaile at *Gaza*, which *PTOLOMIE* and *SELEVCVS* wanne, against *DEMETRIUS* the Sonne of *ANTIGONVS*.

AS the preface or neerenes of *Antigonus* gaue life to his affaires in the lower *Asia*, and *Greece*; so the desires of his enemies, taking aduantage of his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great works in the Easterne parts, wherewith in the yere preceding he had ouertopped them. The Ile of *Cyprus*, whose Princes wauered betwene contrarie affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their couenant with *Ptolomie*, was visited by an *Ægyptian* fleet, wherewith *Ptolomie*, in his owne person, easily reduced them to a more settled order, putting some to death, carrying others away prisoners, and leauing a Lieutenant of his own appointment, Governour of the whole Countrie. With the same fleet he ranne alongst the Sea-coasts, waisting a great part of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, with the spoiles of which he enriched his followers, and returned loden to *Cyprus* *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miseries, wherewith his Fathers subjects were oppressed, made all haste out of *Syria* to the rescue, taking only his Horse and light-armed foot with him, because the businesse required expedition. But in vaine did he tire himselfe and his followers, in hastic seeking of one, that by lanching out into the deepe, could in a few minutes delude the labour of so many daies, if neede had so required. Answerable to the vanitie of this expedition was the successe. For *Ptolomie* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Cilicia*. Neither was it certaine, whether hauing lightened his ships of their burthen in *Cyprus*, hee would returne vpon those maritime Countreies; or make toward *Syria*, where his comming was expected. Hee was indeede gone into *Ægypt*, and there with *Seleucus* was describing a royall Armie, which he leuied with all conuenient speed, for the recovery of *Syria*. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore hee was faine to choose out of vncertainties the most likelihood, and returne the way that hee came, with all his companies, which were fitter for seruice in the open field, than to be bestowed in Garrisons among the *Cilicians*. He had scarce refreshed his Men and Horses in *Syria*, when the newes arriued of *Ptolomies* comming with a puissant Armie, to giue him battaile. Hereupon he called to counsaile his principall friends, who aduised him to giue way to the time, & expect some better opportunity in the future: being a yong man, and weakly furnished with meanes to resist such ancient and famous Generals, as *Ptolomie* and *Seleucus*. His counsaile seemed rather to proceede from the cold temper of those aged men that gaue it, than from any necessity growing out of the present businesse. For *Demetrius* considering himselfe to be the sonne of *Antigonus*, and now Generall of his Fathers Armie, thought his owne title waightie enough to be laid in ballance against the bare names of those two great Commanders. Neither found he much reason that should moue him to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, and promised as much as could be required. Therefore perswading himselfe, that such odds of number, and of great fame, would rather serue to adorne his victorie, than hinder him in obtaining it, he resolved to put the matter to trial, without expecting the aduantage of more help. So animating his Soldiers with hope of spoile and rewards, he abode the comming of the Enemies at *Gaza*, with purpose to encounter them, as soone as they had finished their wearisome iourne ouer the Deserts of *Arabia*.

Ptolomie

Ptolomie and *Selenus* issuing out of such a Province, as *Egypt*, came so well provided of all necessities, that their Armie felt not any great grievance of the cull way, when battaile was presented them, which confidently they undertooke. In all things else they had the odds of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were utterly unprovided. But how to deale with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kinde of Palisado, fastened together with chaines, and sharpened in such manner, that the Elephants could not seeke to breake upon it, without receiving much hurt. The rest of their forces, which (besides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate services, by them performed that yeere, whilst the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vaine iournies, or long and dulling expectation, they disposed in such order, as best answered to the forme, wherein *Demetrius* was embattailed. The fight beganne, and was maintained with equall courage, for a long time, each part striving more to winne honour, than to satisfie any other passion, as having little cause of hatred, or revenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of *Demetrius*, who upon no necessitie would needs fight a battaile with disadvantage, beganne to appeare by his losses. Hee had committed himselfe to Fortune, having more to lose by her then he could get: but in this fight shee was idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; unless it may be said, that the terror brought upon his men, by the losse of his Elephants, was bad luck. Those beasts were in that kinde of warre hardly to be resisted on plaine ground, and therefore at the first they made great spoile amongst *Ptolomies* men. Afterward seeking to breake through the Palisado, they were sorely hurt, and every one of them taken. This disaster caused the Horsemen of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, and prevailed little, till now perceiving that all must lie upon their hands, who were ill able to make their owne places good, they beganne to shrink, and many of them to provide for their safetie by timely flight, which example the rest quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had strouen so long in vaine to make his men abide, that hee himselfe was likely to be lost; he was faine to give place to the stronger, making a violent retreat as farre as to *Azotus*, which was about thirtie miles from the place of battaile. A great part of his carriages was in *Gaza*, whither some of his company turned aside, hoping to save such goods, as in haste they could pack vp. This foolish couetousnes was their destruction, and the losse of the Towne. For whilst they forgetfull of the danger, had filled the streets with sumpter Horses, & cloied vp the gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch others, to carrie out what they had already laden, *Ptolomies* Armie brake in without resistance, taking them with their goods and the Citie altogether.

This victorie restored vnto *Ptolomie* the best part of *Syria*, a Province more easie in those times to get, than to keepe; and opened the way vnto all the greatnesse of *Selenus*. For betweene *Gaza* and *Phœnicia* no place offered resistance. In *Caloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, some townes held out a while, but were soon taken in by *Ptolomie*. Among these were the great Cities of *Tyrrus* and *Sidon*; of which *Sidon* was given vp by the Inhabitants; *Tyrrus* by the Garrison, falling to mutinie against their Capitaine; who trusting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomie*, and honourably entertained, in respect of his fidelitie.

§. VII.

How *Selenus* recovered *Babylon*, and made himselfe Lord of many Countries in the highest Asia, The Rise of the Kingdome of the Greeks, which beganne with the Dominion of *Selenus*.



While *Ptolomie* followed his businesse with such prosperitie, *Selenus* tooke leave of him, and went vp to *Babylon*, to trie his owne fortune; which hee found so favourable, that recovering first his owne Province, hee became length master of the better part of *Alexanders* purchases.

This expedition of *Selenus* was very strange, and full of vnlikelihoods. His traine consisted of no more then eight hundred foote, and two hundred horse, a number too small to have been placed as Garrison, in some one of those maine great Cities, against which he carried it into the higher Asia. But little force is needfull, to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of *Selenus* was enough; whom the *Babylonians* had found so good a Governour, that none of them would finde courage to resist him; but left that worke to *Antigonus* his owne men, wishing them ill to speede. Some of the *Macedonians* that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of warre, which by easie compulsion they left off, and followed new Ensignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves ioyfully to *Selenus*. In a defection so generall, it was not a safe course for the *Antigonians*, to thrust themselves into the Townes of most importance: for every man of them should have been troubled with daily enemies, in his owne lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and trie the matter by fight. But the treason of one principall man, who revolted to the enemy, with more then a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismayed the rest, that they did no more then seeke to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that *Antigonus* held for his securitie in those quarters. This Castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. *Selenus* quickly tooke it; and so got the entire possession of *Mesopotamia* and *Babylon*.

Antigonus had bestowed in *Media* and *Persia*, forces convenient for defence of those Provinces, that were the vtmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about *Euphrates* he had not done the like: for his owne great Armie lay betweene them and all enemies. Therefore when the victorie at *Gaza* had opened vnto *Selenus* the way into those parts; hee found little impediment in the rest of his businesse. Having now gotten what he fought; it behoued him to seeke how he might keepe his gettings: for his owne forces were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not doe for him; his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Armie in *Media*, ioyning vnto himselfe, out of *Persia* and other Countries, all needfull helpe came with ten thousand foote, and seuen thousand horse, either to save all from being lost, or to drive *Selenus* out of that which he had wonne.

Against this power, *Selenus* had only foure hundred horse, and somewhat about three thousand foot, where with to oppose himselfe: his large conquest of vnwarlike Nations having yielded him many louing subiects, but few souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were neere to the Riuer of *Tigris*, hee withdrew himselfe from the place where his resistance was expected, into certaine marishes not farre off; where he lay secretly waiting for some advantage. *Nicanor* thought that hee had bene fled, and was the lesse carefull in fortifying his campe. In recompence of this vaine securitie, his campe was taken by surprise, the first night of his arruall; the

the *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Persia*, together with sundry of the Captaines, were slaine, he himselfe was druen to flee for his life into the Desarts; and the whole Armie yielded vnto *Seleucus*: whose gentle demeanour, after the victorie, drew all *Media*, *Susiana*, and the Neighbour Prouinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further stroke stricken.

This victorie of *Seleucus* gaue beginning vnto the new stile, of *The Kingdome of the Greekes*, an accompt much vled by the *Iewes*, *Chaldeans*, *Syrians*, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first yeere of this *Æra*. The authoritie of that great Astrologer *Ptolemy*, from which there is no appeal, makes it plain, that the five hundred and nineteenth yeere of *NABONASSAR*, was the fourescore and two yeere of this accompt. Other inference hereupon is needlesse, than that note of the learned *GAVRICVS*, That the first of these yeeres was reckoned compleat, as *Babylon*, together with the end of foure hundred thirte and eight yeeres after *NABONASSAR*. With the obseruation of the *Saturne*, recorded by *Ptolemy*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*; finding the same Planet to haue beene so placed in the signe of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldeans* had obserued it, in the same yeere; which was from *Nabonassar* the five hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the fourescore and two yeere; and the last of the hundred thirte and seuenth *Olympiad*. These obseruations of the Celestiall bodies, are the surest markes of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in Historie, and the yeeres of succeeding Princes (that are not seldom ambiguous, by reason of vncremembered fractions) they seem to be here againe, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these yeeres of the *Greekes* were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one yeere, that is found betweene actions, related by the seuerall Authors of the two Bookes of the *Machabees*, who follow diuers accompts. Hee that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolemy*, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a yeeres distance.

Pto. l. Almag. lib. 1.
c. 7. §. 8.

L. Gauric, in an.
notat. ad Ierum.
citatum.

§. VIII.

How *PTOLOMIE* lost all that he had wonne in *Syria*. What the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed vnto the Macedonians, by those that had beene subiect vnto the *Persian* Empire. Of diuers petite enterprizes, taken in hand by *ANTIGONVS* and *DEMETRIVS*, with ill successe.

IN a happy houre did *Seleucus* aduenture, to goe vp to *Babylon*, with fo few men as his friend could then well spare: for had he staid longer vpon hope of getting more Soldiers, *Ptolemy* could haue spared him none at all. *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, hauing lost the battaile at *Gaza*, receiued from *Ptolemy* all his owne goods, his Pages, and Seruants, in free gift, and therewithall a courteous message, to this effect: That no personall hatred was the ground of this Warre, which hee and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only termes of honour, wherein they would seeke to right themselves after such manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell, should not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolemy*, did kinde in *Demetrius* an earnest desire of requiting him, with some as braue liberalitie. Which to effect, he gathered together 50 the remainder of his broken troups; drew as many as could be spared, out of the Garrisons in *Cilicia*, or other Prouinces therabouts, and aduertising his Father of his misfortune, besought him to send a new supply, wherewith he might redeeme his honour lost. *Antigonus*, vpon the first newes of this ouerthrow, had said,

Tha

That the victorie which *Ptolemy* wanne vpon a beardedle Boy, should bee taken from him by bearded men: yet vpon desire that his sonne, whom hee tenderly loued, should amend his owne reputation. He was content to make a stand in *Phrygia*. *Ptolemy* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did neuerthelesse follow his owne businesse in *Calasyria*; thinking it enough, to send part of his Armie vnder *Cilles* his Lieutenant, againt the remnant of those, that had beene already vanquished, when their forces were entire. This peraduenture would haue beene sufficient: had not *Cilles* too much vnderualued the power of such an Enemy. Hee thought that this yong Gallant, hauing lately saved his life by flight, would now be more carefull of 10 hauing a faire way at his back, than aduenturous in setting further forward; and then vrgent reason should prouoke him. In this confidence he passed on withoutall feare; as one that were already Master of the field, and should meete with none, that would issue out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this carelesse march; he tooke the lightest of his Armie, and made his iourne with such diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, hee came vpon *Cilles* vnexpected, and was on the suddaine, without any battaile, Master of his Campe: taking him aliue, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit serued not onely to repaire the credit of *Demetrius*, which his losse at *Gaza* had almost ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bountie of 20 *Ptolemy*, with equal fauor, in restoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was *Ptolemy* to weaken by this losse, nor *Demetrius* so emboldened by his victorie, that any matter of consequence thereupon ensued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Ptolemy*; and therefore hee fortified himselfe in places of aduantage: *Ptolemy* on the other side was loth to engage himselfe in an enterprize, wherein he might perceiue, that if the coming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he should either bee druen to make a shamefull retreat, or a dangerous aduenture of his whole estate, in hope of not much more than alreadie he possessed.

Antigonus, indeede, was nothing slow in his way towards *Syria*; whither hee 30 made all haste, not so much to rescue his sonne, as to embrace him. For hee rejoyced exceedingly, that the yong man had so well acquitted himselfe, and being left to his owne aduice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increase the reputation of this late victorie, he brought such forces, as might serue to re-conquer all *Syria*; meaning, that the honour of all, should be referred vnto the good foundation, layed by his sonne; whom from this time forwards, he imploied in matters of greatest importance.

Ptolemy had now lesse reason, to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to haue assailed the Campe of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of consolation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Capitaines aduised him 40 to retire into *Egypt*; alleging many good arguments, to that purpose: which they might well perceiue to be agreeable to his owne intent, by his propounding that course; not without remembrance of the good successe against *Perdiccas*, in the like defensive warre. So he departed out of *Syria*, preserving his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any suddaine passion of feare; and hee departed at faire leisure, not onely carrying his treasures along with him, but flying to dismantle some principall Cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him in the future. All the Countrie that hee left at his back, fell presently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: so easie was it in those times, for the Captaine of a strong Armie, to make himselfe Lord of a great Prouince.

We may iustly wonder, that these Kingdomes of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations, (which the victorie of *Alexander* had ouer-runne, with so hastie a course, as gaue him not leisure to take any good view of them) were so easily held not onely by himselfe, but by the Capitaines of his Armie after him. The hot con- 50 tentions

tentions for superiority between the King of *Israel*, and those of *Damascus*; between *Aegypt*, and *Babylon*, *Babylon*, and *Ainene*; the *Persians*, and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to haue once bene in those people; which are now so patient of a forraigne yoke, that like Sheepe or Oxen, they suffer themselves to be distributed, fought for, wonne, lost, and againe recovered, by contentions Matters; as if they had no title to their owne heads, but were borne to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appeare the more strange, if wee shall consider, how the severall States of *Greece* (many of which had neuer possessed so large Dominion, as might cause their Spirits to swell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occasions of libertie; and how these proud Conquerours were glad to offer it, desiring to haue them rather friends than seruants, for feare of further inconuenience.

It muſt therefore be noted, that moſt of theſe Countries had alwaies bene ſubject vnto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom the *Babylonians* and *Persians* long ſince had rooted out, & held them in ſuch bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraigne Matters. This had vtterly taken from them all remembrance of home-borne Princes, & incorporated them into the great body of the *Persian* Empire: ſo that wanting within themſelves all ſoueraigne power, or high authority, the life & ſpirit of euery Eſtate; they lay aſe dead, and were bereaued of motion, when that Kingdome fell, whereot they lately had bene members.

Why the *Persian* *Satrapas*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the *Macedonian* Captaines, after the death of *Alexander*, ſhould lay hold vpon thoſe Provinces, which had many ages bene ſubject vnto them, and ſearce foure yeeres in quiet poſſeſſion of their enemies, or why at leaſt they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did caſe to affright them) to get their ſhares among his followers, if not wholly to diſpoſſeſſe them of their new purchaſes: it is a queſtion, wherein, who is not ſatisfied, may find no leſſe reaſon to ſuſpect the Hiſtorie, than authority to confirme it. For we ſeldome reaſe, that any ſmall Kingdome, preuailling againſt a farre greater, hath made ſo entire a conqueſt, in the compaſſe of ten yeeres, as leſt vnto the vanquiſhed no hope of recovery, nor meanes to rebell; eſpecially when ſuch diſorders, or rather vtter conſuſion hath enſued, by the furie of ciuill warre among the Victors.

The cauſe why the *Macedonians* held ſo quietly the *Persian* Empire, is well ſet downe by *Machiavell*; and concerneſ all other Kingdomes, that are ſubject vnto the like forme of Government: the ſumme whereof is this. Whereſoeuer the Prince doth hold all his Subjects vnder the condition of ſlaues; there is the conqueſt eaſie, and ſoone aſſured: Where ancient Nobilitie is had in due regard, there is it hard to winne all, and harder to keepe that which is wonne. Examples of this are the *Turkiſh* Empire, and the Kingdome of *France*. If any Inuaider ſhould preuaile ſo farre vpon *Turkie*, that the great *Sultan* and his Children (for brethren hee vſeth not to ſuffer alie) were taken or ſlaine: the whole Empire would quickly bee wonne, and eaſily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the *Baſſies*, how great ſouer they may ſeeme, are mere ſlaues; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whoſe perſonall regard could get the people to follow him in ſuch an attempt, where in hope of priuate gaine, ſhould not counteruaile all apparent matter of feare. Contrariwiſe, in *France*, it were not enough for him that would make a conqueſt, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though hee further got the better part of the Countie, and were by farre the ſtrongest in the field. For, beſides the Princes of the Royall bloud, there are in that Kingdome ſcore of great men; who are mightie in their ſeueral Countries, and hauing certaine Royalties and Principalties of their owne; are able to raiſe Warre, in all quarters of the Realme; whereunto the remembrance of their owne ancient Families, and long continued Nobilitie, will alwaies ſtirre vp and inflame them, ſo that vntill euery one piece were wonne, and euery one (an endleſſe work) of the chiefe Nobilitie, brought

brought vnder or delroyed, the victorie were not compleat, nor well aſſured. It is true, that ſuch power of the Nobilitie, doth often-times make way for an Inuaider; to whom the diſcontentments of a few can eaſily make a faire entrance. But ſuch aſſiſtants are not ſo eaſily kept, as they are gotten: for they looke to bee ſatisfied at full in all their demand; and hauing what they would, they ſoone returne to their old allegiance, vpon condition to keepe what they haue, vnleſſe they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to pleaſe one man, without offending another as good as himſelfe. The *Turke*, on the other ſide, needes not to feare any perill, that might ariſe from the diſcontented ſpirits of his principall men. The great- eſt miſchiefe that any of them could work againſt him, were the betraying of ſome frontier Towne, or the willfull loſſe of a battaile: which done, the Traitor hath ſpent his ſling, and muſt either flie to the enemy, whereby he loſeth all that hee formerly did hold, or elſe, in hope of doing ſome further harme, he muſt adventure to excuſe himſelfe vnto his Maſter, who ſeldome forgiues the Capitaine, that hath not ſtriven by deſperate valour againſt miſfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers againſt the great *Sultan*, and ſoiourning themſelves vnto any Inuaider; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them haue any followers or dependants at all, other than ſuch, as are ſubject vnto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commiſſions. Now as this baſe condition of the principall men, doth leaue vnto them no meanes, whereby to oppoſe themſelves againſt the flouriſhing eſtate of their Prince; ſo would it weaken both their power and their courage in giuing him aſſiſtance, if aduerſitie ſhould make him ſtand in neede of them. For there is ſcarce any one among the *Turkeſh* *Baſſies*, or prouinciall Governours, that knowes either from whence hee was brought, or from whom defended, nor any one among them, that by the loſſe and vtter ruine of the *Turkiſh* Empire, can loſe any ſhor of his proper inheritance, and it is the proper inheritance of the ſubiect, which is alſo a Kingdome vnto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart againſt the Conquerer, who hath no other deuice painted on his Enſigne, than the picture of ſlaucerie.

As is the *Turkiſh* Empire, ſo was the *Persian*, void of libertie in the Subjects; and vtterly deſtitute of other Nobilitie, than ſuch as depended vpon mere fauour of the Prince. Some indeede there were of the Royall bloud, and others, deſcended from the Princes that ioynd with *Darius*, the Sonne of *Hſtaſpes*, in oppreſſing the *Magi*: theſe were men of reputation in *Persia*; but their reputation conſiſted only in their Pedigree, and their ſaſetic in not meddling with affaires of State, which made them little eſteemed. In what ſmall account theſe *Persian* Princes were held, it may appeare by this, that the King, Vncles, Couſin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their* *Slaves*, and ſo did ſtile themſelves, in ſpeaking vnto theſe great Monarchs. That vpon euery light occaſion of diſpleaſure they were handled as Slaves; it is eaſie to be diſcerned, in that example of crueltye, praſt by *Xerxes* vpon his owne brother *Mſites*, which hath bene formerly noted, in place more conuenient. As for the *Satrapas*, or Governours of the Provinces, it is needleſſe to cite examples, prouing them to haue bene mere ſlaues: it may ſuffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of thoſe Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was gouerned.

To this want of Nobilitie in *Persia*, may be added the generall want of libertie conuenient among the people: a matter no leſſe available, in making eaſie and ſure the conqueſt of a Nation, then is the cauſe aſſigned by *Machiavell*. For as *Aſeſpe* his Aſſe did not care to runne from the enemies, becauſe it was not poſſible, that they ſhould loade him with heavier burthens, then his Maſter cauſed him daily to beare: ſo the Nations, that endure the work vnder their owne Princes, are not greatly fearefull of a forraigne yoke; Nor will be haſtic to ſhake it off, if by experience they finde it more light, then was that whereunto they had bene accuſto-

accustomed. This was it that made the *Gaſcoignes* beare ſuch faithfull affection to the Kings of *England*; for that they gouerned more mildly than the *French*: this enlarged the *Venetian* iuriſdiction in *Lumbardie*; for the Townes that they wanne, they wanne out of the hands of Tyrannous oppreſſors: and this did caule the *Macedonians*, with other Nations, that had beene ſubiect vnto the poſteritie of *Alexanders* followers, to ſerue the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eaſed of many burthens, which had beene impoſed vpon them by their owne Kings.

So that of this tameneſſe, which we finde in thoſe that had beene ſubiects of the *Perſian* Kings, the reaſons are apparent. Yet ſome of theſe there were, that could not ſo eaſily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeede beene abſolutely conquered by the *Perſian*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the *Cauſian* Sea. Such alſo were the *Arabians* bordering vpon *Syria*: againſt whom *Antigonus* ſent part of his Armie; thinking therewith to bring them vnder, or rather to get a rich bootie. The Captaine that he ſent, fell vpon the *Nabathians*; at ſuch time as they were buſied in a great Mart, wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians*, for *Myrrhe*, *Frankincenſe*, and other ſuch commodities. All or moſt of theſe rich wares, together with ſiue hundred taents of ſiluer, and many priſoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold vpon: for their coming was ſuddaine, and vnexpected. But ere they could recover *Syria*,²⁰ the *Nabathians* ouertooke them, and finding them wearie with long marches, made ſuch a ſlaughter, that of foure thouſand foot, and ſixe hundred horſe, onely ſittie horſes eſcaped. To reuenge theſe loſſes, *Demetrius* was ſet out with a greater power: yet all in vaine; for he was not reſiſted by any Armie, but by the natural defence of a vaſt Wilderneſſe, lacke of water, and of all things neceſſarie. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he loſt not much honour: for they craued it, and gaue him preſents. Returning from the *Nabathians*, hee viewed the Lake *Alphalites*, whence he conceiued hope of great profit that might be raiſed, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good buſbandrie of his ſonne, *Antigonus* was well pleaſed; and appointed men to the worke: but they were ſlaine by the *Arabians*,³⁰ and ſo that hope vaniſhed.

Theſe petty enterpriſes, with the ill ſucceſſe accompanying them, had much impaired the good aduantage againſt *Ptolomee*: when the newes of *Selenus* his victories in the high Countreies, marked all together. For neither was the loſſe of thoſe great and wealthy Prouinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it ſafe to tranſport the warre into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby *Syria* and the lower *Aſia* ſhould haue beene expoſed, to the danger of ill-affected Neighbour. A middle courſe was thought the beſt; and *Demetrius*, with ſittene thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, was ſent againſt *Selenus*. Theſe forces being ſent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his ſonne did leſſe. For *Selenus* was then in *Media*; his Lieutenants about *Babylon* withdrew themſelues from neceſſitie of fight; ſome places⁴⁰ they fortified and kept; *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without ſetting in Garrifon more men then he could ſpare; neither did he get much; and therefore was faine to ſet out the brauerie of his expedition, by burning and ſpoiling the Countreie; which he did thereby the more alienate, and as it were acknowledge to belong vnto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his owne aſſured.

Antigonus had laid vpon his ſonne a peremptorie commandement, to returne vnto him at a time preſcribed: reaſonably thinking (as may ſeeme) that in ſuch an vnſettled ſtate of things, either the Warre might bee ended, by the furie of the firſt brunt; or elſe it would bee vaine to ſtrive againſt all difficulties likely to ariſe, where want of neceſſaries ſhould fruſtrate the valour, that by length of time was like to become leſſe terrible to the Enemy. *Demetrius* therefore leauing behind him ſiue thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, rather

rather to make ſhew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himſelfe, with greater forces could doe little more then nothing, forſooke the enterpriſe, and went backe to his Father.

§. IX.

A general peace made and broken. How all the houſe of *ALEXANDER* was deſtroyed.

¹⁰ **T**Heſe ambitious heads, hauing thus wearied themſelues with vnſeſſuall trauaile, in ſeeking to get more then any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them ſhould hold quietly, that which at the preſent he had in poſſeſſion. As no priuate hatred, but mere deſire of Empire had moued them to enter into the warre; ſo was it no friendly reconciliation, but onely a dulneſſe growing vpon the ſlow aduancement of their ſeuerall hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occaſion might better ſerue to fight againe.

²⁰ Beſides that maine point, of retaining the Prouinces which euery one held, there were two Articles of the peace, that gaue a faire, but a falſe colour, to the bulineſſe: That the ſonne of *ALEXANDER* by *ROXANE*, ſhould be made King, when hee came to fullage; and, That all the Eſtates of Greece ſhould be ſet at libertie. The aduancement of yong *Alexander* to his Fathers Kingdome, ſeemes to haue bene a matter, forcibly extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was diſcouered a purpoſe, to make himſelfe Lord of all. But this, indeede, more neerely touched *Cauſander*. For in his cuſtodie was the yong Prince and his Mother: neither did hee keepe them in ſort auſerable to their degree; but as cloſe priſoners, taken in that warre, wherein they had ſcene the old Queene *Olympias* taken and murdered, that ſought to haue put³⁰ them in poſſeſſion of the Empire. The mutuall hatred and feare betwene them, rooted in theſe grounds, of iniuries done, and reuenge expected; vpon this concluſion of peace, grew vp ſalter than any time before, in the heart of *Cauſander*: who ſaw the *Macedonians* turne their fauourable expectation, towards the ſonne of their late renowned King.

All this, either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The yong Prince muſt firſt haue poſſeſſion of *Macedon*: whereby *Cauſander* ſhould be reduced to his poore office, of Captaine ouer a thouſand men, if not left in worſe caſe. As for them that held Prouinces abroad, they might either doe as they had done vnder *Arideus*; or better, as being better acquainted with their owne ſtrength. He in⁴⁰ the meane time, by his readineſſe to acknowledge the true Heire, had freed himſelf from that ill-fauoured imputation, of ſeeking to make himſelfe Lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like aduantage had he in that Article, of reſtoring the Greekes to their libertie. This libertie had hitherto bene the ſubiect of much idle diſconſe: but it neuer tooke effect. *Antigonus* held ſcarſe any Towne of theirs, *Cauſander* occupied moſt of the Countreie: which if hee ſhould ſet free; hee muſt be a poore Prince; if not; there was matter enough of quarrell againſt him, as againſt a Diſturbur of the common peace.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Countreies lying betwene *Euphrates* and the Greeke ſeas;⁵⁰ together with a great Armie, and monie enough to entertaine a greater, might ſerue to hold vp the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raiſe his hopes, as high as euer they had bene.

With much diſaduantage doe many men contend, againſt one that is equall to them
Zzzz 2

them all in puillance, *Cassanders* friends had left him in an ill case; but he could not doe withall: for where every one mans helpe is necessarie to the warre, there may any one make his owne peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are wearie. The best was, that hee knew all their affections: which tended to no such end as the becoming Subjects vnto any man; much lesse to the sonne of an *A-fatique* woman, of whom they had long since refused to heare mention. Therefore he tooke a short course, and cauled both the child & his Mother to be slaine: freeing thereby himselfe in a trice, from the dangerous necessitie of yeelding vp his gouernement, which he must haue done when the child had come to age. *Roxane* was a Ladie of singular beauty, was perhaps the cause, why *Perdiccas* desired to haue her sonne, being as yet vnborne, proclaimed Heire to the great *Alexander*. Immediately vpon the death of *Alexander*, (he had vsed the fauour (if it were not loue) of *Perdiccas*, to the satisfying of her own bloudy malice, vpon *Statira*, the Daughter of King *Darius*; whom *Alexander* had likewise married according to the custome of those Countries, wherein pluralitie of wiues is held no crime. For hauing by a counterfeit letter, in *Alexanders* name, gotten this poore Lady into her hands, shee did, by assistance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Sister, and threw their bodies into a Well, causing it to be filled vp with earth. But now, by Gods iust vengeance, were she and her sonne made away, in the like secret fashion; euen at such time, as the neere approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, grow dearer vnto her than it was before.

The fact of *Cassander* was not so much detested in outward shew; as inwardly it was pleasing vnto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords, of all that they had vnder them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of warre; wherein every one perswaded himselfe of successe, rather better than worse. Heereupon all of them (except *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had worke enough at home) beganne to rowze themselves: as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his owne flock. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were buile in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*: while their Master was carefull in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the libertie of *Greece*: yet did the same argument minister vnto *Ptolomie*, matter of quarrell, against both him and *Cassander*; *Ptolomie* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garrisons into some Townes, which ought, in faire dealing to be set at libertie. Vnder colour of redressing this enormitie, he sent an Armie into *Cilicia*; where he wan foure Townes, and soone after lost them, without much labour of his owne or his Enemies.

After this, putting to Sea with a strong Fleet, hee ranne along the coast of *Asia*, winning many places; and in that voiage allured vnto him a nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but discontented with the ill requitall of his seruices) whom finding shortly, as false to himselfe as he had bene to his owne Vncle, he was faine to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to see the *Greekes* at libertie, appeared not so plaine, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered, by his molesting *Antigonus* in *Asia*. Therefore to get the loue of that valiant Nation, He made at the last an expedition into *Greece* it selfe: where hauing set free some little Ilands, and landed in *Peloponnesus*, he raised fo great an expectation of finishing the long desired worke, that *Cratesipolis*, the Widdow of *Alexander*, *Polyperchon* sonne, gaue vp into his hands the Townes of *Sicyon* and *Corinth*.

Ptolomie had conceived a vaine beliefe, that the *Greekes* emboldened by his countenance and assistance, would all of them take heart, and rise vp in armes; where-
by with little labour, their libertie might be gotten; and hee beacknowledged as
Author of this immortal benefit. But long seruitude had wel-neere extinguished
the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts
recouer

recouer freedome, had so tired their spirits, that they would no more stirre in pursuit thereof; but sat idly still, as wishing it to fall into their mouths.

The *Lacedaemonians*, about these times, beganne to fortifie their Towne with walls; trusting no longer in their vertue (for both it, and the discipline that vpheld it were too much impaired) that had been a wall to their Towne and Territorie.

The *Athenians* were become as humble seruants, as they had been, in times past, insolent Masters: erecting as many statues in honor of *Demetrius Phalerus*, as there were daies in the yeere. This *Demetrius* was now their Gouernour; and hee gouerned them with much moderation: but in spite of their hearts, as being set ouer them by *Cassander*. By this base temper of the principall Cities, it is easie to gather, how the rest of the Countrey stood affected. *Ptolomie* could not get them, to set their helping hands, to their owne good; and to furnish him with the promised supplies of monie and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thraldome; as iudging the commoditie that would arise by annexing them to his partie, a matter of more weight, than the losse that *Cassander* should receiue thereby, who could hardly retaine them, if once *Antigonus* tooke the worke in hand. But when he found such difficultie in the businesse, hee changed his purpose: and renewing his former friendship with *Cassander*, he retained *Sicyon*, and *Corinth* in his owne possession.

Before the coming of *Ptolomie* into *Greece*, *Cassander* had bene held occupied with very much worke. For (besides his paines taken in warres among barbarous Princes) hee found meanes to allure vnto himselfe, the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*: making his own advantage, of their discontentments. By the like skillfull practice, Hee freed himselfe from a greater danger: and made those murders which he had committed seeme the lesse odious, by teaching his enemies to doe the like. Old *Polyperchon*, that had made fo great a stirre in the raigne of *Arideus*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her Child, enteragaine vpon the Stage; leading in his hand another sonne of the great *Alexander*, an I meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this yong Prince was *Heracles*: hee was begotten on *Barsine*, the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*; but had bene lesse esteemed than the sonne of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was helde no better than a Concubine, or else perhaps, in regard of the fauour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did beare vnto *Roxane*. At this time, the death of his brother had moued such compassion, and regard of his being *Alexanders* only liuing child, had procured vnto him such good will, that the demand which *Polyperchon* made in his behalf, was deemed very iust and honourable. There were indeede more hearts then hands, that ioyned with this yong Prince: yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him that least ought, had not bene most false. *Cassander* had raised an Armie, to withstand his entrie into *Macedon*: but little trust could hee repose in that Armie, whose wilhes he perceived to be with *Heracles*. Therefore hee assailed *Polyperchon* himselfe with gifts and promises; wherewith at length hee preuailed so farre, that the old Villaine was contented to murder his Pupill, choosing rather with many curses, and foule dishonour, to take the offered Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, and Commander of an Armie; than to purchase a Noble fame with dangerous trauaile, in maintaining his faith, vnto both his dead and liuing Soueraignes.

Antigonus had not all this while bene asleepe; though his losses were hitherto the chiefe witnesses, of his hauing bene a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present, to retaine his owne: and therefore tooke order for
the recouerie of those places, which *Ptolomie* had taken paines to winne. As for the
rest, it no way grieved him, to see *Cassander* incurre the generall hatred of men by
committing those murders, of which the profit was like to redound vnto him that
was the most powerfull: or to see *Polyperchon* and *Ptolomie* swear, in a busie warre
against

against *Cassander*. If they would haue continued their quarrels, he could well haue afforded them leisure, and haue thought the time well spent, in beholding their contentions. For hee was thoroughly perswaded, that when the rest had wearied themselves in vaine with long strife, his armies and treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all vnder. According to these haughtie conceits, he demeaned himselfe among his followers; looking big vpon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them, to reuolt from him: but it was no great losse to be forsaken by those that looked with enuious eyes vpon that fortune whereon their owne should haue depended. Against this enuie of his owne men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedie, such as was like to giue him a goodly title to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra, Sister vnto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardes*; whom he had a great desire to take to wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howloeuer shee discovered much willingness thereunto, yet was shee in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it onely for feare of being enforced. But it was not his purpose, to get her by compulsiue meanes: either because his fanatic being an old man, was not ouer-violent; or rather because his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could haue made small vse of her, by doing such apparent wrong. Shee had bene married vnto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whose death shee came to her brother in *Asia*; hoping, belike, to finde a new husband in his Campe. But neither any of those braue Captaines, that were, in times following, so hot in loue with her, durst then aspire vnto her marriage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himselfe with providing her of an husband. Shee therefore, being a luttie widow, suffered her blood, so farre to preuaile against her honour, that shee supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Parramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a iest: saying, that shee was his sister, and must be allowed this libertie, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death, the Empire lay in a manner, void, and the portion due to her therein, grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had bene: then did many seeke to obaine her, while shee herselfe desired only a proper man, with whom she might lead a merrie life. To this purpose did shee inuite *Leonatus* vnto her; who made great haste; but was cut off by death, ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long tarrying, shee had her choice of all the great Commanders: *Antigonus*, *Ptolemeus*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, being all her earnest wooers. All these (*Antigonus* excepted) had wiues already, *Ptolemeus* had many wiues, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his wiues, being noted of too much dotage in that kinde. This hindered not his futeperadventure it aduanced it, by giuing to *Cleopatra*, some hope of mutuall toleration. To him therefore she bequeathed her selfe, and was taking her iourne from *Sardes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputie in that Citie, made her to stay, vntill his Matters further pleasure should be knowne. *Antigonus* had now a Wolfe by the eares; he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her goe. Shee would not be his wife; he had none honest pretence to force her; and to keepe her prisoner, had bene the way by which he might haue incurred a general hatred, lasting perhapp beyond her life; as the course taken by *Cassander* against *Roxane* (a Ladie lesse respected than *Alexanders* owne sister) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wisest way to procure her death: for to let any other enjoy the commoditie of so faire a riele to the Kingdome, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Governour of *Sardes*; willing him in any case to doe it secretly. Sothe fact was committed, and certaine women about her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as y^e mischievous conspirers against the life of that good Ladie. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least, in his owne opinion: but the world was lesse foolish, than so to be so deluded. How the murder was detected, wee need not aske: for seldom

is that bloudie crime vnreuealed; and neuer so ill smothered, as when great persons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought vpon nothing lesse than the execution of Gods iustice, due vnto the crueltie of these powerfull, but mercilesse Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, vpon so wicked foundations of innocent blood, were soone after cast downe, ouerwhelming themselves or their children, with their ruines, as the sequelle will declare.

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p. X.

How *Demetrius*, the sonne of *Antigonus*, gaue libertie to *Athens*, expelling the Garrison of *Cassander*, out of those parts. The immoderate honors decreed by the *Athenians* to *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*.

One being left aloue, that had any title to the Kingdome; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superior, should freely protest themselves Kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill becomed the weaker, while the strongest of all did forebear it: neither seemed it conuenient in the judgement of *Antigonus*, to crowne his last action with such a title, as if he had attained vnto greatness by that foule murder, the infamie whereof he was carefull how to discharge from his owne head. He purposed therefore to vndertake a plausible enterprise, even the libertie of *Greece*: whereby it was apparent, that he might get such honour as would not onely drowne all bad reports, but make him be thought equal to any name of royaltie, whereof in seeming modestie, hee was not conceitious. To this purpose, hee deliuered a strong Armie, with a Naue of two hundred and fiftie saile, and fife thousand talents of silver, vnto *Demetrius* his sonne: willing him to beginne at *Athens*; and thence to proceed, in setting all the Countrey free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected: so that without resistance he entred the Hauens; it being thought that a flect of *Ptolemeus*, *Cassanders* good friend, had bene arriued. But when it was knowne, both who he was, and what was the cause of his coming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations; *Demetrius Phalerens* forsooke the Towne, and withdrew himselfe to *Thiber*, vnder safe conduct; onely the Garrison in *Megara* strove to make good that piece, which after a while was wonne vpon them by force. During the siege of *Aten*; *chica*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garrison of *Cassander*, and so restored the Citie to libertie.

I thinke it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents, as may seeme no better than meer trifles: for euen by trifles, are the qualities of great Persons as well disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly straine themselves, to the obseruance of general commended rules; in lesser things they follow the current of their owne Natures. The Ladie *Cratesipolis* lay in *Patras*, and had a great desire to see *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that she might, by his meanes, better her estate, and recover her Townes of *Syeon* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolemeus*, to whose Lieutenant, in those places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered monie for the surrender of them. Yet the onely business pretended was loue. He being advertised hercof, left his forces in the Countrey of *Atagara*, and taking a companie of his lightest armed, for guard of his person, made a long iourne to meete with her. This troupe also, hee caused to lodge a great

great way from his Tent, that none might see her when she came. As closely as the businesse was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men, might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any termes of reason, by taking his deare sonne prisoner. Their project fell but a little short of the effect. For they came so suddainly vpon him, that hee had no better shift, than to muffle himselfe in an old cloake, and creepe away disguised, leaving them to ransack his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medly of conditions; especially an extreme dissolutesse in wanton pleasures, and a painefull industrie in matter of warre. He was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in devising Engines of warre, and curious in working them with his own hands. He knew better how to reforme his bad fortune, then how to rule his good. For aduersitie made his valour more active; prosperitie stupified him with an overweening, wherein he thought, that he might doe what he listed. His fortune was as changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheele, till shee had wound vp the threed of his life, in such manner as followeth to be shewed.

Returning to his Campe, and finishing his businesse at *Megara*; hee resolved no longer to attend the issue of a siege, to assault *Munychia* by force, that so hee might accomplish the libertie of *Athen*; which, untill it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the Citie. *Munychia* was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the assault, the multitude without, through help of their Engines that scoured the walls, prevailed vpon the resolution of those that lay within it, and wanne the place in two daies. The walls, and all the defences of that piece against the Citie, were leuelled with the ground, & so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withall was giuen their libertie, with promise to aide them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victory, gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and industrie. For the *Athenians*, hauing forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make vp that defect with their tongues: conuerting to base flatterie, that eloquence of theirs, which the vertues of their Ancestors had suted vnto more manly arguments.

They decreed, vnto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, the name of Kings; they consecrated the place, in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entered their Citie, and built there an Altar, calling it of *Demetrius the a-lighter*; they called them by the Names of the gods their saviours, ordaining that euery yeere, there should be chosen a Priest of these gods; and further, that such as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embassadors, but *Theori*, or *Consulters with the gods*; like as were they, whom they sent vnto the Oracle of *Iupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a fruitlesse diligence, to rehearse all their flatteries; these being so grosse. Hereby they not only corrupted the yong Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would haue pleased the old man, to bee of no vse. For hee could not handsomely take vpon him the name of King, as imposed by the *Athenians*; vnlesse hee would seeme to approoue their vanitie, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was hee so tickled, with this their slye handling him, that when their *Theori*, or *Consulters* came shortly after, desiring him to relieue them with Corne, and Timber to build ships; he gaue them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheat, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first Oracle: or rather, so weake is great power in resisting the assaults of flatterie.

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§. XI.

§. XI.

The great victorie of *Demetrius* against *Ptolomie* in *Cyprus*. How *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* tooke vpon them the stile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.

From this glorious worke, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius*, vnto a businesse of greater difficultie: meaning to employ his seruice against *Ptolomie* in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willed to establish a generall Counsaile, that should treat of matters, concerning the common good of the Countrie. About the same time, *Antigonus* withdrew his owne Garrison out of *Inabros*, committing their libertie entire, into the peoples hands; whereby it might appeare, that as he would not permit any other to oppresse the *Greekes*, so would he be farre from doing it himselfe. This was enough, to hold his reputation high, amongst these new purchased friends: it followed, that hee should conuert his forces, to the winning of ground vpon his Enemies.

A pittifull Tragedie had lately happed in *Cyprus*; through the indiscretion of *Meneleus*, *Ptolomies* brother, and his Lieutenant in that Isle. *Nicoles*, King of *Paphos*, was entred into some practice with *Antigonus*: yet not so farre that he thought himselfe past excuse; by which confidence, hee was perhaps, the more easily deceived. To cut off this negotiation, & the false-hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Meneleus* was sent thither: who surrounding *Nicoles* his house with Souldiers, required in *Ptolomies* name, to haue him yielded to the death. *Nicoles* offered to cleere himselfe; but *Meneleus* told him, that die he must, and bade him come forth quietly. This desperate necessitie caused the vnhappie King to rid himselfe of life: and his death strooke such an impression into his wife, that she not onely slew her selfe, but perswaded the wiues of her husbands brethren, to doe the like. Also those brethren of *Nicoles*, vnto whom *Ptolomie* had intended no ill, being amazed with the suddainesse of this calamitie, did shut vp the Palace, and setting it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

Whatsoever the crime objected was; *Nicoles* perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answer. Of this sad accident, though *Meneleus* deserued the blame, for his rigoros proceeding: yet is it to be thought, that much dislike fell also vpon *Ptolomie*: as men that are grieved, cast an ill affection, euen vpon those, that gaue the farthest remoued occasion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a power sufficient, against any opposition that *Ptolomie* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing against him: either because they had small strength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being sure that they should not themselves haue the rule of their owne Countrie. *Meneleus* therefore, out of his Garrisons, drew forth an Army, and fought with *Demetrius*. But hee was beaten, and driuen to saue himselfe within the walls of *Salamis*; where he was so hardly besieged, that without strong succour hee had no likelihood to make good the place, much lesse to retaine possession of the whole Iland. His greatest helpe at the present, was the fidelitie of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could winne from him, nor good vsage (when any of them were taken prisoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keepe from returning to him, with the first opportunitie. Most of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in *Aegypt*, which was enough to keepe them faithfull. Yet could not this their resolution haue stood long, against the odds of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as resolute, and against his terrible Engines of batterie, if *Ptolomie* had not halted to the rescue.

Ptolomie brought with him, a hundred and fortie Gallies, besides two hundred ships

ships of burden, for transporting his Armie and Carriages. This fleet made a terrible shew, when it was descried a farre; though more than halfe of it, was vnfit for seruice, in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadful, *Ptolomie* sent vnto *Demetrius*, a threatening message: willing him to be gone, vnlesse hee would bee ouerwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this young Gallant repaid him with words of as much brauerie, promising to let him escape, vpon condition, that hee should withdraw his Garrisons out of *Siegon* and *Corinth*.

Demetrius had no more then one hundred and eightene Gallies; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of *Ptolomie*; better stored, with weapons fit for that seruice; and very well furnished with Engines in the prowes, to beat vpon the Enemy. Neuerthelesse he stood in great doubt of threescore Gallies that lay in the Hauens of *Salamis*, left *Menelaus* with them should set vpon his back: in which case, it was likely that all should goe very ill with him. Against this mischiete, hee bestowed two of his owne Gallies in the mouth of that Hauen, to keepe *Menelaus* from issuing forth, and setting his horse-men on the shore, to giue what assistance they could, be with the rest of his fleet, puts to Sea against *Ptolomie*.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtfull success. The Generals were not ranged opposite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his owne fleet. Each of them preuailed against the Squadron where with hee encountered; but the success of *Demetrius* was to better purpose. For his victorie in one part was such, as caus'd others to fall out of order, and finally draue all to betake themselves vnto speedie flight. As for *Ptolomie*, he was faine to leaue his aduantage vpon the enemy in one part of the fight, that hee might relieue and animate those of his owne which needed him in another. Wherein hee found his losse ouer-great to be repaired, by contending any longer against the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to saue himselfe, in hope of better euent, that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this battaile no vnusuall accident; yet was the victorie greater then could haue bene expected. The occasions whereof were, partly the great skill in Sea-seruices, which the *Greekes* and *Phenicians*, that were with *Demetrius*, had, about those which followed *Ptolomie*: partly the good furniture of the Ships, wherein consisted no lesse, than in the qualitie of those with whom they were manned. Further, wee may reasonably iudge, that the two hundred ships of burthen, carrying the strength of *Ptolomies* Armie, did not more encourage his owne men, and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight; than breed in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight, they fell off, and stood aloofe. For though it were fitting, that they should so doe; yet a multitude, prepossessed with vaine conceits, will commonly apprehend very slight occasions, to thinke themselves abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation, that *Menelaus* issuing with his fleet out of *Salamis*, should charge the enemies in Rerne, was vtterly frustrate. Hee was kept in perforce, by the ten ships appointed to barre vp the mouth of the Hauen: which they manfully performed, as great necessitie required.

Such disappointment of expectation, doth much abate the courage of men in fight; especially of the assailants: whereas on the contrarie, they that finde some part of their feares vaine, doe easily gather hopefull spirits, and conceiue an opinion of their owne abilitie to doe more than they had thought vpon, out of their not suffering the harme that they had imagined.

Whatsoever the causes of this victorie were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolomie* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest of his fleet was either taken, or sunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer strive against the violence of Fortune; but yielded vp all that hee held in *Cyprus*, together with his Armie, consisting of twelue thousand foote, and a thousand and two hundred horse,

horse, and those Gallies in the Hauen of *Salamis*. The same deiection of Spirit was found in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had seru'd the *Egyptian* by Land: none of them repoling any more confidence in *Ptolomit*, but willingly becoming followers of a new Lord, whose Armie they now increased.

It was generally beleueed, that much more depended on the euent of this fight, than the Ile of *Cyprus*; for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; especially *Antigonus*, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking euery day a yeere, till hee were aduertised of the issue. In this moode *Ariflodemus* found him, a notable flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured, with the Message of these good newes. *Ariflodemus* had bethought himselfe of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his ioyfull errand: He caus'd his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore; hee himselfe landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediately backe to the ship; and so all alone, he went forward, looking very sadly that no part of his tidings might appeare in his countenance. Report of his arriual (for it was not knowne where he had been) came presently to *Antigonus*, who sent Messenger after Messenger, to meet him on the way, and bring speedie word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much of a looke, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could bee wonne from this demure Gentleman. Thus marched he faire and softly forward, with a great throng at his heeles (that serued well to set out his Pageant) vntill he came in sight of *Antigonus*; who could not containe himselfe, but went downe to meet him at the Gate, and heare the newes. Then did *Ariflodemus*, vpon the suddaine, with a high voice salute *Antigonus* by the name of King; vntering the greatnesse of the victorie (with as much pompe, as before he had couered it with silence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gaue that name of King, both to *Antigonus*, and to his sonne *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requittall of the long suspense, wherein *Ariflodemus* had held him, said that it should also be long ere hee receiued his reward. But the title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did set on his head, he could not with a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his sonne.

When it was once noised abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselves Kings; it was not long ere their fellowes were readie to follow the good example. *Ptolomie* his friends would by no meanes endure, that their Lord should be thought a man deiect for the losse of a fleet: therefore they saluted him also King. *Lysimachus* in *Thrace* had boldnesse enough, to put the Diademe about his owne head. *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the Barbarous people, taken vpon him as King: but now he vs'd the stile indifferently, as well among the *Greekes* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Cassander* held himselfe contented with his owne name: whereby howsoever he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his crueltie, against his Masters house. But the name which before, his sonnes, after him, were bold to vsurpe, though with ill success, as wil appeare, when they shall enter vpon the Stage; whereon these old Tragedians, vnder new habits, as no longer now the same persons, beginne to play their parts, with bigger looks, and more boisterous actions, not with greater grace and iudgement, than in the Scenes already past.

CHAP. VI.

Of the warres betweene the Kings of *Ægypt*, *Asia*, *Macedon*, *Thrace*, and others: untill all *ALEXANDERS* Princes were consumed.

§. I.

The Expedition of *ANTIGONVS* against *Ægypt*, with ill successe.



ALL the rest of these Kings had taken that name vpon them, an imitation of *Antigonvs* himselfe, as becoming his greatnesse: which was such as gaue him hope to swallow them vp, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his owne strength, hee resolved to single out *Ptolomie*, and make him an example to others: who should hardly be able to stand, when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose hee prepared an Armie of eighteene thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, with foure-score and three Elephants: as likewise a fleet of a hundred and

fiftie Gallies, and a hundred ships of burden. The Land-forces hee commanded in person: of the Name *Demetrius* was Admirall.

When all was readie for the iourney, the Sea-men aduised him to stay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the setting of the *Pleiades*. But his hastie desire to preuent all preparations for resistance that *Ptolomie* should make, reiected this counsaile; imputing it rather to their feare than skill: wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Towne which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his owne name, that was soone changed into *Selenia*, by his mortall Enemy) and came to *Gaza*; where hee met with his fleet. The neerer that he drew to *Ægypt*, the more haste hee made: thinking by celeritie to preuaile more then by his great power. He caused his Souldiers to carrie ten daies prouision of victuals; and had many Camels laden with all necessaries for passing the *Darys*, ouer which he marched with no small toyle, though he met with no resistance. At Mount *Cassius*, which is neere adioyning to *Nilus*, he law his Fleet, riding at Anchor, not farre from the shore; in ill case, and many ships wanting. It had bene sorely beaten with foule weather, wherein some were lost, others driuen back to *Gaza*, or scattered elsewhere into such creeks as they could recover: *Demetrius* himselfe, with the best and strongest vessels, did so long beat it vp against the winde, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremitie, he and all his must haue perished, had not the tempest cea'd when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in sight, from whom these ouer-weared, thirsty and Sea-beaten Souldiers receiued reliefe. After these painefull trauailes there followed a Warre no lesse painefull than to little purpose; for *Ptolomie* had so fortified all the passages vpon the Riuer of *Nilus*, as he assured himselfe either to ende the warre there, or if his euards should happen to be forst, yet could it not be done, but so much to the weaking of the Assailants, as he should afterward, with a second Armie (which he held entire) entertaine the Inuader vpon aduantage enough. All that *Antigonus* fought, was to come to blowes pecdily: *Ptolomie* on the contrarie, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gaue him water enough, but wood hee had none to warme it, and while *Antigonus* assaulted the Rampiers raised vpon the Riuer in

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vaine, *Ptolomie* assaid the faith of his Souldiers with good successe, for with great gifts, and greater promises, he ferried them ouer so fast, as had not *Antigonus* thrust some assured Regiments, vpon the passages next the enemie, and in the meane while taken a resolution to returne, *Ptolomie* had turned him out of *Ægypt*, ill attended.

Some of them indeede he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those hee put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the same ill successe that *Perdicas* had formerly done, when he inuaded *Ægypt*: had he not readily removed his Armie further off, from the noise of their entertainment, that had already bene wonne from him. To preuent therefore as well the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a forst retrain, hee secretly practized the aduice of his Councell, vpon whom the burden must be laid of his entrance, and leaving *Ægypt*.

It is indeede lesse predudiciall in such like cases, that errors, dishonours, and losses, be laid on Councellours and Captaines, than on Kings, on the Directed, than on the Director: for the honour and reputation of a Prince is farre more precious, than that of a Vallall. *Charles* the first, as many other Princes haue done, laide the losse and dishonour hereciued in the inuasion of *France*, by the way of *Prouince*, to *Antonie de Lesa*, whether iustly or no, I know not; but how foucra all the Historians of that time agree, that the sorrow thereof cost that braue Captaine his life. Certainly to giue any violent aduice in doubtfull enterprises, is rather a testimonie of loue, than of wisdom, in the giuer; for the ill successe is alwaies cast vpon the Councell, the good neuer wants a Father, though a false one, to acknowledge it. Yet I haue sometime knowne it, that great commanders, who are for the present in place of Kings, haue not only bene dissuaded, but held in a kinde by strong hand, from hazarding their owne persons, and yet haue those kinde of Mutiners neuer bene called to a Marshalls Court.

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§. II.

How the Citie of *Rhodes* was besieged by *DEMETRIVS*.



HIS departure of *Antigonus* left behinde it many dead carcasses, and a great deale of ioi in *Ægypt*. *Ptolomie* held a solemne feast, and sent Messengers abroad, laden with glad newes, to *Selenus*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, his Confederates: strongly encouraging all that side with the report of this his late felicitie, though it appeared but in a defenseiue warre. *Antigonus* on the contrarie flattered himselfe with another interpretation, calling the ioies of his enemies for witness of his owne greatnesse, seeing they arose but from so little things: his enemies being but bare sauers by the last bargain, and himselfe, as he supposed, hauing lost but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retrain. How foucra it were, yet he meant to follow his affaires henceforth in another fashion, for that which he could not cleaue a-funder by great blowes, he purposed by little & little to pare off, by cutting off the branches first, to fell the Tree it selfe with the more facilitie. To effect which, hee resolved (leaving the great ones to grow awhile) to roote vp the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the forenamed Confederates should be forst, either to relieue, or to loose; and hereby he doubted not, to draw them into the field, where the aduantage of power, and of all other warlike prouisions, promised him victorie.

At this time the Citie of *Rhodes* was very mightie, being well gouerned, and hauing long held it selfe in good Neutralitie, it drew the better part of all the trade

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of those parts, and thereby a great deale of riches to it selfe, to maintaine which, and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed ships, by which it not only beat off all Pyrates and pettie Theues, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the Neighbour Princes sought their alliance and confederacie.

In this so dangerous time (in which they must either refuse all that sought them, and so stand friendlesse and apart, or ioyne themselves to some one; and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatnesse had growne) their affections carried them to the *Aegyptians*: both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that *Antigonus* his disposition, greatnesse, & neighbourhood was fearful vnto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages, more apparent; gaue argument of quarrel to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himselfe against them by pettie iniuries, of taking some of their ships, with such other grieuances, while he made a more weightie preparation, to pursue the warre against them, openly & strongly. All things soone after ordered according to the greatnesse of the enterprise, hee employed his sonne *Demetrius* against them in their owne Iland, who brought such terrour vpon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their assistance, and seruice against whomsoever *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perswaded by feare, and not by loue, raised his demands to an intolerable height, requiring a hundred Hostages to be deliuered him, and libertie to lodge in their Port as many ships of warre as himselfe pleased. These conditions more properly to be imposed vpon a State already conquered, then on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained assistance, restored vnto the *Rhodians* their lost courage, and made them resolute to defend their libertie to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bond-men, and wisely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themselves fellow-slaves with them.

Demetrius having refused the faire conditions offered, (as the *Rhodians* the fearefull ones propounded vnto them) makes preparation for a long siege, and finding no appearance to carrie the place in furie, he set in hand with his Engines of battell; in the inuention and vse of which, he neuer shewed himselfe a greater Artisan, than in this warre. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the assaults giuen them for a whole yeere, after many braue sallies out of the Towne, and the famine which they endured within the Towne, which had proued farre more extreme, if *Ptolomie* had not with many hazards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embassadors, gaue ouer the siege; a hundred Hostages they gaue him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magistrates and officers of the Citie.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the vsuall policie of warre, and state: for while with the flourish of his fathers forces, he lay before *Rhodes*, *Cassander* recovered many of those places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him, neither did *Cassander* make the warre as in former times, by practice and surprise, but by a strong and well compounded armie, which hee himselfe led as farre as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly distressed and indangered *Athens* it selfe. On the other side (though with lesse successe) did *Polyperchon* invade *Peloponnesus*. These dangerous vndertakings vpon *Greece*, aduised the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* to dispatch their Embassadors towards *Demetrius*, and aduised *Demetrius*, rather to abandon the enterprise of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which hee had formerly gotten, by setting all *Greece* at libertie.

Demetrius was no sooner out of the Iland, then that the *Rodians* erected statues in honour of *Lysimachus*, & *Cassander*, but for *Ptolomie*, whom they most affected, and from whom they received their most reliefe, they consulted with the Oracle of *Iupiter*, whether it were not lawfull to call him a God. The Priests which attended in the Temple

Temple of *Isomon*, gaue the same faire answer for *Ptolomie*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his Matter, for as *Alexander* consulted the Oracle with an Armie at his heeles; so was *Ptolomie* at this time Lord of the soile: and yet was this a farre more cleanly creation, than that done by the *Athenians*, who Deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, by decree of the people. A madage it was, when so many of *Alexanders* Captaines not content themselves with the stile of Kings, but that they would needes be called gods.

§. III.

How *Demetrius* prevailed in *Greece*. *Cassander* desires peace of *Antigonus*, and cannot obtaine it. Great preparations of warre against *Antigonus*.

DEMETRIUS comming with a strong Fleet and Armie into *Greece*; quickly draue *Cassander* out of *Attica*, and pursuing his fortune, chased him beyond the straits of *Thermopyle*. Herein his reputation did much auail him; which was so great, that sixe thousand of his enemies Souldiers revolted vnto him. So partly by the greatnesse of his name, partly by force, he recovered in short space all that *Cassander* held in those straits, and giuing libertie vnto the people, he bestowed vpon the *Athenians* those peeces, which had bene fortified against them, to blocke them vp. Then went he into *Peloponnesus*, where he found the like, or more ealie successe: for hee suddenly tooke *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the most of the Countie, bestowing libertie vpon such as needed it. The Towne of *Sicyon* hee translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old seat into another place, and called it after his owne name *Demetrius*. This done, he betook himselfe to his pleasure: At the *Isthmian* games, he caused himselfe to be proclaimed Capitaine General of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) hee despised all others, making it a matter of iest, that any, saue himselfe or his father, should vsurpe the name of King. But in his behauiour hee was so farre vnlike to a King, that in all the time of his leisure, hee deserved none other name then of a drunken *Palliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as readie as euer to deuise new honours for him: among which they made one decree, that whatsoever King *Demetrius* should command, ought to be held sacred with the gods, and iust with Men.

All *Greece* being now at the disposition of *Antigonus*, *Cassander* stood in great feare, lest the warre should fall heauily vpon him in *Macedon*: which to auoide, he knew no better way, then to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpose hee sent Embassadors; but had no better answer from *Antigonus*, then that he should subnit his whole citate to his discretion. This proud demand made him looke about him, and labour hard in soliciting his friends, both to assist him, and take heede to themselves; neither found hee them slow in apprehending the common Danger: for *Lysimachus* knew, that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soone be Master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolomie* and *Selenus* ignorant of that, which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himselfe in quiet possession of those Prouinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with ioynt forces they should all together set vpon the common Enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saying, That hee would as ealie scatter them, as a flocke of Birds are driuen away with a stone. With these conceits hee pleased himselfe, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemies. He lay at that time in his Towne of *Antigonia* (a name

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that it must shortly loose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and Pageants, in ostentation of his glorie. But thither was brought vnto him the tumultuous newes of *Lysimachus* his victories about *Hellepont*. For *Cassander* had committed vnto *Lysimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to passe ouer into *Asia*, while himself with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* passing the *Hellepont*, beganne to make hot warre vpon the subiects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to ioyne with him, by faire means; winning others by force, and waiting the Countrey round about.

To repress this vnexpected boldnesse, *Antigonus* made hastie iournies, and came soone enough to recouer his losses, but not strong enough to driue *Lysimachus* home, or compell him to come to battaile. *Lysimachus* waited for the coming of *Seleucus*; keeping himselfe the whilest from necessitie of fighting. But *Babylon* was farre off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to be soone in a readinesse. The Winter also did hinder his journey: which forced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrell in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspence, and bred much expectation. Yet might all haue come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* beene so froward, that hee refused to yeelde vnto any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew neere with a mighty Armie of his owne (for hee had gathered strength in that long time of leisure, which *Antigonus* had giuen him) and with great aide from *Ptolomie*, that was ioynd with his forces.

To helpe in this needfull case, *Demetrius* was called ouer into *Asia* by his Fathers letters: which he readily obeyed. Before his departur out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Cassander*, vpon reasonable termes: to the end he might not be driuen to leaue any part of his Armie for defence of the Countrey; and that his iourne might be without any such blemish of reputation, as if he had abandoned his Dependents: for one Article of the peace was, That all the Cities of *Greece* should be at libertie. *Cassander* was glad to be so rid of an Enemy, that was too strong for him. Yet would this league haue done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise then they did in *Asia*; seeing the ratification thereof was referred vnto *Antigonus*. It sufficed, that for the present, euery one found meanes to cleare himselfe of all incumbrances else where, to the end that each might freely apply himselfe to the triall of the maine controuersie in *Asia*.

§. IIII.

How *ANTIGONVS* was slaine in a great battaile at *Issus*, neere vnto *Ephesus*; wherein his whole estate was lost.

SELEVCVS, with his sonne *Antiochus*, ioyning with *Lysimachus*, compounded a great Armie, which was (all considered) not inferiour to that of the Enemy. In greatnesse of name (that helpeth much in all warres, but especially in the Ciuill) they were rather vnanswerable, than equall to their aduersaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them vnder with a mastering spirit, and had beene reputed a King indeede, when the rest were held but *Vsurpers* of the title. Like wise *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a braue Commander, hauing giuen proofe of his worth in many great seruices of all kinds, and enriched the Art of war with many inuentions, which euen his enemies, & particularly *Lysimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had sometimes flattered *Antigonus*, and fearfully stolen away from him to saue his life; with yong *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this iourne; and *Lysimachus*, that had liued long in a corner, hardly keeping his owne from the wilde *Thracians*; wanted much in reputation, of that which was yeelded to their opposites: yet so, that as ancient

ancient Captaines vnder *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthie enough, to receive any benefit that fortune might giue, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both sides, were for the most part hardie and well exercised: many of them hauing serued vnder *Alexander*; though of thole old Companies, the long space of two and twentie yeeres had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their affections; the followers of *Seleucus* were easily perswaded, that in this battaile they must either get the vpper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged vnto the Confederate Princes: whereas *Antigonus* his men could discern no other necessitie of fighting, than the obliuate qualitie of their Lord, that needes would be Master of all. *Antigonus* had about three-score and ten thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and three-score and fifteen Elephants. His enemies were five thousand thort of him in number of their foot; in horse they had the ods of five hundred; of Elephants they had foure hundred, and a hundred and twentie armed Chariots of warre; which helps, though they little had auailed the *Persians*, yet were they not to be despised, in the hands of a good Captaine.

Antigonus himselfe, either troubled with the vnexpected greatnesse of his enemies forces, or preasing little good like to ensue, grew very peniue, communing much in priuate with his sonne whom he commended to the Armie as his Successor: whereas in former times he had neuer been so iocund, as towards the houre of battaile, nor had beene accustomed to make his sonne, or any other, priue to his counsaile, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad lucke, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards deuised, I hold it needlesse to recount: *Diana* of *Ephesus* dwelt neere to the place of battaile, a busie Goddess in many great fights, and therefore likely to haue been thrust into the fable, if any matter, neerly resembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is easie to beleue, that these two so gallant Armies, containing well-neere all the strength of *Alexanders* whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by such worthie Commanders, and whom the issue thereof did highly concerne. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an easie losse in regard of the much variety, wherewith euery storie aboundeth in this kinde. The most memorabile things in the battaile, were these: *Demetrius* with his best force of horse, charged valiantly vpon yong *Antiochus*; whom when hee had broken, and put to flight, hee was so transported with the heat of his good successe, that he neuer gaue ouer his pursuit, but left his Father naked, and lost thereby both him, and the victorie. For when *Seleucus* perceiued this aduantage, he enterpoised his Elephants, between *Demetrius* and the Phalanx of *Antigonus*; and with many troupes of horse offering to breake vpon the enemies battaile, wherefoeuer it lay most open, he did so terrifie the *Antigonians*; that a great part of them rather chose to reuolt from their Lord, whilst they were fairely inuited, than to sustaine the furie of so dangerous an impression. This cowardize or rather treason of some, discouraged others; and finally, cast them all into flight; exposing their Generall to the last end of his destinies. *Antigonus* was then foure-score yeeres old, very fat and vnweildy, so that he was vnapt for flight, if his high spirit could haue entertained any thought thereof. Hee had about him some of his most trustie followers, and as many others as hee could hold together. When one that perceiued a great troupe making towards his person told him, *Sir King, yonder companie meanes to charge you*; he answered, *Well may they; for who desires me? but anon DEMETRIVS will relieue vs*. Thus expecting, to the very last, that his sonne should come to the rescue, he receiued so many Darts into his body, as tooke away his lately ambitious, but then fearefull hopes, together with his troublesome life.

His great abilitie in matter of Armes, together with his vnassatiable desire of Empire, haue sufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his action. Hee was more feared by his enemies, than loued by his friends; as one that could not moderate

his fortune, but vsed inolerance towards all alike, as if it had beene some vertue neere representing a Kingly Maiestie. This was the cause that so many of his followers reuolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Armie forsooke him in his last necessitie. For those Kings and Princes that call all the carefull indeuours of their Vassalls, onely dutie and debt; and are more apt to punish the least offences, than to reward the greatest seruices: shall finde themselves vpon the first change of fortune, (seeing it is loue only that staies by aduersitie) not only the most friendlesse, but even the most contemptible, and despised of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he liued; in part he left it to be verified vpon his son.

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§. V.

How DEMETRIUS forsaken by the Athenians after his ouerthrow, was reconciled to SELEVCUS and PTOLOMIE, beginning a new fortune, and shortly entring into new quarrells.

FOR *Demetrius*, at his returne, from the idle pursuit of yong *Antiochus*, finding all quite lost, was glad to saue himselfe, with foure thousand horse and fise thousand foot, by a speedy reitrait vnto *Ephesus*, whence hee made great haite towards *Athens*, as to the place, that for his sake would suffer any extremity. But whilest he was in the middle of his course thither, the *Athenian* Embassadors met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings should be admitted into their Citie. These were Embassadors, not *Theori*, or *Consul*ters with the Oracle. It was a shamelesse ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his miserie, with such a decree: neither did any part of his calamitie more afflict the vnfortunate Prince, than to see his aduersitie despised by those whom he had thought his surest friends. Yet was he faine to giue good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Hauen, of which he now stood in great neede, and therefore was faine to speake them faire, that sometimes had grossly flattered him. But he shall liue to teach them their old language, and speake vnto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships, he failed to the *Isthmus*, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrisons were euerie where broken vp; the Souldiers hauing betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a small Armie and Fleet, without monie or meanes wherewith to sustaine him and his followers any long time. All the rest or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in diuiding among the Conquerers, and those few places which as yet held for him (hauing not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieue, for to put himselfe into the field on that side of the Sea, he had no power, and to inclose himselfe in any of them, how strong soeuer, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeede to burie himselfe and his estate: Hee therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had fewest briars, fell vpon a corner of *Lysimachus* his Kingdome, wherof he gaue all the spoile, that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his owne losses hauing beene too great to be repaid againe by small prizes.

In the meane while the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to busie themselves, in the partition of those Provinces, of which their late victorie had made them Lords, wherein *Seleucus* had a notable aduantage by being present, and Master of the field, for neither *Ptolomie*, nor *Cassander* were at the ouerthrow giuen, hauing only sent certaine troupes to re-inforce the Armie which *Seleucus* led, who tooke hold of a part of *Asia* the lesse and all *Syria*, being no otherwise deuided from his owne Territorie, than by the Riuer of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order beene taken by the Confederates, for the diuision of all those Lands: because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that warre, which they made onely in their

their

their owne common defence. It was therefore lawfull for *Seleucus*, to make the best benefit that he could of the victorie, at which, neuertheless others did repine, and though they neither could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet seeing the ouer-gratnesse of *Seleucus* brought no lesse danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they consulted vpon the same reason of state as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined, for he read it in the Law vniuersall of Kingdoms and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendship on all sides, and cure themselves of all vnprofitable passion, the hatred of each to other, and their loues 10 being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found so farre too light, as *Seleucus*, who had to day slaine *Antigonus*, the father, and driven *Demetrius* the sonne out of *Asia*, sought to morrow how to match himselfe with *Stratonice*, *Demetrius* his daughter, and so by *Demetrius* to serue his turne against *Lysimachus*.

The storie of this *Stratonice*, with whom yong *Antiochus*, the sonne of *Seleucus* fell so passionately in loue, and so dilttempered, as *Seleucus* his father, to saue his sonnes life, gaue her (though she were his wife) vnto him, and how his passion was discouered by his pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance betwene *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; betwene *Ptolomie* and *Lysimachus*; betwene *Demetrius* and *Cassander*; betwene *Demetrius* and *Ptolomie*; though for the 20 present it brought him againe into the rancke of Kings; other wise tye any of them to each other, than the marriages betwene Christian Kings haue done in later times, namely betwene the *Austrians*, the *Aragonians*, the *French*, and other Princes; neither haue the Leagues of those elder times bene more faithfull, then those of the same later times haue bene; as in the stories of *Charles* the eighth of *France*, and of *Charles* the Emperour, of *Francis* the first, and of the Kings of *Naples*, *Dukes of Milan* and others, the Reader may obserue: betwene whom from the yeere of our Lord, *One thousand, foure hundred, ninctie and fise*, when *Charles* the eighth vnderooke the Conquest of *Naples*, to the yeere one thousand fise hundred fitic and eight, when *Henrie* the second died, the Histories of those times tell vs, 30 that all the bonds, either by the bed or by the booke, either by weddings, or Sacramentall Oathes, had neither faithfull purpose nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reape this profit by giuing his daughter to his enemy *Seleucus*, that he recovered *Cilicia* from *Plistarchus*, the brother of *Cassander*; who had gotten it as his share in the diuision of *Antigonus* his possessions: for the Intruder was not strong enough to holde it by his proper forces from him, that entred vpon it as a lawfull Heire, neither would *Seleucus* lend him any helpe, as by the rule of Confederacie he should haue done against the common enemy. So *Plistarchus* with very angry complaint, as well against *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went vnto *Cassander*; whither *Phila*, their sister, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, and keepe all quiet; being sent for that 40 purpose by *Demetrius* her husband, that was not strong enough to deale with *Cassander*, and therefore glad to make vse of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his owne prosperitie, he neuer tooke notice to the others good. About the same time he tooke to wife a daughter of *Ptolomie* (plurallitie of wiues being familiar with these *Macedonians*, that had learned it in their Easterne conquests) and so was he by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, then strengthened with two friends, for neither of them wished him any good, other wise then might seeme to aduance their owne ambitious desires.

Seleucus and *Ptolomie* could both of them haue bene contented better, that *Demetrius*, with helpe of their countenance, should seeke his fortune somewhat farther 50 off, than settle his estate vnder their noses. Particularly, *Seleucus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himselfe: and *Ptolomie* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Isle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were so, that *Seleucus* would faine haue set his new father in law vpon the neck of *Lysimachus*; or whether hee were indeede greedie of the bargain, he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready monie,

his

his late purchase of *Cilicia*. Hercunto *Demetrius* would not barken, but meant to keepe as much Land as hee could, having already found in *Cilicia* twelue thousand talents of his fathers treasure, that would serue him to make sport a while. This reuifall so displeased *Seleucus*, that in angrie termes he demanded the Citie of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to bee surrendered vnto him; which were the only places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battail. In stead of giuing them vp, *Demetrius* tooke present order to haue them better manned; and spake it stoutly, That were hee ouer-come a thousand times, yet would hee not hire *Seleucus* to become his sonne in law. In this quarrell *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would breake friendship with his father-in-law for two Townes, from whom he had already taken more then well hee knew how to gouerne. But the fire consumed it selfe in words, which had it fastned vpon armes, like it is that the weaker should haue found friends out of enuie to the stronger.

§. VI.

How *Demetrius* manne the Citie of *Athens*, and preuailed in *Greece*, but lost in *Asia*. Of troubles in *Macedon* following the death of *Cassander*.

IN the meane while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to vse the libertie, which *Demetrius* had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition, vnder the tyrannic of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their disempowered Citie was so weakened, that it seemed ill able to keepe off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This aduantage hastened him, whom they had once called their *God and Saviour*, to present himselfe vnto them, in the habit of a reuenging furie. Hee brought against them all the force that he could wel spare from other emploiments, which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtfull Easterne friends, were vnwilling to giue impediment to any businesse, that might entangle him in *Greece*. His first enterprize in *Athens* had ill successe; a great part of his fleet perishing in a tempest. But hee soone repaired the losse; and (after some victories in *Peloponnesus*, where hee wanne diuers Townes that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprize, wasted the Countrie of *Attica*, and cut off all reliefe from the Citie, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feede the great multitude within it, any long time: for it stood in a barren soile, and wanted now the command of those Islands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be stored with victuals; being also destitute of meanes to keepe such a Nauie, as might bring in supply, or dare to doe any thing at Sea, against that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there some hope of succour from *Ptolomie*, who (trusting thereby to winne the loue of *Greece*) had loaden a hundred and fiftie ships with corne, and sent them to releue the hungrie Citie. But these hundred and fiftie were vnable to deale with three hundred good fighting ships, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore halted them away betimes, as hauing done enough, in aduenturing to come so neere, that they might be discried. This brake the heart of the people; among whom the famine was so extreme, that a Father and his Sonne did fight for a dead Moulse, which dropped downe betwene them from the house top. Wherefore they sent Embassadors to yeeld vp the Towne, and craue pardon, hauing so farre offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capitall offence, to propose any motion of peace. Yet were they faine to abolish this decree: rather because they knew not what else to doe, then because they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the victorie, did not only forbear to take away the liues of these vntankefull men; which they had submitted vnto his mercie;

mercie; but out of his liberalitie gaue them foode, and placed in Office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the people. Neuertheless hee was growne wiser then to trust them so farre as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Hauens, and dispose of them at his pleasure; he was ready to lay hold vpon the word, and leaue a sure Garrison within their walls, to keepe them honest perforce. After this he went into *Peloponnesus*, vanquished the *Lacedemonians* in two battailes, and was in very faire possibilitie to take their citie: when the dangerous news called him in all haste, of *Lysimachus* and *Ptolomie*; that preuailed faster vpon him elsewhere, than himselfe did vpon his enemies in *Greece*. *Lysimachus* had wonne many Townes in *Asia*; *Ptolomie* had gotten all the Ile of *Cyprus*, except the Citie of *Salamis*, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children & Mother, that were straightly besieged. Whilest he was be-thinking himselfe which way to turne his forces, a notable piece of businesse offered it selfe, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

Cassander was lately dead in *Macedon*, and soone after him, *Philip* his eldest sonne; whose two younger brethren, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, fought for the Kingdom. In this quarrell *Theffalonia* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Cassander* had married, seemed better affected to *Alexander*, then to her elder sonne: who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he slew his owne Mother. The odiousnesse of this fact gaue a faire lustre to *Alexanders* cause: drawing the generallitie of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in reuenge of the Queenes death, vpon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was so strongly backed by *Lysimachus*, whose Daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without some forraigne aide. For which cause he called in both *Pyrhus* and *Demetrius*, who how they dealt with him, it will soone appeare, in the following Tragedie, of him and his brother. Their Father *Cassander* had bene one that thifted well for himselfe, at such time as euery man sought how to get somewhat, in the ill ordered diuision of the Empire. Hee was cunning in practize, and a good Souldier: one of more open dealing then were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing those, whom others would more wisely haue made away. Hee deeply hated the memorie of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head against a wall, vpon some opinion of contempt. With *Olympias* hee had an hereditarie quarrell, deriued from his Father, whom shee could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by crueltie, that shee vsed against his friends, both alie and dead; as it made him aduerture vpon shedding the Royall blood; wherewith, when once hee had stained his hands, he did not care how farre he proceeded in that course of murder. His carelesnesse to destroy those women and children, whose liues hindered his purpose, argues him to haue bene rather skilfull in matters of Armes, than a valiant man: such crueltie being a true marke of cowardize, which feares a farre off the dangers, that may quietly passe away: and seekes to auoid them by base and wicked meanes, as neuer thinking it selfe safe enough, vntill there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxane* it may bee said, that they had well deserued the bloody end which ouer tooke them; yet ill becomed it *Cassander* to doe the office of a Hang-man. But *Alexanders* children had by no law of men deserued, to die for the tyrannie of their Father. Wherefore, though *Cassander* died in his bed, yet the diuine Iustice brought swords vpon his wife and children, that well reuenged the crueltie of this bloody man, by destroying his whole house, as hee had done his Masters.

§. VII.

§. VII.

of PYRRHVS and his doings in Macedon. The death of CASSANDERS children. DEMETRIVS gets the Kingdome of Macedon; prenailes in warres against the Greeks; Loseth reputation in his warre against PYRRHVS, and in his Ciuill Government, and prepares to win Asia. How all conspire against DEMETRIVS.

PYRRHVS and LYSIMACHVS invade him, his Armie yeelds to PYRRHVS, who slayes the Kingdome of Macedon with LYSIMACHVS.

PYRRHVS, the Sonne of that vnfortunate Prince *Acides*, which perished in warre against *Cassander*, was hardly preferred, being a sucking Infant, from the furie of his Fathers enemies. When his Fosterers had conueighed him to *Glancius*, King of *Illyria*; the deadly hatred of *Cassander* would haue bought his life with the price of two hundred talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his Heire. *Glancius* was so far from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that hee restored him by force to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelve yeeres of age. Within the compasse of fixe yeeres, either the indiscretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, draue him out of his Kingdome, and left him to trie the world anew. Then went hee to *Demetrius* (who married his sister) became his Page; followed him awhile in his wars; was with him in the great battaile of *Issus*, whence hee fled with him to *Ephesus*; and was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomie*. In *Egypt* he so behaved himselfe, that he got the fauour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomies* principall wife; so that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon sent home, with monie and men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolomie*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdome of *Epirus*, and was settled in it, then fell out that businesse betwene the children of *Cassander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

Antipater, the elder of *Cassanders* sonnes, was so farre too weake for *Pyrrhus*, that hee had no desire to attend the comming of *Demetrius*, but made an halfe agreement, and diuided the Kingdome with his younger brother *Alexander*; who likewise felt the aide of *Pyrrhus* so troublesome, that he was more willing to send him away, than to call in such another helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacitie to request, or take as granted, by strong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acornania*, and much more of the Countrey, as the reward of his paines: leaving the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessitie enforced the brethren to composition: but their compolition would not satisfie *Demetrius*, who tooke the matter haينously, that he was sent for, and made a foole, to come so farre with an Armie, and finde no worke for it. This was a frivolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpose to doe as *Pyrrhus* had done, and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to *Alexander* a wife course, to remove this over-diligent friend, by murdering him vpon some aduantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the storie, and it might be true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wisest, beleued it not. But the issue was, that *Alexander* himselfe was seased and slaine by *Demetrius*; who tooke his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder; ex-culcating the fact so well, by telling his owne danger, and what a naughtie man *Cassander* had been, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time *Lysimachus* was busied in warre with a King of the wilde *Thracians*: for thereby he was compelled to seeke peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtaine, he caused the remainder of *Macedon* to bee giuen vp; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his sonne in law. At this ill bargain *Antipater* grievously stormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet till he stormed, vntill his Father in law, to saue the labour of making many excuses, tooke away his trouble-

troublesome life. Thus in batle, with a kinde of neglect, and as it were to auoide molestation, were slaine the children of *Cassander*: of *Cassander* that had slaine his owne Masters children, in a wife course of policie, with careful meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to erect his owne house, that fell downe vpon his graue, ere the earth on it was thoroughly settled.

It might be thought, that such an access of Dominion, added much to the greatness of *Demetrius*. But indeede it shewed his infirmite; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of ciuill Government: but thought (or shewed by his actions that he thought) the vse and fruit of a Kingdome, to be none other, than to doe what a King listed. He gaue himselfe ouer to Women and Wine, laughing openly at those that offered to trouble him with supplications, and the tedious discourse of doing iustice. He had more skill in getting a Kingdome, than in ruling it: warre being his recreation, and luxurie his nature. By long rest (as fixe yeeres raigne is long to him, that knows not how to raigne one yeere) he discouered so much of his worst condition, as made both the people wearie of his idleness; and the Souldiers, of his vanitie. He was freed from care of matters in *Asia*, by hearing that all was lost: though more especially, by hearing that *Ptolomie* had with great honor, entertained and dismissed his mother and children. This afforded him the better leisure, of making warre in *Greece*: where he vanquished the *Thebans*, and wonne their Citie twice in short space, but vsed his victorie with mercie. Against *Lysimachus* he would faine haue done somewhat (the peace betwene them notwithstanding) at such times as he was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lysimachus* was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere *Demetrius* came; so as this journey purchased nothing but enmitie. Another expedition he tooke in hand against *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worse cunct. *Pyrrhus* held somewhat belonging to *Macedon*; which hee had indeede as honestly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdome; he had also made excursions into *Thessalie*. But there needed not any hand some pretence of quarrell, seeing *Demetrius* thought himselfe strong enough, to ouer-runne his enemies Countrey, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they haue knowne raw Nouices in that facultie, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinarie. *Pyrrhus* was a Captaine, whom later ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the ranke of Generalls, than either *Demetrius*, or any of *Alexanders* followers. At this time, he mist that part of the Armie, which *Demetrius* led, and fell vpon the other halfe: which he ouerthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his priuate valour, shewed in single combat against *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* his Lieutenant; who being a strong man of body, challenged this yong Prince to fight hand to hand, and was vtterly beaten. The losse of this battaile did not so much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behauiour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the liuely figure of *Alexander* in his best qualitie. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, some of *Alexanders* graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely vestures: but (said they) none, save *Pyrrhus*, is like him indeede, in performing the office of a Captaine.

These rumours were not more nourished by the vertue of the *Epirot*, than by dislike of their owne King; whom they began to dislike, not so much in regard of his vnprofitable iourney into *Epirus* (for he had wasted much of the Countrey, and brought home his Armie in good case) as of his insolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparel seemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not only too sumptuous and new-fangled, but very vnmanly; and fruing chiefly to be a daily witnesse, how much he contemned them and their good opinion. Of his Souldiers lines he was rechelesse; and suffered vnwisely this vn-princely sentence to escape out of his mouth; That the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay. Hee made a mockerie of iustice; and (as it were, to publish vnto all his Subjects, how little

little he esteemed it or them) hauing by a shew of popularitie inuited Petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poore suters after him in great hope, till comming to a bridge, hee threw all their writings into the Riuer; pleasing himselfe, in that hee could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courtes he grew so odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacitie, and inuading *Macedon*, had almost wonne it all with little resistance. *Demetrius* lay then sicke in his bed: who recouering health, and taking the field, had such great oddes of strength, as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forsake his winnings and be gone.

At length he beganne to haue some feeling of the generall hate; which to redresse, he did not (for he could not) alter his owne conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on worke in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appeare; that is, in a great warre. His intent was to inuade *Asia*, with a Royall Armie: wherein the fortune of one battaile might giue him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, hee first made peace with *Pyrrhus*; that so hee might leaue all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mighty Armie, of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse: with a Naue of five hundred saile, wherein were many ships, farre exceeding the greatnesse of any that had beene scene before; yet so swift and vselfall withall, that the greatnesse was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these preparations, made *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* suspect their owne forces, and labour hard with *Lysimachus* and *Pyrrhus*, to ioyne against this ambitious sonne of *Antigonus*; that was like to proue more dangerous to them all, than euer was his Father. It was easily discerned, that if *Demetrius* once prevailed in *Asia*, there could be no securitie for his friends in *Eurepe*; what league sooner were of old concluded. Therefore they resolu'd to beginne with him betimes, and each to inuade that quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his owne Kingdome. *Lysimachus* came first, and against him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Armie: but whilst he was yet on the way, newes were brought into his Campe, that *Pyrrhus* had won *Berthea*. The matter was not ouer-great: were it not, that mindes prepared with long discontent, are ready to lay hold vpon small occasions of dislike. All the camp was in vp-rose: some wept, others raged, few or none did forbear to vtter seditious words, and many desired leaue of *Demetrius*, to goe to their owne houses, meaning indeede to haue gone to *Lysimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceived the bad affection of his Armie, hee thought it the wisest way, to lead the *Macedonians* further off from *Lysimachus* their owne Countreiman, against *Pyrrhus* that was a stranger: hoping by victorie against the *Epirot*, to recouer the loue of his followers, in such sort that hee might afterwards at leisure deal with the other. But herein his wisdome beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as hattie as he, to meet with *Pyrrhus*; nor intending to hurt him, but longing to see that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour; some enquired, others answered, of his person, his armor, and other tokens whereby hee might be knowne; as particularly, by a paire of Goats hornes, that he wore on his crest. It was not likely, that these men should hurt him. Diuers of them stole away, and ranne ouer into *Pyrrhus* his campe: where the newes that they brought, were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get sight of *Pyrrhus*, they would all salute him King. To trie this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and presented himselfe bare-headed in view of the camp, whether some were sent before to prepare his welcome. The newes of his arrival found a generall applause, and euery one began to looke out, with desire to see eye on him. His face was not so well knowne as his helmet; therefore hee was admonished to put it on; which done, all came about him, and proffered their service; neither were there any, that spake for *Demetrius*; only some (and they the most moderate of tongue) bade him be gone betimes; and (hist for himselfe.

himselfe. So *Demetrius* threw aside his maskers habit, and attiring himselfe poorly, did fearefully steale away out of his owne Campe: desiruing well this calamitie, whether it were so, that he would not hearken to the good counsaile of his friends, or whether his behauiour deprived him of such friends, as would dare to let him heare the vnpleasant sound of necessarie truth.

Whilst *Pyrrhus* was making this triumphant entrie into the Kingdome of *Macedon*, *Lysimachus* came vpon him very vnpleasantly, and would needs haue halfe saying, that he had done as much as *Pyrrhus* in the warre, and therefore had reason to challenge his part of the gaines. The bargain was quickly made, and the diuision agreed vpon: each of them being rather desirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to worke his fellow quite out of all, vpon better opportunitie.

¶ VIII.

How *Demetrius* gathering forces, enterprised many things with ill successe, in Greece and *Asia*. How he was diuised vpon *Seleucus*, and compelled to yield himselfe. His imprisonment and death.

The *Athenians*, were as vnthankfull to *Demetrius* in this his aduersitie, as they had beene in former times. For they presently forsooke his friendship, and called *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedon* to be their Patron. *Demetrius*, when he went against *Lysimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in Greece, vnder his sonne *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like, that he had soone gotten an Armie, though *Phila* his wife (who is highly commended for a wise and vertuous Ladie) did poison her selfe, vpon desperate griefe of his misfortune. The first, vpon whom he attempted to siew his anger, were the *Athenians*, that had well deserued it. Hee beganne to lay siege to their Towne: but was pacified by *Crates* the Philosopher, whom they made their spokesman; and taking faire words instead of satisfaction, passed ouer into *Asia*, with cleuen thousand Souldiers, meaning to trie his fortune against *Lysimachus*, for the Prouinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his first comming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile vpon him. For many good Townes, willingly, or by compulsion, yielded to his obedience. There were also some Capitaines, that fell from *Lysimachus* to him, with their companies, and treasures. But it was not long, ere *Agathocles* the sonne of *Lysimachus*, came vpon him, with an Armie so strong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazard his last stocke against it. Wherefore, he resolu'd, to passe through *Phrygia* and *Armenia*, into *Media*, and the Prouinces of the higher *Asia*; trusting to finde a Kingdome somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsaile was grieuouly impeached by *Agathocles*: who pursued him close, and cut off all his prouisions, druing him to take which waies he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes, *Demetrius* vanquished this troublesome enemy: neuertheless, hee could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poore titularie King, with extreme famine. At length, in passing the Riuer *Lycus*, so many of *Demetrius* his men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance: but were druen to trauaile with such speede, as might well be called a plaine flight. So that with famine, pestilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of warre, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest, with their Capitaine, escaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten possession of *Cilicia*, whilst *Demetrius* was occupied in Greece: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand, to lay claime to the Countrie; but with vehement and humble letters he besought his sonne in law, to call to minde their alliance, and to pity him in his great misery. These letters at the first wrought wel with *Seleucus*, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how

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Demetrius

Demetrius had carried him selfe, when he recovered strength after the battaile at *Issus*, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Armie.

Many treaties were held betweene them; of which none tooke effect, through the jealousie of *Seleucus*. Therefore, mere desperation enforced *Demetrius*, to fight like a mad man; and his furie got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sicknesse tooke and held him fortie dayes, in which time a great number of his few men, ranne to the enemie. This notwithstanding hee still held out, and once had like to haue taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his coming beene discovered by fugitiues, that gaue the alarme. Finally, when all his Armie had forsaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to shift for himselfe, hee was compelled by the last of thole adherents (for euen some of those few forooke him) to yeele vnto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad and sent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his owne humanitie, by his followers, was such, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting *Demetrius* to his presence, though otherwise he vsed him with as much fauor, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept vnder sure guard in a demie island, wherein were goodly walks, Orchards, and Parks for hunting. He had all that he asked roially, and friends allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Only his libertie was refused vnto the coming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonica*, out of the high Countries. In this sort he spent three yeres, liuing merrily all the while (as one that now enioyed the happinesse, which with so much trauaile and blood-shed, he had fought in vaine) and then died, leauing to his sonne *Antigonus*, the same which his father had left vnto himselfe; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in *Cornibus*; his qualities haue appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his house will shew it selfe hereafter, in times and places conuenient.

§. IX.

The death of *PTOLOMIE*, of *LYSIMACHVS*, and of *SELEVCVS*, that was list of *ALEXANDERS* Captaines: with other occurrences.

ABout the same time that *Demetrius* died, died also *Ptolomie* King of *Egypt*; a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. Hee had, by many Wiues and Concubines, many children, out of whom he selected *Ptolomie Philadelphus*, and caused him to raigne together with him selfe, two or three yeres before he died, that so he might confirme him in the inheritance of the Kingdome. At this, *Ptolomie Ceraunus* (for all of that house assumed the name of *Ptolomie*) was grieuously incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gaue him louing entertainment. There were now only two of *Alexanders* Captaines left, *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*. These two needed would fight for it, who should be the longest liuer of that braue Company. The true ground of their quarrell was, their neare equalitie of strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lysimachus* had committed vpon many of his Nobles, together with his poisoning *Agathocles* his eldest sonne: whose wife and children fled vnto *Seleucus* for aide.

The *Macedons* after seuen Moneths pause, hauing spent their first heat of admiration, beganne to hearken so well to *Lysimachus*, their naturall Countre-man, that they forooke *Pyrrhus*, vpon none other ground than because hee was an Alien. This they had knowne well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, which they lightly gaue him. *Lysimachus* had raigned about

about fise yeaeres alone, when the Citie of *Lysimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared, by euents, to haue foretold the fall of his house. His owne icalousie, and the instigation of a mother in law, caused him to poison his Sonne *Agathocles*, which drew vpon him that warre, wherein (after the losse of all his fiftene children, that were taken away by diuers accidents) he perished himselfe.

Seleucus was encountered by *Lysimachus* on *Asia* side, where one battaile concluded the warre, with *Lysimachus* his death. It pleased *Seleucus* more than the victorie, that he was the last of all the great Heröes which had followed *Alexander*. For now he seemed to himselfe, as Lord and Heire of all the conquered world. So he passed ouer into *Macedon*, to take possession of *Europe*, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his daies, and within seuen moneths followed *Lysimachus*, and other of his fellows, by a bloudie death: being treacherously slaine by *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, whose friend and Patron he had bene. Seuentie and seuen yeaere old he was, when hee fought with *Lysimachus*, and *Lysimachus* was seuentie and foure. With them ended the generation of old Captaines, that had scene the daies, as it were of another world vnder the *Persian*: yet was there left one equall to any of them, in the Art of warre: euen *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, of whom we spake before; that is now readie to enter into warre with the *Romans*, a more warlike people, than *Alexander* himselfe euer did encounter. Of which warre, and of which people, it is needfull that we here make mention, as of a storie more important, than any likely to ensue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdomes, that were held by *Alexanders* Successors, with lesse (and still decreasing) vertue, than was that, by which they were first purchased.

CHAP. VII.

§. The growth of Rome: and setting of the Easterne Kingdomes.

§. I.

How the Romans enlarged their Dominion in Italie, from the death of *TULLVS HOSTILIVS*, vnto such time as they were assailed by *PERSEVS*.



ROW Rome was founded by *Romulus*; settled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many, though small victories, it gathered strength; vnto such time as it became the head of *Latium*, by the conquest of *Alba*; in the raigne of *Tullus Hostilius*: it hath bene already noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greatness, beginning to encounter the power of *Greece*; and extending it selfe out of *Italie*, to ouerwhelme the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it conuenient (as in like cases I haue done) briefly to set downe the growth of this mighty Citie, in a compendious relation, of those many actions, which could not haue beene deliuered in the ages, wherein they were actually performed, without much interruption of the Historie, that was then occupied in matter more important.

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After the death of *Tullus Hostilius* (who when hee had reigned two and thirtie yeares, was burnt together with his house by lightning) *Anous Martins*, Grand-child to *Numa Pompilius* by his daughter, and not much vnlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Kingdome of *Rome*. He walled the Citie about; enlarged it with the hill *Auentine*, which hee enclosed; built a bridge ouer *Tybris*, and the Citie of *Ostia* vpon the Sea, sixteene miles distant from *Rome*. Finally, hauing reigned foure and twentie yeares, he died, and by his last Will he left his children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the sonne of *Damaratus* a *Corinthian*, who auoiding *Cypselus* King of *Corinth* his tyranny, had fled into *Hetruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquiny*, by the name of which Towne hee was afterwards called *Tarquinius*. From that Citie in *Hetruria* 10 coming to *Rome*, and encouraged by some ominous occurrences, together with his wife *Tauaquil*s prophetic, hee grew a favorite of *Anous Martins*; by his *Gracian* wit humoring the factions of the *Roman* Court, in so much that after his decease, he became not only Protector to the children, but Governour to the Citie. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged the Centuries of Horse-men: neither was he lesse eminent in warre, than in peace: for he prevailed often against the *Tuscan*s, and from his victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph tooke their originall. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had reigned eight and thirtie yeares, he was slaine by the sonnes of *Anous Martins*, to whom he had been left Guardian. But *Tauaquil* his wife, perceiuing what was done, enformed the people, from out of an high Turret, 20 that her Husband was wounded, and sicke, but not dangerously. And withall signified vnto them, that in the interim of his sickness, one *Seruius Tullius*, whom from his birth she alwaies prophesied to be borne to great hopes, (the sonne of *P. Corniculanus* and *Cersilia*, a well defended, but captiue woman) brought vp in her house, and husband vnto her daughter, should supplie her husbands place, in gouerning the State, vntill his reuenerie: which gouernment, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards vsurped vs his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies, and valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourescore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the King- 30 dome in as good sort, as if it had beene a priuate household. At length, hauing two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outrageous: and finding also that the two sonnes of *Tarquinius Prius*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had been committed to his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters; he (willing to adde water, not oile, to fire) gaue the milde daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed sonne; and the violent, to *Aruns*, the gentle, in marriage. But whether by inticed courtes, or by accident, it happened; the two milde ones being made away, the furious natures were readily ioyned in marriage: who loone concurring, and calling the Senate together, beganne to lay claime to the Kingdome. Vpon this tumult, *Seruius Tullius* halting to the Senate, 40 (where he thought by authoritie to haue bridled insolencie) was throwne downe the staires, and going home sore bruised, was slaine by the way, when he had reigned fortie and foure yeares. Then *Tullia* his daughter, first proclaiming her husband *Tarquinius Superbus* King; returning home, enforced her Coach-man to driue his Chariot ouer her fathers corpse; whereupon the street had the denomination of wicked street. This *Tarquine*, exercising crueltie without iustice, and tyrannie without mercie, vpon the people and Senators; hauing tired himselfe and them at home, vsed the same rage of treacherie vpon his borders. He tooke *Oriculum*, *Stiffa* *Pometia*, and the *Gabii*. The issue of besieging *Ardea*, a towne eightene miles distant from *Rome*, was of bad successe. In the heate of which warre, his sonne *Sextus Tar-* 50 *quinius* violently rauished that chaste Ladie *Lucretia*, his kinsman *Collatine*s wife: who in way of expiation for so vnchaste a deed, thought good to walk out those spots of infamie with her owne blond; so (hauing first bequeathed the reuenge vnto her father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her husband *Collatine*, and *Iunius Brutus*): she

she killed her selfe: whereupon (chiefly by *Iunius Brutus* his resolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his wife and children, was depofed and banished; and fled to *Porfenna* King of *Hetruria* for succour, in the five and twentieth yeare of his raigne, and the two hundred fortie and fourth from the building of their Citie: in which space *Rome* had scarce gotten full possession of fiftene miles round about her.

Iunius Brutus by the helpe of *Collatine*, hauing expelled *Tarquine*, and freed his Country from that heauie yoke of bondage, enforced the people by solemne oath, neuer to admit any gouernment by Kings amongst them: whereupon they 10 ranficked their Kings goods, consecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the gouernment of the State vpon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But because the name of King was odious in their eares, they changed the manner of their gouernment, from perpetual to annuall, and from a single gouernour to a double; left perpetual or sole dominion might be some motiue to vsurpation; and in stead of Kings they called them *Consuls*, signifying, as it may be interpreted, *Providers*: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be alwaies mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard setting of troubled waters, that the people, after this innouation of State, scarce daring to assure themselves of their owne securitie, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to religne vp his authoritie, fearing that tyrannie 20 would be hereditarie, and supposing that the very name & affinity with the house of *Tarquine*, fauoured alreadie of their condition. In his room was substituted *Valerius Publicola*, who that he might (as his name reporteth) be gracious in the peoples eyes, gaue liberty, in matters of controuersie, to appeale from the *Consuls* to the people: and that he might as well in goods as in person, auoyde occasion of suspition, caused his owne house to be pulled downe, because it was built in a place defensible, as if it had beene a *Citadell*. Neither was *Brutus* any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples safetie, as their fauour: for hauing got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first ranke his owne sonnes, were itching after innouations, hoping to restore the banished Kings; 30 he caused them, publicly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all vnpartially to the blocke.

Hitherto the *Romans*, hauing by the vnblemished integritie of *Brutus*, well appeased all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter employ their militarie designments, against Forrainers; first, for their libertie; secondly, for enlarging of their possessions; and lastly, for defending their confederate Prouinces, and extending their Empire. For *Rome*, situated as it were in the mid-way betwene *Latium* and the *Tuscan*s, hauing as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minoritie, could not but giue occasion of offence to her neighbours: vntill by maine opposition, hauing pre- 40 uailed against her borderers, shee vsed them as instruments, whereby to obtaine thereof.

Their first warre, in the first yeare of *Consuls*, was against *Porfenna* King of *Hetruria*: who being ouer-perfwaded by *Tarquines* lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the banished King, and with great forces, to seate him againe in his Kingdome.

In the first conflict, *Horatius Codes*, hauing long time borne the maine brunt of his enemies, on the bridge ouer *Tybris*; at length, feeling himselfe too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behinde him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping into the Riuier, like a hunted Stagge, refreshed his hote spirits, and returned safe to his fellowes, with the like resolution to sustaine a new charge. *Por-* 50 *fenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Ianiculus*, which is the verie entrance vnto the Citie, and found the victorie, in a manner, assuredly his own: yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the constant resolution of *Alutius Scauola* (who hauing by error slaine *Porfenna* his Secretarie, in stead of the King himselfe, did in scorn of torments threatned, burne off his owne hand) hee thought it not

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any waie prejudiciall, either to his fate, or credite, to enter league with them at the worl hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his spleene, was not quite abated, though *Arms* his lonie, and *brutus* his enemy, in single combat, had slaine each other. And here the *Romans*, although they lost *Brutus*, got the field; and their Ladies, whose Champion hee was, for their chastitie, not for beautie, mourned the losse of him one whole yeare. Into his place, for the residue of his yeare, was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, rather to *Lucretia*: and in his roome (deceasing naturally before the yeare expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

Tarquine, vpon his overthrow, feeling the fates disastrous, thought it no boot to strue against the streame, and spent the residue of his time, which was about foure yeares, priuately at *Tusculum*. Yet his sonne-in-law *Mamilius Tusculanus*, stomaching afresh at those old repulses, because *Porfenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denied further succour vnto the *Tarquines*, mustered vp his *Latines*, and gaue battaile to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the issue vncertaine, vntill *Anulus Posthumus*, the *Roman Dictator*, (for they had created this Magistracy greater than Consuls, purposely for this Warre, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Souldiers courage, threw their owne Ensignes amidst the Enemies; and *Cassius* or *Spurius Cassius* (master of the Horse men, an assistant Officer to the *Dictator*) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might runne with free violence, to recover againe their Ensignes. This fight was so well performed, that a report went current of *Castor* and *Polux*, two Gods, who came on mike-white steeds, to be eye-witnesses of their valour, and fellow helpers of their victorie; for the Generall consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their paines. After this the *Romans* fierce spirits, hauing no object of valour abroad, reflected vpon themselves at home; and the sixteenth yeare after the Kings expulsion, vpon instigation of some desperate bankrupts, thinking themselves wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consuls, they made an vproare in the holy Mount, vntill by *Mucienus Agrippa*, his discreet allusion, of the inconuenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might haue some new Magistrates created, to whome they might appeale in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in their controuersies, the Consuls authoritie notwithstanding. This was enacted; and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement amongst themselves, they had continuall Warre with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Amongst these, the *Volsci* and *Aequi* held them longest; who made warre, of themselves, vpon the *Romans*: whereby they lost the best Citie in their whole iurisdiction, *Corioli*.

In this conquest, *T. Martius* got the surname of *Coriolanus*; a name honorable then, as deriued from a great victorie: although, by reason of the pueritie of the Towne, a *Roman* Generall, in after times, would haue bene ashamed of that title. But yet these graces had bene no occasion of disparagement, had hee not afterwards, in a great time of dearth, aduised to sell corne, which they procured from *Sicily*, at too high a rate, to the people: whereupon, *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalfe, accused him, and after judgement, banished him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volsci*, whom lately before he had vanquished, incensed them to renew their forces againe; which being committed vnto him, and to *Attius Tullus*, he prevailed in field, so farre forth, that he was come within foure or five miles of the Citie. Incamping there hee made so sharpe warre, and was at such defiance, with his Countie, that hee would not relent by any supplications of Embassadors, vntill his Mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife, with a pittifull tune of deprecation, shewing themselves better Subjects to their Countie, than friends to their sonne and husband, were more available to *Rome*, then was any force of armes. Hereupon *Coriolanus* dismissing his Armie, was after put to death among the *Volsci*, as a Traitor; for neglecting such opportunitie: or (as others surmise) liuing with them vntill old age, hee died naturally.

Not

Not long after this, the *Veij* in *Hetruria*, prouoked the *Romans*; against whom the *Fabij*, three hundred and fixe in number, all of one Familie, intreated and obtained, that they only might be imploied, as it had been in a priuate quarrell. These *Fabij*, after some good seruices, lying incamped at *Cremora*, were circumvented and all slaine: one only of that whole house, had bene left, by reason of infancie, at home; from whom afterward sprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquished *Hannibal*.

In proceesse of time, the *Romans* were also troubled with the *Volsci*, at the hill *Agidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minucius* their Consul, with his whole Armie, had bene discomited, had not *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus* chosen *Dictator*, and taken from the plough to the highest honour in *Rome*, with successe answerable to his expedition, dispersed his enemies, and freed his Countie in the space of sixteen dayes. In the continuance of this *Volscian* warre it was, that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two yeares before chosen Governours of the State, and inactors of *Solons* lawes amongst them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the meane while the Consuls, and all other Magistrats) would haue ransified *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginus*, Captain of a Compaignie, and lying then in campe at *Agidum*. Hereupon the people, in an vproare, tooke the hill *Auentine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men, to resigne vp their authoritie againe, to new Consuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or desire to reuenge old losses, drew the *Romans* into a new warre, against the *Veientes*, and their adherents, vpon whom hauing tried their forces, with diuersitie of Captains, and varietie of euents, they vanquished the *Falisci*, and the *Faerates*, and vtterly subdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Falisci*, *Furius Camillus* shewed no lesse int gritie then fortitude. For when a Schoole-master, by trayning forth into the *Roman* campe, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Towne, yeelding them all vp as Hostages: *Camillus* deliuered this Traitor bound vnto his Schollers, willing them to whip him back into the Citie; which forthwith yeelded vnto him in reuerence of his iustice. The siege of *Veij* was tenne yeares, and so troublefome, that the *Romans* were there first enforced to winter abroad vnder beaues skinnes (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they receiued pay) and to make vowes neuer to returne without victorie.

At length winning the Citie by a Mine, they got so large spoiles, that they consecrated their tenths to *Apollo Pythius*: and the whole people in generall, were called to the ransacking of the Citie. But yet they were no lesse vnthankfull to *Camillus* for his seruice, then before they had bene to *Coriolanus*; For they banished him the Citie, vpon some occasion of inequality in diuiding the spoiles: yet he requited their vnkindnesse with a new peece of seruice, against the furie of the *Gauls*: who being a populous Countie, and verie healthfull, the fathers (as sometimes now) liued so long, that the sonnes, destitute of means, were enforced to roaue abroad, seeking some place, where to set vp their reit: and withall being a Nation vast in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandred as *Rouers* ouer many Countries. Some of them lighting on *Italic*, set vpon *Clusium*, a Towne in *Hetruria*; whereof *Rome* hauing information (and being carefull of her Confederate Townes) sent Embassadors, warning them to desist from such inuiros enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, vpon some iniurie offered by the *Roman* Embassadors, conuerted their forces from *Clusium* towards *Rome*; and giving a great overthrow to the *Romans*, by the River *Albia*, vpon the sixteenth day before the Calends of *August* (which day was after branded for vn-luckie, and called *Allenis* in the *Roman* *Kalendar*) they hastened towards the Citie. Then was *Rome* the true map of miserie and desolation. For some leauing the citie; some creeping into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; and euery one shifing for himselfe, ere the enemy came; *Rome* was abandoned, as indefensible. The Vestall Virgins, in this tumult, were safely conuaued away; the Ancients of the Citie, gathering

phering boldneſſe out of deſperate feare, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the world, did ſeate themſelves in Thrones, in their ſeverall houſes, hourly expecting the meſſengers of death, and meaning to die, as they had lived, in State. The younger ſort, with *M. Manlius* their Captaine, tooke vpon them to make good the Capitoll.

By this, the *Gauls* were entred the Citie, who ſeing all quiet, at firſt ſuſpected ſome ambuſh; afterward finding all ſecure, they ſell to the ſpoile, committing all to the fire and ſword. As for the old Senators, that ſate in their Maieſtie, with a graue reſolution: hauing firſt reuerenced them as *Gods*, anon they tryed whether they would die like men. When the Citie was thoroughly rifled, they attempted the Capitoll: which held them worke for the ſpace of ſeuē Moneths. Once they were like to haue ſurpriſed it by night, but being deſcried by the gaging of *Geſſe*, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a compoſition was agreed vpon: the *Gauls* being wearie, and the *Romans* hungry. The bargain was, that the *Gauls* ſhould take a thouſand pound waight in gold, to deſiſt from their ſiege. Whileſt the gold was in waighing, the *Gauls*, with open inſolencie, made their waight too heauie: *Brennus*, their Captaine, caſting his ſword into the ballance, and, with a proud exprobration, ſaying, that the vanquiſhed muſt be patient perforce. But in the miſt of this cauſling, came *Enrius Camillus*, with an Arme, from *Ardea*, (where he had liued in his baniſhment) and fell vpon the *Gauls*, with ſuch violence, that hee diſperſed their troups, quenched the fire of the Citie with their bloud, forcing them to reſtore the ſpoils with aduantage, and forbore the gold, in accepting which, they had lately bene ſo nice. Further, hauing rid the Citie of them, he ſo hotly purſued them, through a great part of *Italie*, that the remainder of their Arme, which eſcaped from him, was very ſmall. Other Armies of the *Gauls*, which followed this firſt, had the like ill ſucceſſe. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; eſpecially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in ſingle fight, ſlew a Champion of the *Gauls*) abated their preſumption, and reſtored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable ſeruiſe, was afterwards accompted a ſecond *Romulus*.

The people, after this deſtruction of their Citie, were carneſtly bent to goe to the *Vey* to inhabit; but *Camillus* diſſwaded them.

About the ſame time, ſomewhat before the ſiege of *Veij*, they changed their government from Conſulls to militarie Tribunes. The government of theſe alſo, after ſome yeares, was by ciuill diſſenſion interrupted: ſo that one while Conſulls ruled; another while there was an Anarchie: Then the Tribunes were reſtored and ruled againe, till after many yeares expired, the Conſular authoritie was eſta bliſhed; it being enacted, that one of the Conſulls ſhould alwaies bee a *Plebeian*. This was after the building of the Citie, three hundred ſixtie ſix yeares. And now *Rome*, by ſuppreſſion of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minoritie, dares ſet forth againſt the warlike *Sannites*, who dwelt almoſt one hundred and thirtie miles off: ſituated betwene *Campania* and *Apulia*. Theſe did ſo ſtrongly invade the *Campanians* their Neighbours, that they forced them to yeeld themſelves ſubiects to *Rome*, and vndergoe any conditions of Tribute, or whatſoeuer elſe to obtaine protection: which the *Romans*, although both Countries had bene their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fiſh, ſhould deuour the leſſe, eaſily allowed off; aiming themſelves at the good ſituation of *Campania*, the abundance of Corne and Wine, pleaſant Cities and Townes, but eſpecially *Capua* it ſelfe, the faireſt Citie then in all *Italie*.

The Families of the *Papirii* and *Fabij* were moſt employed in the managing of this warre, which indured the ſpace of fiftie yeares. And in this ſeaſon were the *Romans* oftentimes dangerously encountered by the *Sannites*, as when *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Poſthumius* were Conſulls, and diſcomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no ſmall ignominie: and when *Q. Fabius Gurgus* loſt the field with three thouſand men.

But

But for theſe loſſes, many great victories made large amends: The greateſt whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Sannites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrell. But the force of the *Sannites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but leſſe warlike Nation) beganne to ſurre. So the one and the other of theſe two Countries, became at length, tributarie to *Rome*.

In the continuance of this long warre it was, (though in time of truce betwene the *Romans* and *Sannites*) that the *Latines* beganne to challenge equal freedom in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing Office, ſo that they required to haue one of the Conſulls yearly choſen out of them.

This demand, of the *Latines*, was not vnreaſonable. For the *Romans* themſelves were a *Latine* Colonie; beſides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to be all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud, to admit any ſuch capitulation. So a great battaile was fought betwene them: wherein the fortune of *Rome* preuailed, by the vertue of the Conſulls.

Manlius Torquatus, and the elder *Decius*, were then Conſulls, whom the Soothſayers aduerted, that the ſide ſhould be victorious, which loſt the General in fight. Herevpon, *Decius* the Conſull, expoſed his life to the Enemy, and purchaſed victorie (as was beleueed) by his death. In which kind of deuoting himſelfe for his Arme, the ſonne of this *Decius*, being after Conſull, did imitate his father, in the *Hetrurian* warre. But (as *Tullie* well notes) it was rather the deperate reſolution of theſe *Decijs*, that purchaſed victorie, by ruſhing into the miſt of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of ſuch a religion, as required the liues of ſo wortheie Citizens, to be ſacrificed for their Countrey. The diſcipline of *Manlius* was no leſſe reſolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forſake his place, and fight ſingle with an enemy. For breach of which order, he cauſed his owne ſonne to be put to death, who had ſlaine a Captaine of the *Latines*, being challenged in ſingle fight.

When the *Latines*, the *Aequi*, *Volſci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Sannites*, and *Hetrurians*, with ſome other people, were brought vnder obedience; it was a vaine labour for any people of *Italie*, to contend againſt the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* aduentured to trie their fortune; and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* Conſull, waſting all their Countrey with fire and ſword, from the River *Nar* and *Felice*, to the *Adriatique Sea*, brought them into quiet ſubjection.

The laſt of the *Italians*, that made triall of the *Roman* Armes, were the *Tarentines*, and their adherents. Theſe had interpoſed themſelves as Mediators, betwene the *Romans* and *Sannites*; with a peremptorie denunciation of warre, vnto that partie, which ſhould dare to reſuſe the peace by them tendered. Theſe threats, which diſcouered their bad affection to *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Sannites* were vtterly ſubdued, matter enough of quarrell was found, to examine their abilitie of performance.

The *Romans* complained, that certaine ſhips of theirs were robbed; and ſent Embaſſadours vnto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Vpon ſome wrong done to theſe Embaſſadours, was laid the foundation of that Warre; wherein the *Lucans*, *Meſſapians*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, joyning with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Sannites*, and other Subjects of *Rome*, to rebell, and take their part. But ſome experience of the *Roman* ſtrength, taught all theſe people to know their owne weakneſſe. Wherefore they agreed to ſend for *Pyrrhus*, by whole aide (being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* alſo were) great hope was conceiued, that the Dominion of *Rome* ſhould bee confined, vnto more narrow bounds, than all *Italie*, which alreadie, in a manner it did ouerſpread.

§. II.

How Pyrrhus warred vpon the Romans, and vanquished them in two battailes.

PYRRHVS, forsaken by the Macedonians, and vnable to deale with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to liue in rest: which he abhorred no lesse than a wiser Prince would haue desired. He had a strong Armie, and a good Fleet, which in that vnsetled estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdome: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so increased the power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisdom, to make an offensive warre vpon him, without farre greater forces. *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth*, at the same time, and some other Townes, with the remainder of his fathers Armie and treasures, left in his hand. Vpon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might haue wonne; but it was better to let him alone, that hee might serue to giue some hindrance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of imploiment, and couetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embassadors came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with braue offers, as needing none other aide then his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would cast themselves vnder his protection. They had in their companie, some of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and others; which promised, in behalfe of their seuerall Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that he might enlarge his Empire to the West, as farre as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward; and still by one victorie open the gate vnto another. To which effect it is said, that once he answered *Cyneus* his chiefe Counsaillour, asking what he meant to doe after euery of the victories which hee hoped to get: that, hauing wonne *Rome*, he would soone be Master of all *Italie*; that, after *Italie* he would quickly get the Isle of *Sicily*; that, out of *Sicily* hee would passe ouer into *Africke*, and winne *Carthage*, with all the rest of the Countrey; & being strengthened with the force of all these Provinces, hee would be too hard, for any of those, that were now so proud and troublesome. But *Cyneus* enquired yet further, what they should doe, when they were Lords of all: Wherevnto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would liue merrily; a thing (as *Cyneus* then told him) that they presently might doe, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his owne.

Neuerthelesse, this *Italian* expedition seemed vnto *Pyrrhus*, a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any scholasticall disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Armie; of almost thirtie thousand men, well sorted, and well trained Souldiers: part of which he sent ouer before him vnder *Cyneus*, with the rest he followed in person. At his coming, he found the *Tarentines* very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, vtterly careless to provide for the Warre. Wherefore he was faine to shut vp their Theater, and other places of pleasure and resort; enforcing them to take Armes, and making such a strickt muster, as was to them very vnpleasing, though greatly behoouing to their estate.

Whilest he was occupied with these cares, *Lucius* the *Roman* Consul drew near, and beganne to wast *Lucania*, a Province confederate with the *Tarentines* in this Warre.

The *Lucanians* were not readie to defend their owne Countrey; the *Samnites* were careless of the harme, that fell not (as yet) vpon themselves; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would haue bene, but their valour was little: all of these had bene accustomed to shrinke, for feare of the *Roman* fortitude; and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more vpon his owne forces, than the issue of their vaunting promises. Hee was now driven, either to set forward, with those that himselfe had brought into *Italy*, and the assistance of the *Tarentines*, wherein

wherein little was to be reposed; or else to weaken the reputation of his owne sufficiency, which by all meanes he was carefull to vp-hold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had bene scattered by foule weather at Sea, were safely come to him: with which he resolved to assay the valour of the *Romans*, against whom hee proudly marched.

Lucius the Consul was not affrighted, with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and giue him battaile, ere all his adherents should be ready to ioyne with him. This boldnesse of the *Roman*, and the slacknesse of the *Messapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger most concerned, caused *Pyrrhus* to offer a treatie of peace: requiring to haue the quarrell, betweene the *Romans* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to winne time, that the *Samnites* and their fellowes might arrive at his Campe; or whether, considering better at neare distance, the weight of the business, which he had taken in hand, he were desirous to quit it with his honour, the short answer, that was returned to his proposition, gaue him no meanes of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* sent him this word, that they had neither chosen him their Iudge, nor feared him their enemy.

Hereupon, both Armies halted their march vnto the River of *Siris*: *Lucius* intending to fight, before the arrival of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from passing that River, vntill his owne Armie were full. Vpon the first view of the *Roman* Campe, it was readily conceiued by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to doe with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a braue discipline of warre: which caused him to set a strong *Corps de garde*, vpon the passage of the river, that he might not be compelled to fight, vntill he saw his best aduantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemy was not only skilfull in the Art of war, but courageous in execution. For the *Roman* Armie entred the Ford, in face of his *Corps de garde*; and their horse, at the same time, beganne to passe the River, in sundrie places: which caused the *Greekes* to forsake the defence of their banke, and speedily retire vnto their Campe.

This audacitie forced *Pyrrhus* to battaile; wherewith he thought it best to present them, ere their whole Armie had recovered firme footing, and were in order. So directing his Captaines how to marshall his battailes; himselfe with the horse, charged vpon the *Romans*: who stoutly receiued him, as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the dutie of a carefull General, nor his prouidence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personall valour. It behooued him in dedee to doe his best; for he neuer met with better opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slaine vnder him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the vse of his Kings armour, which was torne from his backe. This accident had almost lost him the battaile: but he perceiving it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and tooke from the *Roman* their vaine ioy. The fight was obdurate, and with the greater losse (at least of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his side, as long as only speare and sword were vsed. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose vniuersall forme and terrible aspect, the horses of the *Romans* (vnaccustomed to the like) were not able to sustaine; then was the victorie quickly gotten. For the *Roman* battailes, perceiving their horse put to rout, and driven out of the field; finding also themselves both charged in flanke, and ouer-borne, by the force, and huge bulke, of these strange beasts; gaue way to necessity, and saved themselves, as well as they could, by hasty flight in which conternation, they were so forgetfull of their discipline, that they tarried not to defend their Campe, but ranne quite beyond it, leauing both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victorie was soone spread ouer *Italy*; and the reputation was no lesse than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to bee heard, that a *Roman* Consul,

Confull, with a select Armie, should loose in plaine battaile, not only the field, but the Campe it selfe, being so notably fortified, as they alwaies were. And this honour was the more brauely wonne by *Pyrrhus*, for that hee had with him none of his *Italian* friends, save the vnwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well diffemble his content that he rooke, in hauing the glory of this action peculiarly his owne, at such time as he blamed the *Lucans* and *Samnites*, for comming (as we say) a day after the faire. Neuerthelesse, he wisely considered the strength of the *Romans*, which was such, as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them, whilest with his honour he might; and to that purpose hee sent vnto them *Cyneas* his Embassadour, demanding only to haue the *Tarentines* permitted to liue at rest, and himselfe accepted as their especiall friend. This did *Cyneas*, with all his cunning, and with liberal gifts, labour to effect; but neither man nor woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their desire of recouering their captiues, or their danger, by the rising of many States in *Italie* against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blinde Senator, did stirre them vp to make good their honour by warre. So they returned answere, that whilest *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italie*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report, that *Cyneas* made, at his returne, of the *Roman* puissance and vertue; as kindled in *Pyrrhus*, a great desire of confederacie, with that gallant Citie. Hereupon many kinde Offices passed betweene them: but still when hee vrged his motion of peace, the answere was, *He must first depart out of Italie, and then treat of peace.*

In the meane season, each part made prouision for warre; the *Romans* leauing a more mightie armie than the former, and *Pyrrhus* being strengthened with access vnto his forces, of all the East parts of *Italie*. So they came to triall of a second battaile, wherein (though after long and cruell fight) the boisterous violence of the Elephants, gaue to *Pyrrhus* a second victorie. But this was not altogether so joyfull as the former had bene: rather it gaue him cause to say, that such another victorie would be his vtter vndoing. For he had lost the flower of his Armie in this battaile: and though he draue the *Romans* into their Campe, yet he could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood of preuailling against them, that were like to be relieued with daily supplies, whilest he should be driuen to spend vpon his old Rock. Neither could hee expect, that his Elephants should alwaies stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight, would soone teach the *Romans*, that were apt Scholers in such learning, how to make them vnseruicable. Wherefore hee desired nothing more, than how to carrie his honour safe out of *Italie*: which to doe (seeing the *Romans* would not helpe him, by offering or accepting any faire conditions of peace, or of truce) he tooke a slight occasion, presented by 40 fortune, that followeth to be related.

§ III.

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§. III.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicill. How Pyrrhus, being inuited into Sicill, forooke Italie; wanne the most of the isle; and lost it in short space.

Pyrrhus returns into Italy; where he is beaten by the Romans, and so goes backe to his owne Kingdome.

10 **W**hen *Ptolomie Ceraunus* had traiterously murdered his Benefactor and Patron *Selenus*, he presently seized vpon all the Dominions of *Lysimachus* in *Europe*, as if they had bene the due reward, vnto him, that had slaine the Conquerour. The houses of *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Macedon* any man of strength and reputation enough, to aduance himselfe against *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lysimachus* were rather pleased to haue him their King, that had (as hee professed) reuenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiousnes of his fact, by which they were freed from subiection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that vpon remembrance of his Fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: perswading themselves that his raigne might proue good, though his entrance had bene wicked. These 10 affections of the *Macedonians* did serue to defeat *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt vpon the Kingdome. As for *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Selenus*, he was farre off, and might be questioned about some part of *Asia*, ere he should be able to bring an Armie neare vnto *Europe*. Yet hee made great shew of meaning to reuenge his fathers death: but being stronger in monie then in armes, he was content, after a while, to take faire words, and make peace with the murderer. While these three stroue about the Kingdome, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claimes good as any of theirs, made vse of their dissention: threatening warre, or promising his assistance, to euery one of them. By these meanes he strengthened himselfe, and greatly 30 aduantaged his *Italian* voiage, which he had then in hand: requesting monie of *Antiochus*, ships of *Antigonus*, and souldiers of *Ptolomie*, who gaue him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of *Macedonian* Souldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to haue them restored at two yeeres end) more for feare than for loue: that so he might free himselfe from trouble, & quietly enioy his Kingdome.

Thus *Ptolomie* grew mightie on the suddaine; and the power that by wicked meanes he had gotten, by meanes as wicked he increased.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the strong Citie of *Cassandria* was held by *Arsinne* his sister, the widow of *Lysimachus*, who lay therein with her yong children. Her hee circumvented by making loue to her, and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of consanguinitie) taking her to wife, 40 with promise to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to performe; for it was not long, ere he flew them, and draue her into exile.

In the pride of this good successe, which his villanie found; vengeance came vpon him from a farre, by the furie of a Nation, that hee had neuer heard of. *Belgius* a Captaine of the *Gauls*, hauing forced his passage through many Countries, vnto the confines of *Macedon*, sent a proud messlage to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with monie, or otherwise, to looke for all the miseries of warre. These *Gauls* were the race of those, that issued out of their Countrie, to seeke new feates in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* tooke and burnt the Citie of *Rome*. They had diuided themselves, at their setting forth, into two Companies; of which the one fell 50 vpon *Italie*; the other passing through the Countries that lie on the Northerne side of the *Adriatick Sea*, made long aboade in *Pannonia*, and the Regions adjoining, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeme peace with tribute; as now they would haue compelled *Ceraunus* to doe; vnto whose borders they came about an hundred and eight yeares after such time as their fellowes had taken *Rome*.

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When their Embassadors came to *Ptolomie*, asking what he would giue : His answer was, that he would be contented to giue them peace, but it mult bee with condition, that they should put into their hands their Princes as hostages, and yeeld vp their armes ; for otherwife, he would neither pardon their boldnesse, nor giue any credit to their words. At this answer, when it was returned, the *Gauls* did laugh, saying, that they would soone confute with deedes, the vanitie of such proud words. It may seeme strange, that he, who had giuen away part of his Armie vnto *Pyrrhus*, for very feare ; should bee so confident in vndertaking more mightie enemies. The King of the *Dardanijs* offered to lend him twenty thousand men against the *Gauls* ; but hee scorned the offer, saying, that hee had the children of those, 10 which vnder the conduct of *Alexander*, had subdued all the East. Thus hee issued forth against the barbarous people, with his famous *Macedonians*, as if the victorie must needs haue followed the reputation of a great name. But hee soone found his great error, when it was too late. For the enemies were not only equal in strength of body, and fiercenesse of courage, but so farre superiour to the *Macedonians* in numbers, that few or none escaped their furie, *Ptolomie* himselfe grievously wounded, fell into their hands, whilst the battell continued ; and they presently strooke off his head, which they shewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their vtter astonishment.

The report of this great ouerthrow filled all *Macedon* with such desperation, that the people fled into walled Townes, and abandoned the whole Countrey as lost. Only *Sophenes*, a valiant Captaine, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Armie, with which hee many times got the vpper hand, and hindred *Belgius* from vsing the victorie at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would haue made him King, which title hee refused, & was content wth the name of a Generall. But (as mischiefs doe seldom come alone) the good successe of *Belgius*, drew into *Macedon*, *Brennus*, another Captaine of the *Gauls*, with an hundred and fiftie thousand foot, and fiftene thousand horse ; against which mightie Armie, when *Sophenes* with his weake troups made opposition, he was easily beaten, and the *Macedonians* againe compelled to hide themselves within their walls, lea- 30 uing all their Countrey to the spoile of the Barbarians.

Thus were the *Macedonians* destitute of a King, and troden downe by a Nation, that they had not heard of ; in lesse then fiftie yeares after the death of *Alexander*, who sought to discour and subdue vnkowne Countries, as if all *Greece*, and the Empire of *Persia* had bene too little for a King of *Macedon*.

Very seasonably had these newes bene carried to *Pyrrhus* in *Italie*, who sought a faile pretext of relinquishing his warre with the *Romans* ; had not other tidings out of *Sicill* distracted him, and carried him away in pursute of nearer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who ragined over the whole Iland, the *Carthaginians* sent an Armie to conquer *Sicill*, out of which, by him, they had bene expelled. This 40 Armie did so fast preuaile, that the *Sicilians* had no other hope to auoide slaue-ry, than in submitting themselves to the rule of *Pyrrhus* ; whom, being a *Grecian*, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, then to liue vnder the well knowne heauie yoke of *Carthage*. To him therefore, the *Syracusans*, *Leontines*, and *Agragintines*, principall Estates of the Iste, sent Embassadors, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieued *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two such notable occasions, of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out so vnluckily, both at one time. Yet whether hee thought the businesse of *Sicill* more important, or more full of likelihood, or whether perhaps hee beleued (as came after to passe) that his advantage vpon *Macedon* would not so hastily passe away, but that hee might finde some occasion to lay hold on it, at better leisure, ouer into *Sicill* he transported his Armie, leauing the *Tarentines* to shift for themselves ; yet not leaving them free as hee found them, but with a Garrison in their Towne, to hold them in subiection.

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As his departure out of *Italie*, was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature aduice ; so were his actions following, vntill his returne vnto *Epirus*, rather many and tumultuous, then well ordered, or note-worthie. The Armie which he carried into that Iste, consisted of thirtie thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse : with which, soone after his descent in *Sicill*, he forc't the *Carthaginians*, out of all, in effect, that they held therein. He alsoe wonne the strong Citie of *Eryx*, and hauing beaten the *Mamertines* in battaile, hee beganne to change condition, and turne Tyrant. For he draue *Sofstratus* (to whom his crueltie was suspect) out of the Iland, and put *Theron* of *Syracuse* to death, being jealous of his greatnesse ; 10 which two persons had faithfully serued him, and deliuered the great and rich Citie of *Syracuse* into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined so fast, as hee serued himselfe, and salued the dis-reputation of his leauing *Sicill*, by an Embassage sent him from the *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*, imploring his present helpe against the *Romans*, who since his leauing *Italie*, had well-nere dispossest them of all that they had.

Taking this faire occasion, hee embarked for *Italie* ; but was first beaten by the *Carthaginian* Gallies, in his passage, and secondly assailed in *Italie* itselfe, by eigh- 15 teene hundred *Mamertines*, that attended him in the straits of the Countrey. Lastly, after hee had recovered *Tarentum*, hee fought a third battaile with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious ouer him, and forc't him out of *Italie*, into his owne *Epirus*.

A Prince hee was farre more valiant then constant, and had hee been but a General of an Armie, for some other great King or State, and had been directed to haue conquered any one Countrey or Kingdome, it is to be thought, that hee would haue purchased no lesse honour than any man of warre, either preceding or succeeding him ; for a greater Captaine, or a valiant man, hath bene no where found. But hee neuer staid vpon any enterprize ; which was, indeede, the disease hee had, whereof not long after hee died in *Argos*.

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§. IIII.

How ANTIGONVS, the sonne of DEMETRIVS, deliuered Macedon from the Gauls. How PYRRHVVS wonne the Kingdome of Macedon from ANTIGONVS.

THe vertue of *Sophenes* being too weake, to defend the Kingdome of *Macedon* ; and the fortune which had accompanied him against *Belgius*, failing him in his attempts against *Brennus* ; the *Macedonians* were no lesse glad to submit themselves vnto the gouernment of *Antigonus*, 40 than they had formerly bene desirous to free themselves from the impotent rule of his father *Demetrius*. His coming into the Countrey, with an Armie, Nauie, and treasure beleeeming a King, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence : for hee was driuen to vse against the *Barbarians*, only those forces, which he brought with him, hauing none other than good wilhes of the *Macedons*, to take his part. *Brennus*, with the maine strength of his Armie, was gone to spoile the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delfos*, hauing left no more behinde him, than he thought necessarie to guard the borders of *Macedon*, and *Pannonia* ; which were about fiftene thousand foot, and three thousand horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the absence of 50 their fellowes : and therefore sent vnto *Antigonus*, offering to sel him peace, if hee would pay well for it ; which by the example of *Cerannus*, hee had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. *Antigonus* was vnwilling to weaken his reputation by condescending to their proud demaids ; yet hee judged it vnfit to exasperat their furious choler, by vn courteous words or vllage, as *Cerannus* had ouer-fondly done. Wherefor

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he entertained their Embassadors in very louing and sumptuous maner, with a roial feast : wherein he exposed to their view, such abundance of masse gold and siluer, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with sight of the vefells, wherein it was serued. He thought hereby, to make them vnderstand, how great a Prince he was, and how able, if need required, to wage a mighty Armie.

To which end, he likewise did shew vnto them, his Camp and Nauie, but especially his Elephants. But all this brauerie serued only to kindle their greedie appetites; who seeing his ships heauily laden, his Campe full of wealth, and ill fortified, himselfe (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage inferior vnto the *Gauls*, thought all time lost, wherein they suffered the present possessors, to spend the riches which they accounted assuredly their owne. They returned therefore to their Companions, with none other newes in their mouthes, than of spoile and purchase: which tale, carried the *Gauls* head-long, to *Antigonus* his camp, where they expected a greater bootie, then the victorie ouer *Ceranus* had giuen to *Belgius*. Their comming was terrible and suddaine; yet not so suddaine, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who distrustful the courage of his owne men, dislodged somewhat before their arriual, and conueighed himselfe, with his whole armie and carriage, into certaine woods adioyning, where he lay clofe.

The *Gauls*, finding his Camp forsaken, were not baltie to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the emptie Cabbinnes of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched euery place in vaine, angrie at their lost labour, they marched with all speed toward the Sea-side; that they might fall vpon him, while he was buisie in getting his men and carriages a ship-board. But the successe was no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terror which they had brought vpon *Antigonus*, they were so carelesse of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoile of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Armie had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in couert; and had saued it self by getting aboard the fleet: in which number were some well experienced men of warre: who discovering the much aduantage offered vnto them, by the desperate presumption of their enemies, tooke courage, and encouraged others, to lay manlie hold vpon the opportunitie. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gaue so braue a charge vpon the disordered *Gauls*, that their contemptuous boldnesse was thereby changed into suddaine feare, and they, after a great slaughter, driuen to cast themselves into the seruice of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this victorie, caused all the barbarous Nations in those quarters, to re-entertaine their ancient beliefe of the *Macedonian* valour: by which, the terrible and resistlesse oppressors of so many Countries, were overthrowne.

To speake more of the *Gauls*, in this place; and to shew how, about these times, three Tribes of them passed ouer into *Asia* the lesse, with their warres and conquests there; I hold it needlesse: the victorious armes of the *Romans*, taming them hereafter, in the Countries which now they wanne, shall giue better occasion, to rehearse these matters briefly.

Howsoeuer the good successe of *Antigonus* got him reputation, among the barbarous people, yet his owne Souldiers, that without his leading, had wonne this victorie, could not thereupon be perswaded to thinke him a good man of warre: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the seruice, wherein his conduct was no better, then creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appeare) was greatly helpfull vnto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet he knew not so much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affaires in *Italie* stood vpon hard termes, had sent vnto *Antigonus* for helpe: not without threats, in case it were denied. So was he sure to get, either a supply, wherewith to continue his war against the *Romans*, or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake *Italie*, vnder colour of making

making his word good, in seeking reuenge. The threats which he had vsed in brauerie, meere necessitie forced him, at his returne into *Epirus*, to put in practise.

He brought home with him, eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse: an armie too little to be employed, by his resistlesse nature, in any action of importance; yet greater then he had meanes to keepe in pay: Therefore he fell vpon *Macedon*; intending to take what spoile he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this businesse, two thousand of *Antigonus* his Souldiers, reuolted vnto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, receiued him. Such faire beginnings, easily perswaded the courage of this daring Prince, to set vpon *Antigonus* himselfe, and to hazard his fortune, in triall of a battaile, for the whole Kingdome of *Macedon*.

It appeares, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight with this hot warrior; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to wearie him out of the Countrie. For *Pyrrhus* ouertooke him in a straight passage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the *Gauls*, and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his strength: a manifest prooffe that he was in retreat. The *Gauls* very brauely sustained *Pyrrhus* his impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slaine) after a sharpe fight: wherein it seemes, that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian Phalanx* within the streight, and not aduancing to their succour, tooke away their courage, by deceiuing their expectation. The Captaines of the Elephants were taken soone after; who finding themselves exposed to the same violence that had consumed so many of the *Gauls*, yielded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus*, and his *Macedonians*, to their great discomfort: which emboldened *Pyrrhus*, to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged only in a front, it was a matter of extreme difficultie (if not impossible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had sene so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrrhus*; who discovered so well their affections, that hee aduentured to draw neare in person, and exhort them to yeeld. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader, refused to become his follower. All forooke *Antigonus*, a few horse-men excepted, that fled along with him to *Thessalonica*; where he had some small forces left, and monie enough to entertaine a greater power, had he known where to leaue it. But while he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the *Gauls* into his seruice; whereby hee might repaire his losse: *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Pyrrhus*, came vpon him, and easily defeating his weake forces, draue him to flie from the parts about *Macedon*, to those Townes a farr off in *Peloponnesus*, in which hee had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himselfe a King.

This good successe reuiued the spirits of the *Epirs*, and caused him to forget all sorrow, of his late misfortunes in the *Roman* warre: so that he sent for his sonne *Helenus* (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come ouer into *Greece*, where was more matter of conquest, and let the *Italians* shift for themselves.

¶ V.

How *Pyrrhus* assailed *Sparta* without successe. His enterprise vpon *Argos*, and his death.

PYRRHVS had now conceiued a great hope, that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing, that in open fight, he had vanquished the *Gauls*, beaten *Antigonus*, and won the Kingdome of *Macedon*; There was not in all *Greece*, nor, indeede, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had wonne, any Leader of such name and worth, as deserved to be set vp against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might do what

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he pleased. He raised therefore an Armie, consisting of five and twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and foure and twentie Elephants; pretending warre against *Antigonus*, and the giuing libertie to those Towns in *Peloponnesus*, which the same *Antigonus* held in subiection; though it was easily discovered, that such great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some designe more important, then warre against a Prince already vanquished, and almost vterly dejected. Especially the *Lacedemonians* feared this expedition, as made against their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrey, had betaken himselfe to *Pyrrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his Kingdome. This promise was made in secret; neither would *Pyrrhus* make thew 10 of any displeasure that he bare vnto *Sparta*; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to haue two of his owne yonger sonnes trained vp in that Citie, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, euen till he entred vpon *Laconia*; where presently he demeaned himselfe as an open enemy: excusing himselfe and his former dissembling words, with a iea; *That he followed herein the Lacedemonian custome, of concealing what was truly purposed.* It had been, indeede, the manner of the *Lacedemonians*, to deale in like sort with others, whom, in the time of their greatnesse, they fought to oppresse: but now they complained of that, as falsehood, in *Pyrrhus*, which they alwaies practised as wisdom, till it made them distrustful, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Neuertheless, they were not wanting to themselves in this dangerous extremitie. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Towne; causing such as could beare armes, to reserue themselves fresh against the assault: which *Pyrrhus* had vnwisely deferred, vpon assurance of preuailing.

Sparta was neuer fortified, before this time, otherwise then with armed Citizens: soone after this (it being built vpon vncuen ground, and for the most part, hard to approach) the lower and more accessible places, were fenced with walls; at the present, only trenches were cast, and *barriadoes* made with Carts, where the entrance seemed most easy. Three daies together it was assailed by *Pyrrhus*, exceeding fiercely; and no lesse stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens persued 30 the Towne the first day, wherinto the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindfull of sauing the person of their King, than of breaking into the Citie, though already they had torne in funder the *barriadoes*. Presently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captaines got into *Sparta* with a good strength of men; and *Arcus* the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had been helping his friends in warre) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his owne countrey stood vntill he was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the *Spartans*, then kindle in *Pyrrhus* a desire to preuaile against all impediments. But the third daies worke shewed, how great his error had bene, in forbearing to assault 40 the Towne at his first coming. For he was so manfully repelled, that he saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigonus had now raised an Armie, though not strong enough to meet the enemy in plaine field, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubt what way to take; being diuersly affected, by the difficultie of his enterprise in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilest hee was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inviting him thither; with promise, to deliuer that Citie into his hands.

Ciuitil dissension raging then hotly in *Argos*, caused the heads of severall factions to call in *Pyrrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the coming of these two Princes, taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous to rid their hand of such powerfull Assailants, as each of the two Kings pretended himselfe to be. *Antigonus* told the *Arguines*, that he came to saue them from the tyrannie of *Pyrrhus*; and that hee would be

be gone if they needed not his helpe. On the other side, *Pyrrhus* would needes persuade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them late from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart if they so desired.

The *Arguines* tooke small pleasure, in hearing the Foxe and Kite at strife, which of them should keepe the Chickens from his enemy: and therefore prayed them both, to diuert their powers some other way. Hercunto *Antigonus* readily condescended, and gaue hostages to assure his word: for he was the weaker, and stood in neede of good-will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promise: hostages he would giue none, to his inferiours: especially, meaning deceit. This made them suspect 10 his purpose to be such, as, indeede, it was. Yet he lesse regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthe of assurance, by giuing such a bond, as he intended to breake ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the Citie should be opened by night vnto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Armie, without any tumult, entred the Citie: till the Elephants, with Towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to passe the Gate. The taking off, and setting on againe, of those Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both giue alarme to the Citie, and some leisure to take order for defence, before so many were entred, as could fully master it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindered the *Gauls* (that had the *vanngarde*) being ignorant of the waies, in the darke night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much advantage, by their knowledge of euery by-passage: and setting vpon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great losse, and more trouble.

Pyrrhus therefore, vnderstanding by the confused noyse, and vnequall shoutings of his owne men, that they were in distresse, entred the Citie in person, to take order for their reliefe, and assurance of the place. But the darkenesse, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, vntill breake of day. Then beganne he to make his passage by force, and so farre preuailed, that he got into the Market-place. It is said, that seeing in that place, the Image of a 30 Wolfe and a Bull, in such posture as if they had bene combattant, hee called to minde an Oracle, which threatened him with death, when he should behold a Bull fighting with a Wolfe: and that hereupon he made retreat.

Indeede, the coming of *Antigonus* to the rescue, the disorder and confusion of his owne men; with diuers ill accidents, gaue him reasonable cause to haue retired out of the Citie, though the Wolfe and Bull had bene away. The tumult was such, that no directions could be heard; but as some gaue back, so did others thrust forward, and the *Arguines* pressing hard vpon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retreat, with his owne sword. The tops of the houses were covered with women, that stood looking on the fight. Among these was one, that saw her owne sonne in 40 dangerous case, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore, shee tooke a tile-stone, or slate, and threw it so violently downe on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that hee fell to ground astonished with the blow; and lying in that case, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the restless ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdome of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*; who forthwith possessed the armie, the bodie, and the children of his enemy. The bodie of *Pyrrhus* had honourable funeral, and was giuen by *Antigonus* vnto *Helenus* his sonne; which yong Prince he graciously sent home, into his Fathers Kingdome of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the Kingdome of *Macedon*; the posteritie of *Seleucus* reigned ouer *Asia* and *Syria*; and the house of *Ptolomie* had quiet 50 possession of *Aegypt*: vntill such time, as the Citie of *Rome*, swallowing all vp, digested these, among other Countries, into the bodie of her owne Empire.



THE FIRST PART OF
THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM
the setled rule of ALEXANDERS Successors

in the East, untill the ROMANS, preuailing
ouer all, made Conquest of ASIA and
MACEDON.

THE FIFT BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Punicke Warre.

¶ I.

*A discussion of that probleme of LIVIE; Whether the Romans could
haue resisted the great ALEXANDER. That neither the Macedonian
nor the Roman Souldier, was of equall valour to
the English.*



HAT question handled by LIVIE; Whether the
great ALEXANDER could haue preuailed against
the Romans, if after his Easterne conquest, he had
bent all his forces against them, hath bene, and
is, the subject of much dispute; which (as it
seemes to me) the arguments on both sides do
not so well explaine, as doth the experience
that PYRRHUS hath giuen, of the Roman power,
in his daies. For, if he, a Commander (in HAN-
NIBALS judgement) inferior to Alexander, though
to none else, could with small strength of men,
and little store of monie, or of other needfull
heips in warre, vanquish them in two battailes, and endanger their estate, when it
was well setled, and held the best part of Italie, vnder a confirmed obedience: what
would Alexander haue done, that was abundantly prouided of all which is need-
full

full to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of employment, comming vpon them before their Dominion was halfe so well fetled. It is easie to say, that *Alexander* had no more, than thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse (as indeede, at his first passage into *Asia*, he carried ouer, not many more) and that the rest of his followers were no better than base effeminate *Asiaticques*. But he that considers the Armies of *Perdiccas*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Eumenes*, *Ptolome*, *Antigonous*, & *Lysimachus*, with the actions by them performed, every one of which (to omit others) commanded only some fragment of this dead Emperours power; shall easily finde, that such a reckoning is farre short of the truth.

It were needlesse to speake of Treasures, Horses, Elephants, Engines of batterie, 10 and the like: of all which, the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* hauing nought, save men and armes. As for Sea-forces; he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punicke* warre, were trained, in the rudiments of Navigation; sitting vpon the shoare, and beating the sand with poles, to practise the stroke of the Oare, as not daring to lanch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; will easily conceiue, how farre too weak they would haue proued in such seruices.

Now for helpers in warre; I doe not see, why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deferre to be laid in ballance, against those parts of *Italie*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subiection. To omit therefore all benefit, that the Easterne world, more wealthy, indeede, than 20 valiant, could haue afforded vnto the *Macedonian*: let vs only conjecture, how the States of *Sicill* and *Carthage*, nearest neighbours to such a quarrell (had it happened) would haue stood affected. The *Sicilians* were, for the most part, *Græci*; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily haue submitted themselves vnto him, that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what termes they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is, that *Alexander* 30 comming into those parts, would haue brought excellẽt joy, to them that were faine to get the helpe of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his subjects. As for the *Carthaginians*; if *Agathocles*, the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his owne besieged Citie, could, by aduenturing to saile into *Africk*, put their Dominion, yea and *Carthage* it selfe, in extreme hazard; shall wee thinke that they would haue beene able to withstand *Alexander*? But, why doe I question their abilitie, seeing that they sent Embassadours, with their submission, as farre as 40 *Babylon*, ere the warre drew neare them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the *Romans* must, without other succour, than perhaps of some few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none, that forsooke them not, at some time, both before and after this) haue opposed their valour, and good militarie discipline, against the power of all Countries, to them knowne, if they would haue made resistance. How they could haue sped well, in vndertaking such a match; it is vneasie to finde in discourse of humane reason. It is true; that vertue and fortune worke wonders: but it is 40 against cowardly fooles, and the vnfortunate: for who soeuer contends with one too mightie for him; either must excell in these, as much as his enimie goes beyond him in power; or else must looke, both to be ouer-come, and to be cast downe so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the *Roman*, or the *Macedonian*, were in those daies the better Souldier, I will not take vpon me to determine: though I might, without partialitie, deliuer mine owne opinion, and preferre that Armie, which followed not onely *Philip* and *Alexander*, but also *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of warre; before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning 50 fortune; who can giue a rule that shall alwaies hold? *Alexander* was victorious in euery battaile that he fought: and the *Romans* in the issue of euery warre. But forasmuch as *Liui* hath judged this a matter worthe of consideration; I thinke it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italie*: where in three

three yeares after his death, the two *Roman* Consuls, together with all the power of that State, were surprized by the *Sammites*, and enforced to yeeld vp their armes. We may therefore permit *Liui* to admire his owne *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* those Capitaines of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers: that the same conceit should blind our iudgement, we cannot permit without much vanitie.

Now in deciding such a controuersie, me thinks it were not amiss, for an *Englishman*, to giue such a sentence betwene the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) betwene the *Ardeates* and *Aruntini*, that 10 sirooue about a peece of land; laying, that it belonged vnto neither of them, but vnto the *Romans* themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonians*, or the *Roman*, were the best V Varriour? I will answer: The *Englishmen*. For it will soone appeare, to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no aduantage of weapon; against no savage or vmanlike people; the enimie being farre superiour vnto vs in numbers, and all needfull prouisions, yea as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of warre.

In what sort *Philip* wanne his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Per- 20 sians* and *Indians* were; whom *Alexander* vanquished; as likewise of what force the *Macedonian Phalans* was, and how well appointed, against such armes as it commonly encountered: any man, that hath taken paines to reade the foregoing storie of them, doth sufficiently vnderstand. Yet was this *Phalans* neuer, or very seldome, able to stand, against the *Roman* Armies: which were embattailed in too excellent a forme, as I know not, whether any Nation besides them haue vsed, either before or since. The *Roman* weapons likewise, both offensive and defensive, were of greater 30 vltie, than those with which any other Nation hath serued, before the fierie instruments of Gunne-powder were knowne. As for the enimies, with which *Rome* had to doe: we finde, that they, which did ouer-match her in numbers, were as farre ouer-matched by her, in weapons; and that they, of whom she had little ad- 40 uantage in armes, had as little aduantage of her in multitude. This also (as *Plutarch* well obserueth) was a part of her happinesse; that shee was neuer ouer-laid with too great warres at once.

Hereby it came to passe, that hauing at first increased her strength, by accession of the *Sabines*; hauing wonne the State of *Alba*, against which shee aduentured her owne selfe, as it were in wager, vpon the heads of three Champions: and hauing thereby made her selfe Princess of *Latium*: shee did afterwards, by long warre, in many ages, extend her Dominion ouer all *Italie*. The *Carthaginians* had well-neere oppressed her: but their Souldiers were Mercinarie; so that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten at their owne doores. The *Ætolians*, and with 40 them all, or the most of *Greece*, assisted her against *Philip* the *Macedonian*: hee being beaten, did lend her his helpe, to beat the same *Ætolians*. The warres against *Antiochus*, and other *Asiaticques*, were such as gaue to *Rome* small cause of boast, though much of joy: for those opposites were as base of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicill*, *Spaine*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands by vsing her aide, to protect them against the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I shall not neede to speake of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when shee had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many famous victories: I am not so idle. This I say; that among all their warres, I finde not any, wherein their 50 valour hath appeared, comparable to the *English*. If my iudgement seeme ouer-partiall; our warres in *France* may helpe to make it good.

First, therefore it is well knowne; that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world besides) had neuer any so braue a Commander in warre, as *Julius Cæsar*: and that no *Roman* 60 armie was comparable vnto that, which serued vnder the same *Cæsar*. Likewise, it

is apparent, that this gallant Armie, which had giuen faire proofe of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helusion* warre, when it first entred into *Gaul*, was neuertheless vtterly disheartned, when *Cæsar* led it against the *Germans*. So that we may iustly impute, all that was extraordinarie in the valour of *Cæsars* men, to their long exercise, vnder so good a Leader, in so great a warre. Now let vs in general, compare with the deeds done by these best of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principall seruice, the things performed in the same Countrey, by our common *English* Souldiers, leauied in haste, from following the Cart, or sitting on the shop-stall: so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deale fairly, and beleue *Cæsar*, in relating the acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Historians to witnesse, that actions were performed by the *English*. In *Cæsars* time, *France* was inhabited by the *Gauls*, a stout people, but inferiour to the *French*, by whom they were subdued; euen when the *Romans* gaue them assistance. The Countrey of *Gaul* was rent in sunder (as *Cæsar* witnesseth) into many Lordships: some of which were gouerned by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such sort as might make it applicable to the nearest Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not only in general through the whole Countrey, but betweene the petty States, yea in euery Citie, and almost in euery house. What greater aduantage could a Conquerour desire? Yet there was a greater. *Arminius*, with his *Germans*, had ouerrunne the Countrey, and held much part of it in subjection, little different from meere slauierie: yea, so often had the *Germans* preuailed in warre vpon the *Gauls*, that the *Gauls* (who had sometimes bene the better Souldiers) did hold themselves no way equall to those daily Inuaders. Had *France* bene so prepared vnto our *English* Kings, *Rome* it selfe, by this time, and long ere this time, would haue bene ours. But when King *Edward* the third beganne his warre vpon *France*, hee found the whole Countrey setled in obedience to one mightie King: a King whose reputation abroade, was no lesse than his puissance at home; vnder whose Ensigne, the King of *Bohemia* did serue in person; at whose call, the *Genowyes*, and other Neighbour States, were ready to take armes: finally, a King, vnto whom one Prince gaue away his Dominion, for loue; another sold away a goodly Citie and Territorie for monie. The Countrey lying so open to the *Roman*, and being so well fenced against the *English*; it is note-worthy, not who preuailed most therein (for it were meere vanitie, to match the *English* purchases, with the *Roman* conquest) but whether of the two gaue the greater proofe of militarie vertue. *Cæsar* himselfe doth witness, that the *Gauls* complained of their owne ignorance in the Art of warre, and that their owne hardinesse was ouer-masted, by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the *Roman* Towers, and Engines of batterie, raised and planted against their walls, as more than humane works. What greater wonder is it, that such a people was beaten by the *Roman*; than that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valiant, as any vnder the skie, are commonly put to the worlde, by small numbers of *Spaniards*? Besides all this, we are to haue regard, of the great difficultie that was found, in drawing all the *Gauls*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with ioynt forces they might oppose their assailants: as also the much more difficultie, of holding them long together. For hereby it came to passe, that they were neuer able to make vse of opportunitie: but sometimes compelled to flay for their fellows; and sometimes driuen, to giue or take battaile, vpon extreme disadvantages, for feare, least their Companies should fall asunder: as indeede, vpon any little disaster, they were ready to breake, and returne euery one to the defence of his owne. All this, and (which was little lesse than all this) great oddes in weapon, gaue to the *Romans*, the honour of many gallant victories. What such helpe? or what other worldly helpe, than the golden metall of their Souldiers, had our *English* Kings against the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of VVarre? Yea, did they not thinke themselves therein our superiours? VWere they not in armes, in horse, and in all prouision, exceedingly beyond vs?

Let

a The Dolphin of Viennois.
b The King of Majorca.

Let vs heare, what a *French* writer saith, of the inequality that was betweene the *French* and *English*, when their King *John* was ready to giue the on-set, vpon the *Black Prince*, at the battaile of *Poitiers*. *John* had all aduantages ouer *Edward*, both of number, force, shew, Countrey, and conceit (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choise of all his horse-men (esteemed then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wisest Captaines of his whole Realme. And what could he with more?

I thinke, it would trouble a *Roman* antiquarie, to finde the like example in their Histories, the example, I say, of a King, brought prisoner to *Rome*, by an Armie of eight thousand, which he had surrounded with fortie thousand, better appointed, and no lesse expert warriors. This I am sure of; that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of halfe Scullions, as *Liuit* rightly termes them, nor those cowardly Kings *Perseus* and *Gentius*, are worthe patternes. All that haue read of *Cresite* and *Agincourt*, will beare me witnesse, that I doe not allege the battaile of *Poitiers*, for lacke of other, as good examples of the *English* vertue: the proof whereof hath left many a hundred better marks, in all quarters of *France*, than euer did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute these victories of ours to the long Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the *French* Crosse-bow: my answer is ready; that in all these respects, it is also (being drawne with a strong arme) superiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more vse. The Gunne, and the Crosse-bow, are of like force, when discharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a strong Man: weakenesse, or sickenesse, or a fore finger, makes the Long-Bow vsuerficable. More particularly, I say, that it was the custome of our Ancestors, to shoot, for the most part, point blank: and so shall he perceiue, that will note the circumstances of almost any one battaile. This takes away all objection: for when two Armies are within the distance of a Butts length, one flight of arrowes, or two at the most can be deliuered before they close. Neither is it in general true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceeth more strongly than the Crosse-bow: But this is the rare effect of an extraordinarie arme; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall aske, How then came it to passe, that the *English* wanne so many great battailes, hauing no aduantage to helpe him? I may, with best commendation of modestie, referre him to the *French* Historian: who relating the victorie of our men at *Creuant*, where they passed a bridge, in face of the enemy, vseth these words; *The English comes with a John de Serres, conquering brauerie, as he, that was accustomed to gaue euery where, without any stay: hee forcel our garde, placed vpon the bridge, to keepe the passage.* Or I may cite another place of the same Authour, where hee tells, how the *Britons*, being innad by *Charles* the eighth, King of *France*, thought it good policie, to apparel a thousand and two hundred of their owne men in *English* Callocks; hoping that the very sight of the *English* red Crosse, would be enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not stand to borrow of the *French* Historians (all which, excepting *De Serres*, and *Paulus Æmilius*; report wonders of our Nation) the proposition which first I undertooke to maintaine; That the militarie vertue of the *English*, preuailed against all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of *Romans*, which was assisted with all aduantages that could be desired. If it be demanded; why then did not our Kings finish the conquest, as *Cæsar* had done? my answer may bee (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the race of the *Æacids*, of whom the old Poet *Æmilius* gaue this note; *Belli potentes sunt magis quam sapienti potentes; They were more warlike than politique.* Who so notes their proceedings, may finde that none of them went to worke like a Conquerour: saue only King *Henric* the fifth, the course of whose victories, it pleased God to interrupt by his death. But this question is the more easily answered, if another be first made. Why did not the *Romans* attempt the conquest of *Gaul*, before the time of *Cæsar*? why not after the *Macedonian* warre? why not after the third *Punicke*, or after the *Numantian*? At all these times they had good leisure:

John de Serres,
IEAN auoit tout l'auantage par dessus EDWARD. Je n'ay pas de la multitude, la force, le pays, le prince (qui n'est pas communément une considération de peu d'importance aux affaires du monde), et auant l'élite de sa cavallerie, lors qu'il s'agit de tout son Royaume.

Xenoph. Grec.
hist. lib.

whereby they themselves might have the better means to occupie all *Sicill*, whilst that Island should be destitute of *Italian* succours. Hereupon we finde good cause, of the joy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crowne of gold, weighing twenty & five pound, sent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Sannites* were overthrowne. But the little state of *Rome* prevailed faller in *Italie*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicill*. For that mightie Armie, of three hundred thousand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Africk* into *Sicill*, wanne only two Cities therein; many great fleets were devoured by tempests; and howsoever the *Carthaginians* prevailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their owne valour, or by assistance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repaire their owne losses, and take reuenge vpon these *Innadaours*. But neuer were the people of *Carthage* in better hope, of getting all *Sicill*, than when the death of *Agathodes* the Tyrant, had left the whole Island in combustion; the estate of *Greece* being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible, for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilst the *Carthaginians* were busie, in making their advantage, of this good opportunity; *Pyrhus*, inuited by the *Tarentines*, and their fellows, came into *Italie*, where hee made sharpe warre vpon the *Romans*. These newes were vnpleasing to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a subtle Nation, easily foresaw, that the same busie disposition, which had brought this Prince, out of *Greece* into *Italie*, would as easily transport him ouer into *Sicill*, as soone as he could finish his *Roman* warre. To prevent this danger, they sent *Mago* Embassadour to *Rome*, who declared in their name, that they were sorry to heare, what misadventure had befallen the *Romans*, their good friends, in this warre with *Pyrhus*; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the state of *Rome*, by sending an Armie into *Italie*; if their helpe were thought needfull, against the *Epiriots*.

It was, indeede, the maine desire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrhus* so hardly to his worke in *Italie*, that they might, at good leisure, pursue their businesse in *Sicill*: which caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the *Romans* were too high-minded: and refused to accept any such aide of their friends, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seeme vnable to stand by their owne strength. Yet the message was taken louingly, as it ought; and the former league betweene *Rome* and *Carthage* renewed, with couenants added, concerning the present businesse; That if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrhus*, it should be, with reservation of libertie, to assist the other, in case that *Pyrhus* should inuade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrhus*, vying all means to sound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one vpon euery new occasion changeth his owne purposes) yet *Pyrhus* found leisure to make a step into *Sicill*: where, though in fine he was neither getter norauer, yet hee cleane defeated the purposes of *Carthage*, leauing them at his departure thence, as farre from any end, as when they first beganne.

So many disasters, in an enterprize, that from the first vndertaking, had beene so strongly pursued, through the length of many generations, might well haue induced the *Carthaginians* to beleue, that an higher providence resisted their intentment. But their desire, of winning that fruitfull Land, was so inueterate; that with vnwearied patience, they still continued in hope, of so much the greater an harvest, by how much their cost and paynes therein buried had beene the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses; and by force or practice, recovered in few yeeres, all their old possessions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chiefe Citie of the Land, that so they might the better enable themselves to deale with so

Somewhat before this time, a troupe of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had serued vnder *Agathodes*, being entertained within *Messana* as friends, and finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, tooke aduantage of the power that they had to doe

doe wrong; and with perfidious crneltie, slew those that had trusted them; which done, they occupied the Citie, Lands, Goods, and Wines, of those, whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselves *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that meere desperation, of finding any that would approue their barbarous treachery, added rage vnto their stoutelic. Having therefore none other colour of their proceedings, than the law of the *Stranger*, they ouerranne the Countrie round about them.

In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not onely defend *Messana* against the Cities of *Sicill* Confederates; to wit, against the *Syracians*, and others, but they rather wan vpon them, yea, and vpon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her back to these *Mamertines*, the *Syracians* wan salt vpon them, and finally, confining them within the walls of *Messana*, they also with a powerfull Armie besieged the Citie. It happened ill, that about the same time, a contention began, betwene the *Syracian* Souldiers, then lying at *Megara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, and Gouernours of the Common-wealth; which proceeded so farre, that the Armie elected two Gouernours, among themselves; to wit, *Artemidorus*, and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his yeares excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrarie to the policy of that State, to approue any election made by the Souldiers, yet for the great clemencie hee vied at his first entrance, was by generall consent established and made Gouernour. This Office, hee rather vied as a Scale, thereby to clime to some higher degree, than rested content with his present preferment.

In brife, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himselfe within the Citie; and somewhat without it, that gaue impediment, to his obtaining, and safe keeping, of the place he sought; to wit, a powerfull partie within the Towne, and certaine mutinous troups of Souldiers without, often and easily moued to sedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himselfe, hee tooke to wife the daughter of *Lepines*, a man of the greatest estimation and authoritie among the *Syracians*. For the second, leading out the Armie to besiege *Messana*, he quartered all those Companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the Citie, and leading the rest of his horse and foot vnto the other side, as if he would haue assaulted it in two seueral parts, he marched away vnder the couert of the Towne walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in pieces by the assieged: So returning home, and leauing an Armie of his owne Citizens, well trayned and obedient, hee hastied againe towards *Messana*, and was by the *Mamertines* (growne proud by their former victorie ouer the Mutiners) incountried in the plaines of *Mylaeum*, where hee obtained a most signall victorie, and leading with him their Commander Captiue into *Syracuse*, himselfe by common consent was elected and saluted King. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, finding themselves vtterly infected, some of them resolved to giue themselves to the *Carthaginians*, others to craue assistance of the *Romans*: to each of whom, the seuerall factions dispatched Embassadours for the same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soone readie to lay hold vpon the good offer: so that a Captaine of theirs got into the Castle of *Messana*, wherof they that had sent for him gaue him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to so good agreement, that this Captaine, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of dores, and the Towne reserved for other Masters.

These newes did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captaine, as both a Traitor and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Armie to besiege *Messana*, as a Towne that rebelled, hauing once beene theirs. *Hieron*, the new made King of *Syracuse* (to gratifie his people, incensed with the smart of injuries lately received) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom hee entered into a league, for exterminating the *Mamertines* out of *Sicill*. So the *Mamertines* on all sides were

D d d d 3 closed

closed vp within *Messana*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Naue at Sea, and with an Armie on the one side of the Towne, whilest *Hieron* with his *Syracusians*, lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger, came *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Consull, with an Armie to the streights of *Sicill*: which passing by night with notable audacitie, hee put himselfe into the Towne, and sending Messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; signifying vnto them, that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore hee was come to giue them protection, euen by force of warre, if reason would not preuaile.

This message was vtterly neglected; And so beganne the warre betwene *Rome* 10 and *Cuthage*; wherein, it will then be time to shew, on which part was the iustice of the quarrell, when some actions of the *Romans* lately foregoing this, haue bene first considered.

§. III.

The beginning of the first Punick warre. That it was vniustly undertaken by the Romans.

When *Pyrhus* beganne his warres in *Italie*, the Citie of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not onely fearing to be taken by the *Epirot*, but much more distrusting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to seize vpon it in that bulie time, fought aide from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a Legion, consisting of foure thousand Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended and assured for the present. But after a while, this *Roman* Garrison, considering at good leisure, the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Messana*, (a Citie in *Sicill*, situate almost opposite to *Rhegium*, and no other wise diuided than by a narrow Sea, which seuereth it from *Italie*) and rather weighing the greatnesse of the bootie, than the odiousnesse of the villanie, by which it was gotten; resolved finally, to make the like purchase, by taking the like wicked course. Confederating therefore themselves with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hosts of *Rhegium*, after the same manner; diuiding the spoile, and all which that State had among themselves.

When complaint was made to the Senate & people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the world made a more seuerer profession of iustice, than they did, during all the time of their growing greatnesse) resolved, after a while, to take reuenge vpon the offenders. And this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italie*, by *Pyrhus*. For, notwithstanding that those *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulencesse of their fact, hopelesse of pardon) defended themselves with an obstinate resolution: yet in the end, the assailants forced them; and those which escaped the present furie, were brought bound to *Rome*, where after the vsual torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custome of the Countrey, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders; and the people of *Rhegium* were againe restored to their former liberties and estates.

This execution of iustice being newly performed, and the same thereof founding honourably through all quarters of *Italie*: messengers came to *Rome*, from *Messana*, desiring help against the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracusians*, that were in a readinesse to inflict the like punishment vpon the *Mamertines*, for the like offence. An impudent request it was, which they made: who hauing both giuen example to that villanie to the *Roman* Souldiers, and holpen them with ioynt forces to make it good; intreate the Iudges to giue them that assistance, which they were wont to recieue from their fellow-theeues.

The

The *Romans* could not suddenly resolue, whether the way of honestie, or of profit, were to be followed; they euenmore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They considered, how contrarie the course of licouring the *Mamertines* was, to their former counsells, and actions: seeing for the same offences they had lately put to torment, and to the sword, their owne Souldiers, and restored the oppressed to their libertie. Yet when they beheld the description of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the best parts of *Africa*, of the *Mediterran* Ilands, of a great part of *Spain*, and some part of *Sicill* it selfe; whilest also they feared, that *Syracuse* therein seated (a Citie in beautie and riches, 10 little, at that time, inferior to *Carthage*, and farre superiour to *Rome* it selfe) might become theirs, the safetie of their owne citie spake for these *Mamertines*: who, if they (driven to despair by the *Romans*) should deliuer vp *Messana*, with those other holds, that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing stand betwene *Carthage*, and the Lordship of all *Sicill*: for *Syracuse* it selfe could not, for want of succour, any long time subsist, if once the *Carthaginians*, that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten vpon that passage from the maine Land. It was further considered; that the opportunitie of *Messana* was such, as would not only debarre, all succours out of the continent, from arrivall in *Sicill*; but would serue as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might haue entrance into *Italie*, at their owne pleasure.

These considerations, of profit at hand, and of preventing dangers, that threatened from a farre, did so preuaile, aboue all regard of honestie, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacie with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Consull, presently dispatcht away for *Messana*: into which he entred, and vnder-tooke the protection of it, as is shewed before. The besiegers were little troubled with his arrivall; and lesse moued, with his requiring them, to desist from their attempt. For they did farre exceede him in number of men; The whole Iland was ready to relieue them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Towne. All this *Appius* himselfe well vnderstood: and against all this, he thought the stiffe metall of his *Roman* Souldier, a sufficient remedy. Therefore, he resolved to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his coming was to send them away from the Towne; not to be besieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficiall to him, that the enemy lay encamped in such sort, as one quarter was not well able to relieue another in distresse. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, wherinto hee had wilfully cast his owne mutinous followers, not long before: only he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his owne quarter, without helpe of others. Against him *Ap. Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by vnexpected sallie, to surprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of battaile, wherewith hee presented him. 40 The *Syracusian* wanted not courage to fight; but surely, hee wanted good aduice: else would he not haue hazarded all his power against an enemy, of whom he had made no triall; when it had bene easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his owne Campe. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorne the beginning of his raigne. But he was well beaten; and driven to saue himselfe within his Trenches: by which losse, he learned a point of wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdome in good stead, all the daies of his life. It was a foolish desire of reuenge, that had made the *Syracusians* so bulie, in helping those of *Carthage*, against the *Mamertines*.

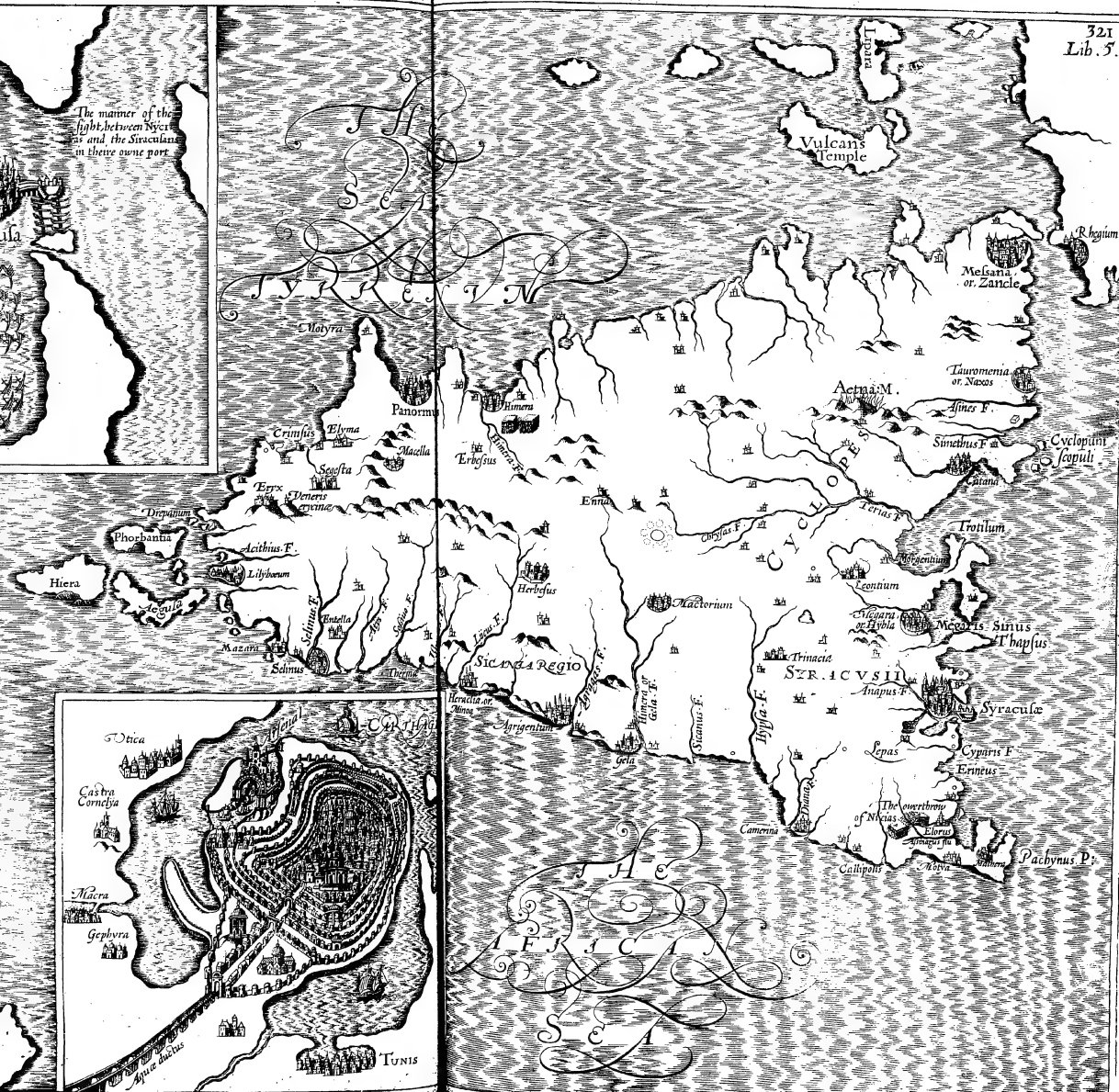
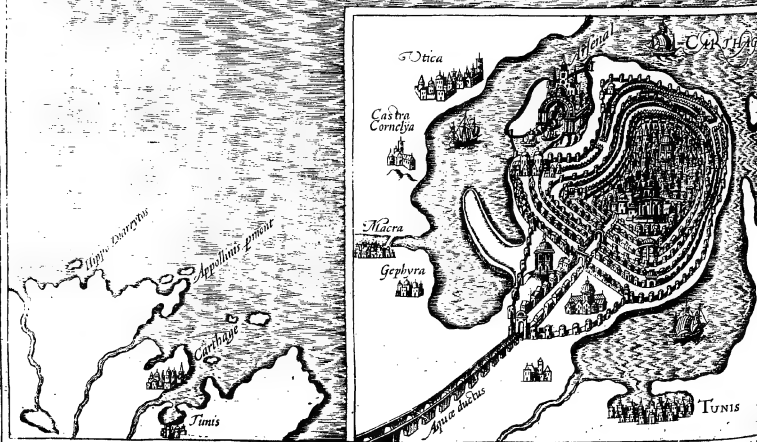
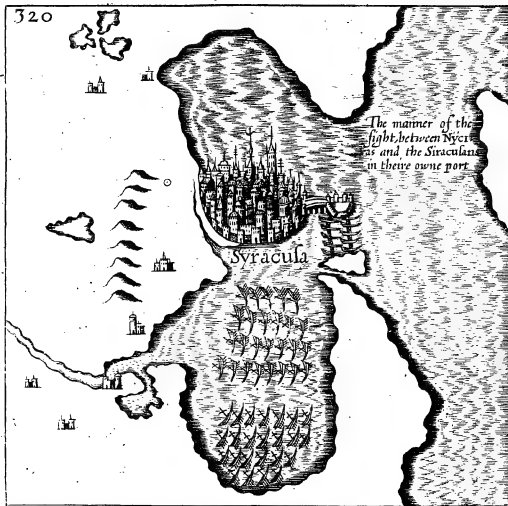
Had *Messana* bene taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* it selfe must haue sought 50 helpe from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two mightie Cities) but a small stock, which it behooued him to gouerne well: such another losse would haue made him almost bankrupt. Therefore hee quickly brake vp his Camp, and retired home: intending to let them stand to their aduentures, that had hope to bee gainers by the bargain. The next day,

day, *Claudius* perceiving the *Sicilian* Armie gone, did with great courage, and with much alacritie of his souldiers, giue charge vpon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he sped so well, that the enimie forsooke both field and campe, leaving all the Countre open to the *Romans*; who hauing spoiled all round, without resistance, intended to lay siege vnto the great Citie of *Syracuse*.

These prosperous beginnings, howsoever they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes, of attaining to greater matters, than at first they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any forme of terrour in the Citie of *Carthage*, that had wel enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost, than what had beene prepared against the *Mamertines* alone, without any suspicion of warre to from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to consider of those grounds, wherupon the *Romans* entred into this warre; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honestie (for questionlesse the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict termes of lawfulnessse; wherupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yeeld themselves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, distressed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde, how the messengers of those folke, wherof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any such surrendrie, in the publike name of all 20 their Companie.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull surrendrie of themselves and their possessions, were become subject vnto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* assilt the *Mamertines*, against their most ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might haue aided the *Campanes*, against the *Samnites*, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point serving to clear this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtlesse it is, that no companie, of Pirates, Thieves, Outlawes, Murderers, or such other malefactours, can by any good successe of their villanie, obtaine the priuiledge of ciuill societies, to make league or truce, yea, or to require faire warre: but are by all meanes, 30 as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take vpon me, to maintaine that opinion of some *Cinilians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith, with one of these; it were a Position of ill consequence: This I hold; that no one Prince, or State, can giue protection to such as these, as long as any other is vying the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming accessarie to their crimes. Wherefore, we may esteeme this action of the *Romans*, so farre from being justifiable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them; as that contrariwise, by admitting this nest of Murderers and Thieves, into their protection, they justly deserved to be warred vpon themselves, by the people of *Sicily*; yea, although *Messana* had beene taken, and the *Mamertines* all slaine, ere any newes of the Confede- 40 racie had beene brought vnto the besiegers. The great *Alexander* was so farre perswaded herein; that he did put to sword all the *Branchiada* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their Citie, notwithstanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; because they were descended from a Companie of *Milesiens*, who to gratifie King *Xerxes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towne and Countre, which these of their posteritie enjoyed. Neuerthelessse, in course of humane iustice, long and peaceable possession giues *ius acquisitum*, a kinde of right by prescription, vnto that which was at first obtained by wicked means: and doth free the defendants, from the crime of their Ancestors, whose villanies they doe not exercise. But that the same generation of Thieves, which by a deto- 50 stable fact hath purchased a rich Towne, should be acknowledged a lawfull companie of Citizens, there is no shew of right. For euen the Conquerour, that by open warre obtaineth a Kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by those victories which gaue him first possession: but length of time is requisite, to establish him, vnlesse by some



some alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claime; as did our King *Henrie* the first, by his marriage with *Maud*, that was daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Niece of *Edmund Ironside*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had so good) of justice, in this quarrell, than had the *Goths*, *Hunnes*, *Vandals*, and other Nations, of the warres that they made vpon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her selfe, in the time of her visitation, was burnt to ground.

10

§. IIII.

Of the Iland of *Sicil*.

†. I.

The qualitie of the Iland: and the first Inhabitants thereof.

20 **T**He defence of the *Mamertines*, or the possession of *Messana*, being now no longer, since the first victories of *Appius Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage*, are about to contend: it will bee agreeable vnto the order, which in the like cases we haue obserued, to make a briebe collection, of things, concerning that noble Iland, which hath bene the stage of many great acts, performed, as well before and after, as in this present Warre.

30 That *Sicil* was sometimes a *Peninsula*, or *Demie-Iste*, adjoynd to *Italie*, as a part of *Brutium* in *Calabria*, neare vnto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempest severed from the same: it is a generall opinion of all antiquitie. But at what certaine time this diuision happened, there is no memorial remaying, in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, *Plinie*, and *Dionysius*, affirme, that it was caused by an earthquake; *Silius*, and *Castellus*, doe thinke it to haue bene done by the rage and violence of the tide, and furies of the Sea. Either of these opinions may be true; for so was *Euboea* scuered from *Baotia*; *Atalante* and *Maeria*, from *Euboea*; *Sillie* here in *England*, from the Cape of *Cornwall*; and *Britaine* it selfe (as may seeme by *Pershegans* arguments) from the opposite continent of *Gaule*. But for *Sicil*, they which tend their cares to fables, do attribute the cause of it to *Neptune* (as *Enstathius* witnesseth) who with his three-forked Mace, in fauour of *Iocastus*, the sonne of *Eolus*, diuided it 40 from the maine land, and so made it an Iland, which before was but a *Demie-Iste*; that by that meanes, hee might the more safely inhabite, and possesse the same. *Diodorus Siculus*, moued by the authoritie of *Hesiodus*, ascribeth the labour of fundering it from *Italie*, to *Orion*: who, that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the rocks and mountaines) first opened the *Sicilian* streights, as *Hercules* did those of *Gibraltar*.

They which value the Ilands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantitie and content, doe make this the greatest, as *Enstathius* and *Strabo*, who affirme this, not only to excell the rest for bignesse, but also for goodnesse of soile. As concerning the forme of this Iland, *Pomponius Mela* saith, it is like that Capitall letter of 50 the *Greeks*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle, which is generally knowne to be true. That the whole Iland was consecrated to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, all old writers with one consent affirme: To *Ceres* it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of setting and sowing of Corne: to *Proserpina*, not so much, for that shee was from hence violently taken by *Pluto*, as because (which *Plu-*

tarch

tarch and *Diodorus* doe report for truth) that *Pluto*, as soone as hee, vncouering her selfe, first shewed her selfe to be fene of him, gaue her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertilitie and riches of this Countrey, there is a famous testimonie written by *Cicero*, in his second Oration against *Verres*, where he saith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it the *Granarie*, and *Store-houfe of the Common-wealth*, and the *Nurse of the vulgar sort*. The same *Cicero* doth adde in that place, that it was not only the store-houfe of the people of *Rome*; but also that it was accounted for a well furnished treasure. For without any cost or charge of ours (saith he) it hath visually clothed, maintained, and furnished our greatest Armies, with leather, apparell, and corne. *Strabo* reporteth almost the same thing of it. Whatsoever *Sicilie* doth yeeld (saith *Solinus*) whether by the Sunne, and temperature of the aire, or by the industrie and labour of man, it is accounted next vnto those things that are of best estimation: were it not, that such things, as the earth first putteth forth, are extremely ouer-grown with saffron. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that in the fields, neere vnto *Leontium*, and in diuers other places of this land, wheat doth grow of it selfe, without any labour, or looking to, of the husbandman. *Martianus* sheweth, that there were in it fixe Colonies, and fixtie Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found scattering in many good Authours.

Now besides many famous acts, done by the people of this Land, as well in peace as warre, there be many other things, which haue made it very renowned, as the 20 birth of *Ceres*; the raising of *Proserpina*; the Giant *Enceladus*; the mount *Atna*, *Seylla* and *Charibdis*, with other antiquities, and rarities; besides those learned men, the noble Mathematician *Archimedes*, the famous Geometrician *Euclides*; the painfull Historian *Diodorus*; and *Empedocles* the deepe Philosopher.

That *Sicil* was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants *Lastrigones*, and *Cyclopes*, barbarous people, and vnciuill; all histories and fables doe joyntly with one consent auerre. Yet *Thucydides* saith, that these sauage people dwelt onely in one part of the Iland. Afterward the *Sicani*, a people of *Spaine*, possessed it. That these *Sicani* were not bred in the Ile (although some doe so thinke,) *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* doe constantly auousch.

Of these it was named *Sicania*. These *Sicani* were invaded by the *Siculi*; who, inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterward built, were driven by the *Pelasgi* from their owne seates, and finding no place vpon the continent, which they were able to master and inhabit, passed ouer into this Iland, three hundred years before the *Greekes* sent any Colonies thither: and (saith *Philistus*) eightie years before the fall of *Troy*. These *Siculi* gaue the name of *Sicilia*, to the Iland; and making warre vpon the *Sicani*, draue them from the East and Northerne part thereof, into the West and South. At their landing, they first built the Citie *Zancle*, afterward called *Messena*; and after that, *Catana*, *Leontium*, and *Syracuse*; the selfe, bearing from thence the *Etolians*, who long before had set vp a Towne in that place. 40 As for the name of *Syracuse*, it was not knowne, till such time as *Archias* of *Corinth* (long after) wonne that part of the Iland from the *Siculi*; Neither did the *Siculi* at their first arrival dispossesse the *Etolians* thereof, but some hundred years after their descent, and after such time as they had founded the Cities before named, with *Nea*, *Hybla*, *Trinacria*, and diuers others.

After these *Siculi* came another Nation out of *Italy*, called *Morgetes*; who were thence driven by the *Oenotrians*. These sate downe in that part of *Sicil*, where they afterward raised the Cities of *Morgentum*, and *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were diuided, and by a ciuill warre greatly feeble. Among these ancient 50 stories, we finde the last voiage, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Creet*. *Thucydides*, an Historian of vnquestionable sinceritie, reports of *Minos*, that he made conquest of many Ilands: and some such businesse, perhaps, drew him into *Sicil*. But the common report is, that he came thither in pursuit of *Dadalus*. The tale goes thus: *Dadalus* fleeing the reuenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicil* to *Cocalus*, King of the *Sicani*, and

and during his abode there, he built a place of great strength, neere vnto *Megara*, for *Cocalus*, to lay vp his treasure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he cast a Ramme in gold, that was set vp in the Temple of *Fe-nus Erycinus*; which he did with so great arte, as those that beheld it, thought it rather to be liuing, than counterfait.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Dadalus*, prepares to invade the Territorie of *Cocalus*; but when he was arrived, *Cocalus* doubting his own strength, promisseth to deliuer *Dadalus*. This he performs not, but in the meane while, kills 10 *Minos* by treason, and perswadeth the *Cretans*, *Minos* his followers, to inhabite a part of *Sicil*; the better (as it seemes) to strengthen himselfe against the *Siculi*. Hercunto the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gaue their consent, and builded for themselves the Citie of *Minos*, after the name of their King *Minos*. After, they likewise built the Towne of *Engyum*, now called *Gange*; and these were the first Cities, built by the *Greekes* in *Sicil*, about two ages before the warre of *Troy*; for the grand children of *Minos* serued with the *Greekes* at the siege thereof.

But after such time as the *Cretans* vnderstood, that their King had by treason bene made away; they gathered together a great Armie, to invade *Cocalus*: and landing neere vnto *Camicus*, they besieged the same five yeares, but in vaine. In the 20 end (being forced to returne, without any reuenge taken) they were wrackt on the coast of *Italie*; and hauing no meanes to repaire their ships, nor the honor they had lost, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built *Hyria*, or *Hyrium*, betwene the two famous Ports of *Brundisium*, and *Tarentum*. Of these *Cretans* came those Nations, afterward called *Iapyges*, and *Messapij*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Aegestus* and *Elymus*, brought with them certaine troups into *Sicil*, and seated themselves among the *Sicani*; where they built the Cities of *Aegesta* and *Elyma*.

It is said, that *Aeneas* visited these places in his passage into *Italie*: and that some of the *Troians*, his followers, were left behinde him, in these Townes of *Sicil*: 30 whereof there want no good Authours, that make *Aeneas* himselfe the founder.

About the same time, the *Phenicians* seised vpon the Promontories of *Pactinus*, and *Lilybaeum*, and vpon certaine small Isles adjoining to the maine Iland: which they fortified, to secure the trades that they had with the *Sicilians*; like as the *Portugals* haue done in the East *Indies*, at *Goa*, *Ormuz*, *Mosambiq*, and other places. But the *Phenicians* staid not there; for after they had once assured their descents, they built the goodly Citie of *Panormus*, now called *Palerma*.

These we finde, were the Nations, that inhabited the Ile of *Sicil*, before the warre of *Troy*, and ere the *Greekes* in any numbers began to straggle in those parts.

It may perchance seeme strange to the Reader, that in all ancient storie, he findes 40 one and the same beginning of Nations, after the flood; and that the first planters of all parts of the World, were said to bee mightie and Giantlike men; and that, as *Phenicia*, *Aegypt*, *Lybia*, and *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Orestes*, *Anteus*, *Typhon*, and the like; as *Denmarke* had *Starbaterus*, remembered by *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Scythia*, *Britanie*, and other Regions, had Giants for their first Inhabitants; so this Ile of *Sicil* had her *Lastrigones* and *Cyclopes*. This discourse I could also reject for fained and fabulous; did not *Moses* make vs know, that the *Zamzammims*, *Emims*, *Anakims*, and *Og* of *Babylon*, with others, which sometime inhabited the Mountaines and Delarts of *Moab*; *Ammon*, and *Mount Seir*, were men of exceeding strength and stature, and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that *Tertullian*, *St. Augustine*, *23* *Josephus*, *Procopius*, *Isidore*, *Plinie*, *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many other Authours, haue confirmed the opinion. Yea, *Pythagoras*, in his second Navigation into *America*, hath reported, that himselfe hath sene the like men in those parts. Again, whereas the selfe-same is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their simplicitie of life, their meane fare, their feeding on a cornes

Saxo Gram-
matic. di. 1.

Tertul. de Re-
sur. Aug. de Ciuit.
Dei. l. 15. c. Et
quæst. in Gen.
Dionys. l. 2. c. 37.
Procop. l. 1. de
Bello Goth.
Elin. l. 7. c. 2.

cornes and roots, their poore cottages, the couering of their bodies, with the skins of beasts, their hunting, their armes, and weapons, and their warfare, their first passages ouer great Riuer, and armes of the Sea, vpon rafts of trees tied together; and afterward, their making boats, first, of twigs and leather, then of wood; first, with Oares, and then with saile, that they esteemed as Gods, the first finders out of Arts; as of Husbandrie, of Lawes, and of Politie: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all liued in the same newnesse of time, which we call *Old time*, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankind. For other teaching had they none, that were removed far off from the *Hebrewes*, who inherited the knowledge 10 of the first Patriarchs, than that from variable effects they beganne, by time and degrees to finde out the causes: from whence came Philosophie Naturall; as the Morall did from disorder and confusion; and the Law from crueltie and oppression.

But it is certaine, that the Age of *Time* hath brought forth stranger and more incredible things, than the Infancie. For we haue now greater Giants, for vice and iniustice, than the World had in those daies, for bodily strength; for cottages and houses of clay and timber, we haue raised Palaces of stone; we carue them, we paint them, and adorne them with gold; inasmuch as men are rather knowne by their houses, than their houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes, to two hundred; from water, to wine and drunkennesse; from the couering of our bodies with the 20 skinnies of beasts, not only to silke and gold, but to the very skinnies of men. But to conclude this digression, *Time* will also take reuenge of the excesse, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longior, auxit, longissima subruit; Long time brought forth, longer time increas'd it, and a time, longer than the rest, shall ouerthrow it.*

†. II.

The plantation of the Greeks in Sicil.

30

When the first inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all *Sicil*: it happened, that one *Theodes*, a Greeke, being druen vpon that coast by an Easterly winde; and finding true the commendations thereof, which had bene thought fabulous, being deliuered onely by Poets; gaue information to the *Athenians* of this his discouerie, and proposed vnto them the benefit of this easie conquest, offering to become their guide. But *Theodes* was as little regarded by the *Athenians*, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the *Englishe*. Wherefore hee tooke the same course, that *Columbus* afterwards did. 40 Hee ouer-laboured not himselfe in perfwading the Noble *Athenians* (who thought themselves to bee well enough alreadie) to their owne profit; but went to the *Chalcidians*, that were needie and industrious, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By these was built the Citie of *Naxos*, and a Colony planted of *Euboeans*.

But the rest of the *Greeks* were wiser than our western Princes of *Europe*: for they had no Pope, that should forbid them, to occupie the void places of the World. *Archias* of *Corinth* followed the *Euboeans*, and landed in *Sicil*, neare vnto that Citie, called afterward * *Syracuse*: of which, that part onely was then compassed with a

* *Syracuse*, as *Cicero* relates, was the greatest, and most goodly Citie of all that the *Greekes* possist. For the situation is both strong, and of an excellent prospect, from euery entrance, by Land, or Sea. The Port was (for the most part) enuironed with beautifull building; and that part which was without the Citie, was on both sides bankt vp, and sustained with beautifull walls of Marble. The Citie it selfe was one of the greatest of the World: for it had in compasse (as *Strabo* reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, 180. furlongs; which made of our miles about 18. It was compounded of foure Cities (*Strabo* saith, of five) to wit, *Insula*, *Acadina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*: of which greaunelle, the ruines and foundations of the walls doe yet witness.

wall

wall, which the *Ætolians* called *Homothermon*; the *Greeks*, *Nafos*; the *Latines*, *Insula*. He with his *Corinthians* hauing ouer-come the *Siculi*, drave them vp into the Countrey; and after a few yeares, their multitudes increaseth, they added vnto the Citie of the Iland, that of *Acadina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*. So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable of as many ships, as any Haven of that part of 10 *Europe*, as by the fertilitie of the soyle; *Syracuse* grew vp in great haile, to be one of the goodliest Townes of the World. In short time the *Greekes* did possess the better part of all the Sea-coast; forcing the *Sicilians* to withdraw themselves into the fast and mountainous parts of the Iland, making their Royall residence in

10 *Trinacia*.

Some seuen yeares after the arrivall of *Archias*; the *Chalcidians*, encouraged by the successe of the *Corinthians*, did assaile, and obtaine the Citie of *Leontium*, built and possist by the *Siculi*. In briefe, the *Greekes* winne from the *Siculi*, and their Associates, the Cities of *Catana*, and *Egbla*, which, in honour of the *Megarians* that for'cit, they called *Megara*.

About five and fortie yeares after *Archias* had taken *Syracuse*; *Antiphenus* and *Entimus*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an Armie into *Sicil*, and built *Gela*; whose Citizens, one hundred and eight yeares after, did erect that magnificent and renowned Citie of *Agrirentum*, governed according to the Lawes 20 of the *Dorians*.

The *Syracusians* also, in the seuentieth yeare after their plantation, did fer vp the Citie of *Akra*, in the Mountaines; and in the ninetieth yeare *Casmena*, in the Playnes adjoining; and againe, in the hundred and thirtieth yeare of their dwelling in *Syracuse*, they built *Camerina*; and soone after that, *Enna*, in the very Center of the Iland. So did the *Cumani*, about the same time, recover from the *Siculi* the Citie of *Zanle*, which they had founded in the streight betwene *Sicil* and *Italie*. They of *Zanle* had bene founders of *Himera*.

Not long after this *Dorians* the *Lacedemonian* built *Heraclia*; which the *Phenicians*, and *Carthaginians*, fearing the Neighbourhood of the *Spartans*, soone after invaded and ruined, though the same were againe ere long re-edified.

Selinus also was built by a Colonie of *Megara*: and *Zanle* was taken by the *Messinians*; who hauing lost their owne Countrey, gaue the name thereof vnto this their new purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest Cities in this Iland.

†. II.

of the gouernement and affaires of Sicil, before DIONYSIUS his Tyrannie.

The most part of the Cities in *Sicil*, were governed by the rule of the people, till such time as *Phalaris* began to vsurpe the state of *Agrirentum*, and to exercise all manner of tyrannie therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a detestable Engine, gaue an hollow Bull of brass, wherein to enclose men, and scorch them to death: praying the deuice with this commendation; That the noise of one tormented therein, should bee like vnto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gaue a due reward to the Inuentour; by causing the first trial to be made vpon himselfe. Hee reigned one and thirtie yeares, saith *Engelbins*; others giue him but sixteene: Howloeuier it were, one *Telemachus*, in the end, fell vpon him with the whole multitude of *Agrirentum*, and stoned him to death; being thereto animated by *Zeno*,

Ecce

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even whilest the Tyrant was tormenting the same *Zeno*, to make him confesse some matter of conspiracie.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recovered their libertie, and enjoyed it long, till *Thero* usurped the government of the Common-weale: at which time also *Panatus* made himselfe Lord of *Leontium*; and *Cleander*, of *Gela*: but *Cleander*, hauing ruled seuen yeares, was slaine by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his brother *Hippocrates* succeeded in his roome, and greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle* or *Messena*, and of *Leontium*; whom with diuers other of the ancient inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. Hee also made warre with the *Syracusians*, and, in the end, got from them, by composition, the Citie of *10 Camerina*. But when he had reigned seuen yeares, he was slaine in a battell against the *Siculi*, before *Hybla*.

At this time did the *Syracusians* change their forme of Gouvernement, from Popular to Aristocratically; a preparation towards a Principalltie, whereinto it was soone after changed. After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* descended from the *Rhodiens*, which together with the *Cretans* had long before, among other of the *Greeks*, feared themelues in *Sicily* that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former warre, with notable successe, became Lord of *Gela*. Hee, after his Masters death, breaking the trust committed vnto him by *Hippocrates* ouer his children, and being in possession of *Gela*, took the occasion and aduantage of a contention in *Syracuse*, 20 betweene the Magistrates and the People. For comming with a strong Armie to the succour of the Governours, driuen out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, and (indeede) the most famous, that euer gouerned the *Syracusians*. This change hapned in the second yeare of the threescore and twelfth *Olympiads*; wherein the better to establish himselfe, he tooke to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had also usurped the state of *Agigentum*.

Now this *Gelon*, the sonne of *Dinomenes*, had three brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasibulus*: to the first of which hee gaue vp the Citie of *Gela*, when hee had obtained the Principalltie of *Syracuse*. For, after that time, all his thoughts travelled in the strengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuse*. He defaced 30 *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracusians* who built it, and brought the Citizens to *Syracuse*. The *Megarians* that had moued a warre against him, he ouer-came; the richer fort he brought to *Syracuse*, and the people he sold for slaves. In like manner dealt he with other places vpon like occasion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the *Agigentines*, hauing dispossessed *Terillus*, of his Citie *Himera*; the *Carthaginians* were drawne into the quarrell by *Amxilus*, Lord of *Messena*, Father-in-law to *Terillus*: and *Gelon* was also solicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after diuers conflicts, the *Carthaginians*, and other *Africans*, led by *Amilcar*, were ouerthrowne by *Gelon*: and an hundred and fiftie thousand of them left their bodies in *Sicily*. 40

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* sent for succour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Armie past the *Hellefont*. Hee, for their reliefe hauing armed thirtie thousand Souldiers, and two hundred ships, refused neuertheless to send them into *Greece*, because they refused him the commandement of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or by Land. So he vied to their Embassadors onely this saying, That their Spring was withered; accomplishing the Armie, by him prepared, to be the flower of the *Greeke* Nations.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great losse received, fearing the inuasion of their owne Countrey, sent to *Gelon* by their Embassadors, to desire peace; who grants it them on these conditions; That from thenceforth they should not sacrifice their children to *Saturne*; That they should pay him two thousand talents of silver; and present him with two armed ships, in signe of amitie. These conditions the *Carthaginians*, not onely willingly accepted, but with the two thousands talents, and the ships for warre, they sent vnto *Demarata*; *Gelon's* wife, a crowne, valued at an hundred

hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The warres ended; and *Sicily* in peace; *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the gods; and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloued and honoured of his Subjects, he left the World, and left for his Successour his brother *Hiero*. *Philistus* and *Plinie* report, That, when his body was burnt, according to the custome of that Age, a Dogge of his, which alwaies waited on him, ranne into the fire, and suffered himselfe to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his brother succeeded, a man rude, cruell, couetous, and so suspicious of his brethren *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasibulus*, as hee fought by all means to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this; by the conuersation which hee had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the studie of good Arts. Diuers quarrells he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agigentum*, as with other Cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gaue a notable ouerthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicily*, fearing the succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aide the *Grecians*, against him. Hee also ouerthrew in battaile *Thrasylus*, the sonne of *Theron*, and thereby restored the *Agigentines*, to their former libertie. But in the end, hee lost the loue of the *Syracusians*; and after he had reigned eleuen yeares, he left the Kingdome to his brother *Thrasibulus*, who 20 became a most vnjust and bloudie Tyrant. *Thrasibulus* enioyed his Principalltie no longer then ten moneths. For, notwithstanding the force of mercinarie Souldiers, which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuse* by the Citizens; to whom, being besieged in *Acadina*, hee restored the government, and was banished the Island. From whence he sailed into *Greece*, where he died a priuate man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracusians* recovered againe their former libertie, as all the rest of the Cities did, after which they had neuer sought; had the Successours of *Gelon* inherited his vertue, as they did the Principalltie of *Syracuse*. For in all changes of Estates, the preferuation ought to answere the acquisition. Where a 30 liberrall, valiant, and aduised Prince, hath obtained any new Signiorie, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himselfe from being a priuate man, to the dignitie of a Prince; it behoueth the Successour to maintaine it by the same way and arte, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuse* (though not without blowes, ere shee could cleanse her selfe of the creatures and louers of *Gelon*) was now againe become Mistresse of her selfe, and held her selfe free, well-neare threescore yeares, to the time of *Dionysius*; though she were in the meane while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her owne, called *Tindario*.

Now, to prevent the greatnesse of any one among them, for the future, they 40 deuised a kind of banishment of such among them, as were suspected; taking patterne from the *Athenian Ostracisme*. They called this their new deuised judgement of exile, *Petalismus*, wherein euery one wrote vpon an Olive leafe (as at *Athen* they wrote vpon shells) the name of him, whom hee would haue expelled the Citie. Hee that had most suffrages against him, was banished for five yeares. Hereby, in a short time, it came to passe, that those of judgement, and best able to gouerne the Common-weale, were by the worst able, either suppressed, or thrust out of the Citie. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could; seeking some place of more securitie, wherein to maintaine themselves. And good reason they had fo to doe; 50 seeing there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerfull and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not long. For their necessitie taught them to abolish it, and restore againe the wiser sort to the Government; from which, the Nobilitie hauing practised to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being invaded by *Duceius*, King of the *Sicilians*,

that inhabited the inner part of the Iland (who had already taken *Enna*, and some other of the *Græcian* Cities, and overthrowne the Armie of the *Agrigentines*) the *Syracusians* sent forces against him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs called *Nolcon*. This their Captaine made nothing so much haste to finde *Ducetius*, against whom he was employed, as he did to flee from the Armie he led, as soone as *Ducetius* presented him battaile. So for want of conduct, the greatest number of the *Syracusians* perished.

But making better choice among those, whom they had banished, they leue other troupes; by whom, in conclusion, *Ducetius* being beaten, submitteth himselfe, and is constrained to leaue the Iland for a time. Yet it was not long, ere hee 10 returned againe, and built the Citie *Collatina* on the Sea-side.

Ducetius being dead; all the *Greeke* Cities did in a fort acknowledge *Syracuse*: *Trinacia* excepted; which also by force of armes, in the foure score and fift Olympiads, they brought to reason.

But they doe not long enjoy this their Superintendence. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppressed by them, secke aide from the *Athenians*, about the sixth year of the *Peloponnesian* Warre. In this suite they prevailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to succour them, vnder the leading of *Laches*, and *Charades*. To this fleet, the *Leontines*, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with some supplies brought 20 by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon*, and other *Athenian* Captaines, they invaded the Territories of the *Syracusians*, and their Partisans; wanne and lost diuers places; rooke *Messana*; and, in the seventh year of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, lost it againe. They also at the same time, attempted *Himera*, but in vaine. The siege of this quarrell tooke hold vpon many Cities, which invaded each others Territories with great violence. But when they had wearied themselves on all hands, and yet could see none issue of the warre; the *Leontines*, without the aduice of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracusians*, and were admitted into their societie, with equall freedom. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to haue greatened themselves in *Sicily*, by the diuision and ciuill warre, were disappointed of their expectation, by 30 the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and faine to bee gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the custome of popular Estates) by taking reuenge vpon their owne Commanders. So they banished *Pythodorus*, and *Sophocles*, and layd an heauy fine vpon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable Warre, that euer was made by the *Greekes* in *Sicily*: which was that of the *Athenians*, against the *Selinuntines*, and *Syracusians*, in fauour of the Cities of *Egesta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had oppressed the *Egestians*; and they of *Syracuse*, the *Leontines*, and the *Catanians*: which was the ground of the warre. For, the *Athenians* undertooke the protection of their old friends: And, in barred of the *Athenians*, aide from *Lacedæmon* was sent 40 to the *Syracusians*. The *Lacedæmonians* dealt plainly, hauing none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to helpe a people of their owne Tribe, that craued their succour, being in distresse. The *Athenians* scarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were so great, as discovered their intent to be none other, then the conquest of the whole Iland. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their owne passions, that they would not beleue their own eyes; which presented vnto them a Fleet, and Armie, farre greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the Citie of *Athens* had engaged all her power; as regarding, not only the greatnesse of the enterprize, but the necessitie of finishing it in a short 50 space of time. For the *Lacedæmonians* (as hath already beene shewed in due place) stood at that time in such broken termes of peace with *Athens*, as differed not much from open warre. Wherefore it was thought necessary, either to spare cost in this great expeditio, or altogether to forbear it: which was likely to be hindred by wars

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at home, if their proceedings were slacke abroad. And surely, had not the desire of the *Athenians* beene over-passionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had caused them to abstaine from so chargeable a businesse, and to reserue their forces for a more needfull use. But yong counsailes prevailed against the authoritie of ancient men, that were more regardfull of safetie than of honour.

Of this businesse, mention hath beene already made, in that which wee haue written of the *Peloponnesian* warre. But what was there deliuered in general termes, as not concerning the affaires of *Greece*, otherwise than by consequence; doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicily* 10 was like to haue felt a great conuersion.

Though *Alcibiades* had preuailed against *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voiage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades*, and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chiefe Commanders therein.

These had commision and direction, as well to succour the *Segestians*, and to re-establish the *Leontines*, cast out of their places by the *Syracusians*, as also, by force of armes, to subiect the *Syracusians*, and all their adherents, in *Sicily*, and compell them by tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their supreme Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captaines were sent off, with an hundred and thirtie Gallies, and six thousand one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirtie ships of burden, which 20 transported their victualls, engines, and other munitions for the warre: and these were *Athenians*, *Mantineans*, *Rhodians*, and *Candians*: there were, besides these, sixe thousand *Megarians* light armed, with thirtie horse-men.

Thucid. l. 6. c. 9.

With these troupes and fleets they arrive at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegiens* refuse to giue them entrie; but sell them victualls for their monie. From thence they sent to the *Egestians*, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the warre, seeing for their sakes, they had entred thereinto. But they found by their answers, that these *Egestians* were poore, and that they had abused the *Athenian* Embassadors with false shewes of gold, hauing in all but thirtie talents. The *Athenians* further were discouraged, when they found that the *Rhegiens*, their ancient friends, and 30 allied vnto the *Leontines*, refused to trust them within their walls. Hereupon *Nicias* aduiseeth to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or perswade them, to an agreement with the *Egestians*; as likewise to see what disburlements the *Egestians* could make; and so to returne againe into *Greece*, and not to waite *Athens* in a needlesse warre. *Alcibiades*, on the other side, would sollicite the Cities of *Sicily* to confederacie against the *Syracusians* and *Selinuntines*, whereby to force them vnto restitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus*, bee perswaded them to assaile *Syracuse* it selfe, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of diuers Cities) they surprize *Catana*: & there they take new counsaile, how to proceede. Thence they imploied *Nicias* to those of *Egesta*, who 40 receiued from them thirtie talents towards his charges; and one hundred & twentie talents more there were of the spoiles they had gotten in the Iland. Thus, the Summer being spent in idle consultations, & vaine attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to assaile *Syracuse*. But *Alcibiades* hauing beene accused at home, in his absence, was sent for backe by the *Athenians*, to make his answer: and the Armie was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These Commanders obtaine a landing place very neare vnto *Syracuse*, by this deuice.

They imploie to *Syracuse* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they trust; and instruct him, to promise vnto the *Syracusians*, that he would deliuer into their hands all the 50 *Athenians*, within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracusians* draw thitherward with their best forces. But in the meane while, the *Athenians*, setting saile from *Catana*, arrive at *Syracuse*, where they land at faire ease, and fortifie themselves against the Town. Shortly after this, they fight, and the *Syracusians* had the losse: but the *Athenians*, wanting horse, could not pursue their victorie to any great effect. They then retire themselves, with a resolutio to refresh their Armie at *Catana*, for the winter-season.

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From thence they made an attempt vpon *Messana*, hoping to haue taken it by an intelligence, but in vaine. For *Alcibiades* had discovered such as were Traitors within the Citie to the *Messanians*. This he now did, in despite of his owne Citizens, the *Athenians*; because they had recalled him from his command, with a purpose either to haue put him to death, or to haue banished him: whereof being assured by his friends, he tooke his way towards the *Lacedaemonians*, and to them he gave mischievous counsaile against his country. While this winter yet lasted, the *Syracusians* send Embassadors to *Lacedaemon*, and *Corinth*, for aide: as likewise the *Athenian* Captaines in *Sicily*, send to *Athens*, for supplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth yeare of the *Peloponnesian* warre) the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, saile from the Port of *Catana*, to *Megara*, forsaken of the Inhabitants; from whence foraging the Countrey, they obtaine some small victories ouer the straggling *Syracusians*: and at their returne to *Catana*, they receiue a supply of two hundred men at armes, but without horse, which they hoped to furnish in the Island, from the *Segeffians*, and other their adherents: they were also strengthened with a companie of Archers and with three hundred talents in monie.

Hereupon they take courage, and incampe neere *Syracuse*, vpon the banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracusians*, that sallied to impeach their intrenchments. They also receiued from their Confederates foure hundred horse-men, with two hundred other horse to mount their men at armes. *Syracuse* was now in effect blockt vp, so as hardly any succours could enter, but such as were able to force their passage: yet the *Athenians* receiue diuers losse; among which it was not the least, that *Lamachus*, one of their best Commanders, was slaine.

In the meane while, *Gylippus*, and *Python*, with the *Lacedaemonian*, and *Corinthian* forces arrive, and take land at *Hymera*. The Citizens of *Hymera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, joyne with them; so that with these and his own troupes, *Gylippus* aduentured to march ouer-land towards *Syracuse*. The *Syracusians* send a part of their forces to meet him, and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to counter them, expecting his arrival neere vnto the Citie, vpon a place of aduantage. At the first encounter, they had the better of their enemies, by reason that the *Syracusan* horse-men could not come to fight in those fireights: but soone after, *Gylippus* charging them againe, brake them, and constrained *Nicias* to fortifie himselfe within his Campe. Whereupon *Nicias* made the state of his affaires knowne, by his letters, to the *Athenians*; shewing, that, without great supplies by Sea and Land, the enterprise would be lost, together with the small Armie remaining. These letters receiued, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generalls, *Eurymedon*, and *Demofthenes*, to joyne with *Nicias*: the one they dispatch presently with some supply; the other they send after him in the Spring following.

In the meane while, *Gylippus* at *Syracuse*, fights with the *Athenians*, both by Sea and Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good successe: but in conclusion, he tooke from them their Fort, neere vnto *Syracuse*, at the *Promontorie*, called *Phormyrum*; wherein the *Athenians* lost their treasure, and a great part of all their provisions. Notwithstanding which losse, and that the *Athenians* themselves, in *Greece*, were (in effect) besieged within *Athens*, by the *Lacedaemonians*; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the Warre in *Sicily*, and dispatched away *Demofthenes* with new succours. *Demofthenes*, in his way towards *Sicily*, encountered with *Polyarchus*, the *Corinthian*, with his fleet: both the Captaines being bound for *Sicily*, the one to succour *Nicias*; the other, *Gylippus*. The losse betwene them was in effect equal; and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprise they had in hand. But before the succours arrived to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariflon* had assailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuse*, and in a Sea-fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demofthe-*

nes arrived with three-score and thirteene Gallies, charged with foot-men; and (blaming the slouth of *Nicias*) he invaded the *Syracusians*, the same day that he arrived. But he made more haste, than he had good speede; being shamefully beaten, and repulst with great losse. Hereupon *Demofthenes* and *Eurymedon*, determine to rife vp from before *Syracuse*, and returne to the succour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* disputed to the contrarie, pretending that hee had good intelligence within *Syracuse*, whereby he learned, that the Towne could not long hold out.

Whatsoeuer *Nicias* his intelligence was; vpon the arrivall of a new supply into the Towne, the *Athenians* had all consented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*: had not an Eclipse of the Moone, boding (as was thought) ill successe, caused them to deferre their departure. But this superstition cost them deare. For the *Syracusians*, *Lacedaemonians*, and *Corinthians*, with three-score and seuentene saile of Gallies, entered the great Port of *Syracuse*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their fleet, and whereon they had fortified themselves. The *Athenians*, in the same Port encountered them with foure-score and fixe Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*, in which the *Athenian* fleet was beaten, by the lesser number, and *Eurymedon* slaine. Now, though it were so, that the *Syracusians* receiued the more losse by Land (for the fight was generall) yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by Sea, in which kinde they thought themselves invincible, they were wonderfully cast downe. For it was well said of *Gylippus*, to the *Syracusians*; When any people doe finde themselves vanquished in that manner of fight, as I with those weapons, in which they persuade themselves that they exceede all others, they not only loose their reputation, but their courage. The *Athenians*, besides the Gallies sunck and wrackt, had seuentene taken, and posselt by the enemy: and with great labour and losse they defended the rest from being fired, hauing drawne them within a *Palisado*, in one corner of the Port, vnadvisedly: for it is as contrarie to a Sea-warre, to thrust ships into a straight roome and corner, as it is to scatter foot in a plaine field against horse; the one subsisting, by being at large; the other, by close imbatailing.

The *Syracusians*, hauing now weakened the *Athenian* fleet, resolute to imprison them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Hauens, being about a mile ouer, and there they came to Anchor; filling the Out-let with all manner of Vessels, which they man most strongly, because the *Athenians*, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies breake through the *Syracusan* fleet; which lay but single, because they were forst to range themselves ouer all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not onely mored themselves strongly by their Anchors, but chained the sides of their Gallies together, and layd behinde them againe certain ships, which serued in the former warre for victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were sunke; or the chaines, which joined them to their fellows, broken; the *Athenians* might yet finde themselves, a second time, intangled and arrefted. To disorder also those *Athenian* Gallies, which came on in forme of a wedge, to breake through, and force a passage, the *Syracusians* had left within these Gallies and Ships, incained together, a certaine number of loose ones, to stop their course and furie. For where the way of any vessel, vnder oare or sailes, is broken, and their speede fore-slowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the resistance opposing.

On the other side, the *Athenians* knew that they were vtterly lost, except with an invincible resolution, they could make their way, and breake downe this great bridge of boats; or (at least) force a passage through them in some part or other: which they resolute to hazard, with all their shipping (to the number of one hundred and ten, of all sorts) and with all the strength of their Land-armie; in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did so disorder the *Athenian* fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as, albeit some few of them had broken through the chaines, yet being stopt by the ships without, and assailed by other loose Gallies of the *Syracusians*, which were purposely left at large in the Sea, they

they were either taken or sunke. Three great disadvantages the *Athenians* had: the first, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a streight, they had no room to turne themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being intangled; the second, that hauing ouer-pestered their Gallies with Souldiers, who vsed offensive armes of darts and slings, they had not place vpon the decks to stretch their armes: the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a passage, by which they might saue themselves by running away. To be short, the fight was no lesse terrible than the confusion; the slaughter great on all sides; and the noise, and the cries, so lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as suruiued, were beaten back to the Land, with losse of threescore of their Gallies, broken, sunke, or abandoned. The *Syracusians* did also loose twentie of theirs, with *Python*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The rest of the *Athenian* Gallies, running themselves into the bottome of the Port, saued themselves by the helpe and countenance of the Land-armie, there fortified. In this desperate estate, the *Athenian* Commanders goe to counsell. *Demosthenes* perswades them, to furnish with fresh Souldiers those few Gallies which remained; and while the *Syracusians* were triumphing, and made secure by their present victorie, to set vpon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne to *Athens*. This was no ill counsaile. For, as we haue heard of many great Capitaines (yea, the greatest number of all that haue bene victorious) that haue neglected the speedie prosecution of a beaten enemy; so might we produce many examples of those, who, hauing slept securely in the bosome of good successe, haue bene suddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Armie, and haue thereby lost againe all the honour, and aduantage, formerly gotten. But *Nicias* opposeth the aduice of *Demosthenes*: Others say, that the Sea-men were against it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all resolute to march ouer land to the Cities of their Confederates, till some more fauourable fortune should call them thence. On the other side, *Gylippus*, and other the *Lacedaemonian* and *Corinthian* Capitaines, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracusians* to put themselves presently into the field, and to stop all the passages, leading to those Cities of their enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retreat. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the present. Which humour in some of our Commanders at *Cadex*, lost vs both the *Indian* fleet, and the spoiles of many other Neighbour-places. *Hermocrates*, the *Syracusan*, finding it a lost labour, to perswade his Countymen to any hasty prosecution, deuised this good stratagem, thereby to gaine time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, hee should draw them willingly out. He sent two or three horse-men out of *Syracuse* by night, willing them to finde *Nicias*, and (after they had assured him, that they were of the *Athenians* faction) to giue him aduice not to march away ouer-hastily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alleging that the *Syracusians* had lodged their Armie, which could not long stay there, vpon the passages & places of aduantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. These tidings *Nicias* easily beleued, and put off his iourne to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the most part) more fearefull than wise; and to them, euery thistle in the field, appeares, by night, a man at armes.

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remoue; being pierced and pursued with the lamentable out-cries of those that were sick and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies swords. The rest march away, to the number of fortie thousand; and make their first passage by force, ouer the River of *Anapus*, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies. But being euery day charged in their marches, & by the *Syracusan* horse-men, beaten in from foraging, and prouision of foode, they grow weake and heartlesse. The *Syracusians* also possesse the Mountain *Lepus*, by which they were to passe towards *Camerina*, and thereby force them to fall back againe towards the Sea coast, and to take what

what way they could: being vnable to proceede in their iourney intended. Many hard shifts they made, in difficult passages, and blinde marches by night; which they were faine to endure, as hauing none other meanes to escape from the enemy that pursued them, and held them waking with continual skirmishing. To keepe all in order, *Nicias* vnder-tooke the leading of the Vanguard; and *Demosthenes* conducted the Rearre. At the River *Erinus*, *Nicias* takes the start of a whole nights march, leaving *Demosthenes* to make the retreat: who being incompassed, and ouerprest with numbers, in the end renders himselfe. The conditions he obtained, were farre better than he could haue hoped for; and the faith of his enemies farre worse than he suspected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias*, murdered in prison. The Armie of *Demosthenes* being dissolued, they pursue *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being vtterly broken, vpon the passage of the River *Asinarus*, rendered himselfe to *Gylippus*, vpon honest conditions. *Gylippus* sought to persue him, and to haue had the honour, to haue brought these two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a noble enemy to the *Lacedaemonians*, and who, at the ouerbrow, which they receiued at *Eylus* by the *Athenians*, had saued the liues of the vanquished; *Demosthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedemon* the greatest hurt. *Hermocrates* also, the Commander of the *Syracusan* Armie, dissuaded the rest, by all the arte he had, from vsing any barbarous violence, after so noble a victorie. But the cruell, and the cowardly sort, (cowardlie and cruelitie being inseparable passions) preuailed, and caused these braue Capitaines to be miserably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to bee starued in lothsome prisons; and the rest, sold for slaues. This was the successe of the *Sicilian* warre: which tooke end at the river *Asinarus*, the foure and twentieth day of May, in the fourescore and eleuenth Olympiad.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicily*, the *Egeans* (for whose defence, against the *Selinuntines*, this late warre had bene taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracusians*, sought helpe from the *Carthaginians*; to whom they offered themselves, and their Citie, as their Vassals. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in *Sicily*, yet considering the prosperitie of the *Syracusians*, and their late victories ouer the *Athenians*, they staied a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse, or accept, the offer made vnto them: for the *Selinuntines* were streightly allied to the *Syracusians*, as may appeare by what is past. In the end, the Senators of *Carthage* resolute vpon the enterprize; and (by a trick of their *Punicke* wit) to separate the *Syracusians* from the *Selinuntines*, they send Embassadors to *Syracuse*: praying that Citie, as in the behalfe of the *Egeans*, to compell the *Selinuntines* to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of *Syracuse* should thinke meet to allow them. The *Syracusians* approued the motion; for it tended to their owne honour. But the *Selinuntines* would make no such appointment: rather they tooke it ill, that the *Syracusians*, with whom they had run one course of fortune, in the *Athenian* war, should offer to trouble them, by interposing as Arbitrators, in a busines, that themselves could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would haue it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grace craue aide of *Syracuse*; and the *Syracusians* as ill grant it vnto those, that had refused to stand to the Arbitrement, which the *Carthaginians* would haue put into their hands. Hereupon, an Armie of three hundred thousand men is set out from *Carthage*, vnder the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you haue heard before) was ouerthrowne with the great *Carthaginian* Armie at *Himer* by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this impliment, that he might take reuenge, as well of his Vncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of whom hauing bene slaine by the *Himerians*; the other by those of *Selinus*. Both these Cities, *Hannibal*, in this warre, wonne by force of armes, sackt them, and burnt them; and hauing taken three thousand of the *Himerians* prisoners, he caused them to be led vnto the place, where *Amilcar* was slaine, and buried them there.

After this followed some trouble at *Syracuse*, occasioned by the banishment of *Hermocrates*,

Hermocrates, who had lately bene Generall of the *Syracusan* forces, against the *Athenians*. The malice of his enemies had so farre prevailed with the ingratefull multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meere vertue, at such time, as he was aiding the *Lacedaemonians*, in their warre against *Albens*; wherein hee did great service. All the honestest sort within *Syracuse* were sorie for the injurie done vnto him, and fought to haue him repealed. *Hermocrates* himselfe, returning into *Sicill*, gathered an Armie of fixe thousand; with which he beganne to repaire *Selinus*; and by many noble actions laboured to winne the loue of his Citizens. But the faction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore, he was aduised to seize vpon a Gate of *Syracuse*, with some strength of men; whereby his friends, within the Towne, might haue the better meanes to rise against the aduerser partie. This he did: but presently the multitude fell to armes, and set vpon him; in which conflict hee was slaine. But his sonne-in-law, *Dionysius*, shall make them with *Hermocrates* aliue againe.

†. IIII.

Of *DIONYSIUS* the Tyrant: and others, following him, in *Syracuse*.

THE *Syracusians* had enjoyed their libertie about threecore yeares, from the death of *Thrasylbulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Dionysius* was raised vp by God, to take reuenge, as well of their crueltie towards strangers, as of their ingratitude towards their owne best Citizens. For before the time of *Dionysius*, they had made it their pastime, to reward the vertue of their worthiest Commanders with death, or disgrace: which custome they must now bee taught to amend.

Dionysius obtained the Principalltie of *Syracuse*, by the same degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselves Masters of other Cities, and of *Syracuse* it selfe. For, being made *Pretor*, and commanding their Armies against the *Carthaginians*, and other their enemies, he behaued himselfe so well, that he got a generall loue among the people, and men of warr. Then beganne he to follow the example of *Pisistratus*, that made himselfe Lord of *Athens*; obtaining a band of fixe hundred men, to defend his person: vnder pretence, that his priuate enemies, being traiterously affected to the State of *Syracuse*, had laied plots how to murder him, because of his good seruices. He doubled the pay of the Souldiers; alledging, that it would encourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to assure them to himselfe. He perswaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, those that had bene banished, which were the best men of *Syracuse*; and these were afterwards at his deuotion, as obliged vnto him by so great a benefite. His first fauour, among the *Syracusians*, grew from his accusation of the principall men. It is the delight of base people to raigne ouer their betters: wherefore, gladly did hee helpe them to break downe, as setters imprisoning their libertie, the barres that held it vnder safe custodie. Long it was not, ere the chiefe Citizens had found whereat hee aimed. But what they saw, the people would not see: and some that were needie, and knew not how to get Offices without his helpe, were willing to helpe him, though they knew his purposes to be such, as would make all the Citie to smart. He began early to hunt after the tyrannie; being but fixe and twentie yeares of age when he obtained it: belike, it was his desire to raigne long. His first worke, of making himselfe absolute Lord in *Syracuse*, was, the possession of the *Citadell*; wherein was much good prouision, and vnder it the Gallies were moored. This hee obtained by allowance of the people; and hauing obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himselfe without all shame or feare: The Armie, the chiefe Citizens, restored by him from banishment; all the needie fort within *Syracuse*, that could not thirue

thirue by honest courtes; and some neighbour-townes, bound vnto him, either for his helpe in warre, or for his establishing the faction, raigning at that present, were wholly affected to his assistance. Hauing therefore gotten the *Citadell* into his hands, he needed no more, saue to assure what hee had alreadie. Hee strengthened himselfe by diuers marriages; taking first to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once, the one a *Leucian*, *Doris*, by whom he had *Dionysius*, his Successor; the other, *Aristomache*, the daughter of *Hipparimus*, and sister to *Dion*, honorable men in *Syracuse*, which bare vnto him many children, that serued to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere some of the *Syracusians* (enuying his prosperitie) incited the multitude, and tooke armes against him, euen in the noueltie of his Rule. But their enterprise was more passionately, than wisely gouerned. He had shamefully been beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which, as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at armes, making them suspect that it was his purpose to let the *Carthaginians* waste all, that hee might afterwards take possession of the desolate places; so it inflamed them with a desire to free themselves from his tyrannie. They departed therefore from him, and marched hastily to *Syracuse*, where they found friends to helpe them: there they forced his Palace, ranfaked his treasures, and so shamefully abused his wife, that for the griefe thereof shee poisoned her selfe. But hee followed their heeles apace; and firing a Gate of the Citie by night, entred soone enough to take reuenge, by making a speedie riddance of them. For he spared none of his knowne, nor, nor of his suspected enemies. After that, he grew so doubtfull of his life, as he neuer durst trust Barber to trim him, nor any person, no, not so much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, vntript and searched. He was the greatest Robber of the people, that euer raigned in any State; and withall the most vnrespectfully cruell.

After this, hee separated with fortification that part of the Citie, called the *Iland*, from the rest; like as the *Spaniards* did the *Citadell* of *Antwerpe*: therein he lodged his treasures, and his Guards.

He then beganne to make warre vpon the free Cities of *Sicill*: but while hee lay before *Herbesse*, an in-land Towne, the *Syracusians* rebelled against him; so, as with great difficultie hee recovered his *Citadell*: from whence, hauing allured the old Souldiers of the *Campanians*, who forced their passage through the Citie, with one thousand and two hundred horse, hee againe recovered the masterie ouer the *Syracusians*. And when a multitude of them were busied in gathering in their Haruest, hee disarmed all the Townes-men remayning; and new strengthened the Fort of the *Iland*, with a double wall. He inclosed that part also, called *Epipoles*; which, with threecore thousand labourers, hee finished in three weekes; being two leagues in compasse. He then built two hundred new Gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and fortie thousand Targets, with as many swords, and head-peeces, with fourteene thousand corslets, and all other futable armes. Which done, he sent word to the *Carthaginians*, (greatly enfeebled by the plague) That except they would abandon the Greeke Townes, which they held in *Sicill*, he would make warre vpon them: and, not staying for answer, hee tooke the spoile of all the *Phenician* ships, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the second did of our *English*, before the warre in our late *Queenes* time. He then goes to the field with fourescore thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and sends his brother *Leptines* to sea, with two hundred Gallies, and five hundred ships of burden. Most of the Townes which held for *Carthage* yielded vnto him; sauing *Panormus*, *Segesta* or *Egesta*, *Amyra*, *Motya*, and *Entella*. Of these, hee first wonne *Motya* by assault, and put all therein to the sword; but before *Egesta* hee lost a great part of his Armie, by a fallie of the Citizens. In the meane while *Himilco* arriues; but, ere hee tooke land, hee lost in a fight at Sea, with *Leptines*, fiftie ships of warre, and five thousand Souldiers, besides many ships of burden. This notwithstanding, hee recovered againe *Motya* vpon his first descent. From thence marching towards *Messene*,

sen, he tooke *Lypara*, and (soone after) *Messena*, and raised it to the ground. Now beganne *Dionysius* greatly to doubt his estate. Hee therefore fortified all the places hee could, in the Territorie of the *Leontines*, by which hee supposed that *Himilco* would passe toward *Syracuse*; and he himselfe tooke the field againe, with foure and thirtie thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had diuided his Armie into two parts, marching with the one halfe ouer land, and sending *Mago* with the other by Sea: he sent *Leptines*, his brother, to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was vterly beaten by the *Carthaginians*; twentie thousand of his men were slaine, and an hundred of his Gallies lost. It is very strange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authours tell vs; That one Citie should be able to furnish fise hundred saile of ships, and two hundred Gallies: (for, so many did *Syracuse* arme in this warre) and more strange it is, that in a battaile at Sea, without any great Artillerie, or Musket-shot, twentie thousand should be slaine in one fight. In all our fights against the *Turkes*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the most notable, we heare of no such number lost; nor in any other fight by Sea, that euer hapned in our age, nor before vs. When *Charles* the fift went to besiege *Algier*, hee had in all his fleet, transporters and others, but two hundred and fiftie saile of ships, and threecore and fise Gallies: for the furnishing of which fleet, he sought helpe from all the Cities and Ports of *Spaine*, *Naples*, and the rest of *Italie*. But in old times it was the manner to carrie into the field, vpon extremitie, as many as were needfull, 20 of all that could beare armes, giuing them little wages, or other allowance: in our daies it is not so; neither indeede, is it often requisite. Vpon this ouerthrow, *Dionysius* postes away to *Syracuse*, to strengthen it: *Himilco* followes him, and besiegeth the Towne by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant, hauing receiued aide from the *Lacedemonians*, vnder the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himselfe to Sea, to make prouision for his Citizens: who, in his absence, take twenty of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and sinke foure. Hereupon, finding their owne successe prosperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill; hauing also at the present weapons in their hands; they consult how to recouer their libertie. And this they had done, had not *Pharacidas* the *Lacedemonian* resisted them. It also fell out, to his exceeding aduantage, that the plague was so increased, and so violent, among the *Carthaginians*; as it is said, that aboue an hundred thousand of them died thereof. Hee therefore, with the power that he could gather together, sets vpon them both by Sea and Land; and hauing slaine great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to desire peace. This peace *Dionysius* sold him for a great summe of monie; on condition that he should steale away with his *Carthaginians* only: which he basely accepted, betraying the rest of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was pursued, and lef many of his *Carthaginians* behinde him. The rest of the *Africans* fell vnder the swords of their enemies; only the *Spaniards*, after they had a while brauely defended themselves, were (after their submission) entertained, and serued the Conquerour. 40

Many such examples of perfidious dealing haue I noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliuer vnto memorie the like praetises, when they meete with their matches: That which hapned vnto *Monsieur de Piles*, was very futable to this treacherie, wherewith *Dionysius* pursued *Himilco*. I was present, when *De Piles* related the iniurie done vnto him. He had rendered *St. Iohn d' Angelle*, to the French King *Charles* the ninth, who besieged him therein. Hee rendered it, vpon promise made by the faith of a King, that he should be suffered to depart in safetie, with all his followers. Yet in presence of the King himselfe, of the Duke of *Anion* his brother, Generall of his Armie, of the Queene Mother, and of diuers Dukes and Marshalls of *France*, he was set vpon, and broken in his march; spoiled of all that he had; 50 and forced to saue his life by flight, leauing the most of his Souldiers dead vpon the place: the Kings hand and faith, warranting him to march away with ensignes displaid, and with all his goods and prouisions, no whit auailing him. It needes not therefore seeme strange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus break his faith, since Kings,

Kings, professing Chritianitie, are bold to doe the like, or command their Captaines to doe it for them.

Dionysius, after this great victorie, tooke care to re-edifie *Messena*. *Mago*, who staid in *Sicily*, to hold vp the *Carthaginians* therein, is againe beaten by *Dionysius*; who is also beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new supply of fourecore thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to *Mago*; but they take egges for their monie, and make peace with *Dionysius*, leauing the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to shift for themselves: whom *Dionysius*, after a long siege, ouer-came, and gaue their Citie to his mercinarie Souldiers.

10 He then past into *Italie*, obtained diuers victories there, brought the *Rhegians* on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred & fourecore thousand crownes, to furnish him with threecore Gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for assurance of their future obseruance of covenants. This he did, not with any purpose to performe vnto them the peace that they had so dearly bought; but that hauing taken from them their Gallies, he might besiege them, and ruine them vterly, with the more ease. Now to the ende hee might not, without some colour, falsifie the faith that hee had giuen to them; he pretended to want victual for his Armie, at such time as hee seemed ready to depart out of *Italie*, and sent to them to furnish him the rewth; promising to returne them the like quantitie, at his coming 20 home to *Syracuse*.

His resolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, hee would then make their refusal the cause of his quarrell: if they yeilded to aide him with the proportion which he desired, that then they should not be able, for want of food, to endure a siege any long time against him. For to ruine them hee had fully determined, at what price soeuer. And great reason he had to take reuenge of them, if he had done it fairly, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his raigne, he desired them to bestow a daughter of some of their Nobilitie vpon him, for a wife: they answered, That they had not any one fit for him, saue the Hang-mans daughter. Princes doe rather pardon ill deedes, than villanous words.

30 *Alexander* the Great forgave many sharpe swords, but neuer any sharpe tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errors. And certainly, it belongs to those that haue warrant from God, to reprehend Princes: and to none else, especially in publike.

It is said, that *Henrie* the fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of *Biron*, for his ouer-bold and biting taunts, that hee vsed against him before *Amiens*, than for his conspiracie with the *Spaniard*, or *Sanoyan*: for he had pardoned tenne thousand of such as had gone farther, and drawne their swords against him. The contemptuous words that *Sir Iohn Parret* vsed of our late Queene *Elizabeth*, were his ruine; and not the counterfait 40 letter of the Romish Priest, produced against him. So fared it with some other, greater than hee, that thereby ranne the same, and a worse fortune, soone after.

To bee short, hee made them know new bread from old. Hee assaulted their Towne on all sides, which he continued to doe eleuen moneths, till he wonne it by force. He vsed his victorie without mercie; specially against *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other warres hee made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking and raising of this Citie; and those with variable successe. For as in one encounter hee 50 slue *Mago*, with ten thousand *Africans*: so the sonne of *Mago* beat him, and slue his brother *Leptines*, with fourecore thousand of his Souldiers. After which hee bought his peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the aduice of Prosperitie and Aduersitie, as all Kings and States doe.

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When he had reigned eight and thirtie yeeres, he died: some say, in his bedde, peaceably; which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruel man he was, and a faithlesse; a great Poet, but a foolish one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for speaking against his tyrannie, hee gaue order to haue him flaine, or sold for a slaue. For he could endure no man, that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parallites therefore stiled his crueltie, *The hate of euill men*; and his lawlesse slaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his iustice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kinde of vermine, which poison all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better than the worstest and valiantest men doe: and I wonder not at it; for it is a world: and as our *Sauour Christ* hath told vs, *The World will loue her owne*.

To this *Dionysius*, his Sonne of the same name succeeded; and inherited both his Kingdome, and his Vices. To winne the loue of the People, he pardoned, and released out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Father locked vp, and condemned. Withall, hee remitted vnto his Citizens diuers payments, by his Father imposed vpon them. Which done, and thereby hoping, that hee had fastned vnto himselfe the peoples affections; he cast off the Sheepes skinne, and put on that of the Woollfe. For being jealous of his owne Brethren, as men of more vertue than himselfe, he caused them all to be slaine; and all the Kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For *Dionysius* his Father (as hath bene said) had two Wiues; 20 *Doris* of *Loeis*; and *Aristomache* a *Syracusan*, the sister of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* hee had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded vnto him: and by *Aristomache*, he had two Sonnes and two Daughters; of which the elder, called *Sophrasmus*, he gaue in marriage to his eldest Sonne, and her halfe-brother, *Dionysius*; the younger, called *Arete*, he bestowed on his Brother *Theorides*: after whose death, *Dion* tooke her to Wife, being his Nece.

This *Dion*, a iust, and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of vertue, and that hee was wholly giuen ouer to sensuality, prevailed so much with *Plato*, whose Disciple he had bene, as he drew him into *Sicily*, to instruct 30 the young King. And hauing perswaded the King to entertaine him, hee wrought so well with him, as *Dionysius* beganne to change condition; to change Tyrannie, into Monarchie; and to hold the Principalltie, that he had, rather by the loue of his People, and his Nationall Lawes, than by the violence of his Guards and Garrisons. But this goodnesse of his lasted not long. For *Philistus* the Historian, and other his Parallites, that hated *Dions* severity, wrought him out of the Tyrants fauour; and caused him soone after to be banished out of *Sicily*, to the great griefe of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels betwene him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionysius* stood in great feare, or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fiftie Gallies 40 at his owne charge, during the warre against them: his enemies found means, by sinister interpretation, to conuert his good will into matter of treason. They told *Dionysius*, that al the great commendations, giuen of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, then to soften his minde, and to make him neglect his owne affaires, by the studie of Philosophie; whilst *Dion*, in the meane time hauing furnished fiftie Gallies, vnder colour of the Kings seruice, had in his owne power, either to deliuer to the *Syracusians* their former liberty, or to make himself Lord and Soueraigne of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberrall offer which hee made, to serue the King with so greata preparation, at his owne charge, begot him many enemies. For 50 they that had serued the King for none other end, than to raise and enrich themselves, and had already bene raised and enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer, that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace to conceiue

ceiue it aright. But these couetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring, that *Dion* had, were bold to stile his *Loue and Liberality, Pride and Presumption*; and heartned the young King, in his oppressing, and eating vp his owne people, of whose spoiles they themselves shared no small portion. I haue heard it, That when *Charles* the fift had the repulse at *Algier* in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Cortese*, one of the brauest men that euer *Spaine* brought forth, offered vnto the Emperour, to continue the siege at his owne charge. But he had neuer good day after it. For they that enuid his victories, and his conquest of *Mexico* in the west *Indies*, perswaded the Emperour, that *Cortese* sought to value himselfe aboue him; and to 10 haue it said, That what the Emperour could not, *Cortese* had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the Empire, than he that had it.

When *Dion* was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented, at first, to send him thereuenews of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his moucables, at his own pleasure: not without giuing hope, to recall him in short time. Had he continued in this good moode, like enough it is, that *Dion* would haue bene well pleased to liue well, as he did, at *Athens*. But after sometime, *Dionysius* made Port-sale of this Noble-mans goods; and thereby vrge him to take another course; euen to seeke the restitution of his Countrie to libertie. The vertues of *Dion*, especially his great liberalitie, had purchased much loue in *Greece*. This loue made him suspected and 20 hated of the Tyrant: but it stood him in good stead, when he sought to raise men, with whose helpe he might returne into *Sicily*. Yet he got not aboue eight hundred (for hee caried the matter closely) to follow him in this aduventure. But many of them were men of quality, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in *Syracuse*, as many as should be needfull, that would readily assist him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicily*; marched to *Syracuse*; entered the Citie without resistance; armed the multitude; and wonne all, saue the Citadel.

Dionysius was then absent in *Italie*; but hee quickly had aduertisement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore hee returned hastily to *Syracuse*: whence, after many vaine treaties of peace, and some forceable attempts to recover the Towne, 30 he was faine to depart; leauing yet the Castle to the custodie of *Apollocrates*, his eldest sonne. Yet ere he went, his Minion *Philistus*, comming with a strength of men to assist him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recouerie of his Countries libertie, had the same reward, that all worthy men haue had from popular Estates. He was disgraced, assaulted, and forced to abandon the Citie. Hee retired himselfe to the *Leontines*, who receiue him with great joy. Soone after his departure from *Syracuse*, new troups enter the Castle: they sallie out, assaile, spoile, and burne a great part of the Citie. *Dion* is sent for, with humble request: yet, ere hee could arriue, *Dionysius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Townsmen, thinking themselves secure, shut the gates against *Dion*. But the next 40 night they of the Castle sallie againe, with greater furie then euer; they kill Man, Woman, and Child, and set fire in all parts of the Towne. In this their extremitie *Dion* comes the second time to their succour; the loue of his Countrie surmounting all the injuries that he had received. Hee sets vpon the Garrison of the Castle; with the one part of his Armie; and quencheth the fire, euery where kindled; with the other part. In conclusion, after hee had conquered both the fire and the sword, that had well-neere burnt to ashes, and depopulated *Syracuse*, he recovered the Castle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and sent *Apollocrates*, after *Dionysius* his Father, into *Italie*. But their malice, of whom he had best deserved, and whom he had loued most, gaue an vntimely end to his dayes. For he was soone after this 50 his victorie, murdered by *Calippus*; who, after hee had, with ill successe, a while governed *Syracuse*, was slaine with the same Dagger, with which hee had murdered *Dion*.

Ten yeeres after the death of *Dion*, *Dionysius*, with the assistance of his friends in *Italie*, recouers his estate, and returns to *Syracuse*, driving *Nysseus* thence, whom hee found

found Governour therein. The better sort of the Citizens, fearing, more then euer, his crueltie, flee to *Ietes*, a *Syracusian* borne, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Ietes* enters into confederacie with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their assistance, not onely to preuaile against *Dionysius*; but by the hatred of the *Syracusians* towards *Dionysius*, to make him also Lord of their Citie. The *Syracusians*, being deservingly afflicted on all sides, lend to the *Corinthians* for succour. *Ietes* also sends thither, and dissuades the *Corinthians*, as well as he can, from intermeddling in the businesse. He tells them, by his messengers, That he had entred into league with the *Carthaginians*, who were so strong by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Carthage*, to land any Armie in *Sicill*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this treason of *Ietes*, 10 more enraged then dissuaded, sent *Timoleon* with nineteene Gallies, to deliuer *Syracuse* from tyrannic. In the meane while, *Ietes* had entred *Syracuse*, and with the helpe of the *Carthaginians*, driven *Dionysius* into the Caille, where hee besieged him.

Ietes, being himselfe a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather sought how to enlarge his power, than, how to deliuer his Countrey. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at *Rhegium*, he sent to perswade him, to returne his fleet; for that all things were (in effect) established in *Sicill*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were also in the same Port of *Rhegium*; whose Capitaines aduised *Timoleon*, to get him gone in peace. They had iare more Gallies there, then he had, and were like to compell him, if he would not be perswaded. *Timoleon*, finding himselfe ouer-mastered, makes request to the *Carthaginian* Capitaines, that they would be pleased to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open assembly of the people, to deliuer vnto him those arguments, for his returne, which they had vied to him in private; that he might, by publike testimony, discharge himselfe to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians*, perswading themselves, that a victorie, obtained by a few faire words, was without losse, and farre more easie, than that of many blowes and wounds, yelded to *Timoleon*'s desire. But while the Orations were deliuering, *Timoleon*, fauoured by the *Rhegians*, stole out of the presse, and having set saile, before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recovered the Port of *Tauromenium*, 30 where he was joyfully receiued by *Andromachus* the Governour. From thence he marched toward *Adranum*, were surpising *Ietes* his Armie, hee slue a part thereof, and put the rest to runne. It is the nature of victorie to beget friends. The *Adranians* ioyned with him; and so did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionysius* also sent to *Timoleon*, offering to surrender the Caille of *Syracuse* into his hands, as thinking it better to yeld vp himself, and the places which he could not defend, vnto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Ietes*, whom hee disdained, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom hee hated. Now *Timoleon*, who within fiftie daies, after his arriual, had recovered the Caille of *Syracuse*, and sent *Dionysius* to *Corinth*, to liue there a priuate man, was still inuaded by the Armies, and molested by the practices of *Ietes*. 40 For hee besieged the *Corinthians* within the Caille of *Syracuse*, and attempted (but in vaine) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* send vnto *Timoleon* a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are slaid in *Italie* by foule weather. *Ietes* is strengthened with threecore thousand *Africans*, brought vnto him by *Mago* (all which hee lodgeth within *Syracuse*) and with an hundred and fiftie Gallies, to keepe the Port. This was the first time, that euer the *Carthaginians* had dominion within the walls of that Citie. With this great Armie, *Ietes* assaulteth the Caille. *Timoleon* sends them victuals, and succour, in small boats, by night, from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Ietes* doe therefore resolute to besiege *Catana*; but they were no sooner on their way towards 50 it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Capitaine of the *Corinthians*, sallied out of the Caille, and tooke that part of *Syracuse*, called *Acradina*, which hee fortified.

In the meane while, the two thousand *Corinthians* arriue: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marcheth towards *Syracuse*. *Mago* abandoneth *Ietes*,

Ietes, being frightened out of *Sicill* (which he might easily haue conquered) with an idle rumour of treason. This made him returne to *Carthage*; where the generall exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright him, that for feare of farther punishment, he hanged himselfe. *Timoleon* enters the Citie, and beats downe the Caille (which hee called the nest of Tyrants) to the ground. But hee found the Citie when the strangers were fled, in effect desolate; so as their horses did feede on the grasse, growing in the market-place. Therefore, he writes to *Corinth*, for people to re-inhabite it. Ten thousand are sent out of *Greece*; many come from *Italie*; others, from other parts of the Iland.

10 But a new storme ariseth. *Asdrubal* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arriue about *Lilybeum*, with threecore and ten thousand Souldiers, transported (with all their provisions) in a thousand ships of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Armie vpon the passage of a Riuer.

A tempest of raine, haile, and lightning, with boyliterous windes, beating vpon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are vtterly broken: ten thousand slain; fife thousand taken; with all their carriages and provisions: among which there were found a thousand corslets, gilt, and grauen. After this *Timoleon*, gaue an overthrow to *Ietes*, and following his victorie, tooke him, with his sonne *Enplemus*, and the Generall of his horse, prisoners; whom he caused all to be slaine: and afterwards (which 20 was imputed to him for great crueltie) he suffered *Ietes* his wiues and daughters to be put to death. But this was the reuenge of God vpon *Ietes*, who (after the murder of *Dion*) had caused *Arete*, *Dion*'s wife and a young child of his, with *Aristomache* his sister, to be cast into the Sea.

He againe preuailed against *Mamercus*, Tyrant of *Catana*, and wonne *Catana* it selfe. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippion* Tyrant of *Messena*: but *Timoleon*, pursuing him, wonne the towne; deliuering *Hippion*, to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Mamercus*, and all other, the Tyrants in *Sicill*.

Finally, he made peace with the *Carthaginians*; on condition, That they should nor passe the Riuer of *Lycus*. After this, he liued in great honour among the *Syracusians*, till his death; and was solemnly buried by them in the market-place of their Citie: the day of his Funeralls, being for euer ordained to bee kept holy among them.

After such time, as *Timoleon* had deliuered *Syracuse*, from the tyrannic of *Dionysius*, and brought peace to the whole Iland; the inhabitants enioyed their libertie in peace, about twentie yeeres. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant sailed in safetie; and the Labouring man enioyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to gouerne, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthe to be Kings, to gouerne them; should any long time subsist.

40 Twentie yeeres after the death of *Timoleon*, there started vp an *Agabades* among them, a man of base birth, and of baser condition; who from a Begger, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Capitaine; and so from degree to degree, rising to bee a *Prator*; finally became Lord and Soueraigne of the *Syracusians*. Many fortunes he ranne, and vnder-went as many dangers, ere hee obtained the Principalltie. For hee had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banisht. A passing valiant man hee was, and did notable seruice, as well for those by whom hee was imployed, as also for the *Syracusians*, and against them. For in their warres against those of *Enna*, and the *Campanes*, hee did them memorable seruice; and on the contrarie, as memorable seruice for the *Murgantines*, against the *Syracusians*. For being entertained by the people of *Murgantia*, and made Generall of their forces, hee sackt *Leontium*; and besieged *Syracuse* so fireghtly, that the Citizens were driuen to craue aide, euen from their ancient and naturall enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was sent by the *Carthaginians*, to relieue *Syracuse*. With him *Agabades* wrought so well, that hee got him to make peace betweene himselfe and 50 the

the *Syracusians*; binding himselfe by promise and oath, to remaine a friend and seruant to the state of *Carthage*, for euer after. *Amilcar* entertained the businesse, and compounded the quarrels betwene *Agathocles*, and the *Syracusians*. *Agathocles* is chosen *Prator*; he entertaines fise thousand *Africans*, and diuers old Souldiers of the *Murgantines*, vnder colour of a purpose to besiege *Herbita*. With these, and with the assistance of the poore and discontented *Syracusians* (the Citie beinge al diuided into many factions) he assailes the Senators, kills all his enemies and opposites; diuides the spoile of the rich, among the poore; and giues libertie to his Souldiers, to robbe, to raiue, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without contrinment: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and strewed the streets with ten thousand dead carkasses, besides those that had broken their necks ouer the walls; their furie had no further subject to worke on.

Agathocles, in an assembly of the people (beinge an eloquent knaue) perswaded them, that, for the violent sickness, by which the common-wealth was vtterly consumed, he found no better, than the violent remedies, which he had admitted; & that he affected no other thing, than the reducing of the state from an *Oligarchie*, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient & indifferent *Democratie*, by which it had bene gouerned, from the first institution, with so great glorie and prosperitie. This he did, to haue the crowne clapt on his head (as it were) per 20 force. For as hee knew, that hee had left none liuing, within the Citie, fit, nor able, to exercise the office of a Magistrate: so knew he right well, that all they which had assisted, in the murder and spoile of their fellow-Citizens, had no other hope of defence, then the support of a lawlesse Lord, who had bene partaker with them, in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this Rabble, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: againe and againe, saluting, and adoring him, by that name, as if it had bene giuen to him by some lawfull election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a peece of his patterne; but the one was of base; the other, of Kingly parents; the one tooke libertie from a Common-wealth; the other fought only to succede in a Monarchie; the one continued his cruelty to the end; the other, after he had obtayned the Crowne, fought, by making of good lawes, to recover the loue of his people.

The life of this Tyrant, is briefly written by *Iustine*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the summe whereof is this. The same *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuse*, and that had lent him fise thousand men to helpe in the massacre of the Citizens, was also content to winke at many wrongs, that hee did vnto the Confederates of the *Syracusians*. It was the purpose of *Amilcar*, to settle *Agathocles* in his tyrannie, and to let him vex and waste the whole Iland; because it was thereby like to come to passe, that he should reduce all *Sicily* into such termes, as would make it become an easie prey to *Carthage*. But when the Citie, confederate, with the *Carthaginians*, sent their Embassadors, with complaint of this ill dealing, to *Carthage*; the *Punicke* faith (so much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better, than meere fallshood) shewed it selfe very honourable, in taking order for their redresse. Embassadors were sent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in mind of his covenants. *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Affrike*, and a new Capitaine appointed to succede in his charge, with such forces, as might compell *Agathocles* to reason, if otherwise he would, not harken to it. All this tended, to save their Confederates, from suffering such iniuries in the future. For that which was past (since it could not be recalled) they tooke order to haue it severely punished. *Amilcar* was accused secretly, and by way of scrutiny: the suffrages being giuen, but not calculated; and so referred, until he should returne. This was not so closely handled, but that *Amilcar* had some notice of it. In managing his businesse with *Agathocles*, it is likely that hee had an eye to his owne profit, as well as to the publike benefit of his Countrey. For he had made such a composition with the *Syracusians*, as

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gaue him not onely meanes to weaken others, but to strengthen himselfe, both in power and authoritie, euen against the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the custom of those, that hope to worke their owne ends by cunning practices: thinking to deale subtilly, and finely, they spinne their threads so small, that they are broken with the very wind. *Amilcar* saw, that his *Carthaginians* had a purpose to deale substantially; and that therefore it would bee hard for him, to make them follow his crooked deuiCES: which if he could not doe, it was to be expected, that their anger would breake out into so much the greater extremitie, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which some of his foregoers had taught him; and, for feare of such a death, as the Iudges might award him, he ended his owne life in what sort he thought best. This desperation of *Amilcar* serued to informe *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. He saw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore relolued to get the start of them in action. He dissembled no longer; but, in stead of spoile and robberie, made open warre vpon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicily* his owne, ere the *Carthaginian* forces arrived: which thinking to haue encountered an ill-establied Tyrant, found him readie, as a King, to defend his owne, and giue them sharpe entertainment. They were beaten by him; and their Nauie was so Tempel-beaten, that they could neither doe good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leaue their 20 businesse vndone, and returne into *Affrike*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new fleet; which being very gallantly manned and furnished, was broken by foule weather, and the best part of it cast away, euen whilst it was yet within kenning of their Citie. But *Amilcar*, the sonne of *Gisoga*, gathering together the remainders of this ship-wrack, was bold to passe ouer into *Sicily*, and landed not farre from *Gela*; where *Agathocles* was soone readie to examine the cause of their coming. Many skirmishes passed betwene them, in which (commonly) the *Syracusian* had the better. But his good success begat presumption, whereby he lost a battaile, more important than all the other fights. One aduersel chance is enough to ouerthrow the state of a Tyrant, if it be not vp-held by great 30 circumspection. The warre was soone transferred to the walls of *Syracuse*; within which *Agathocles* was closed vp, and driuen to make his last defence by their helpe, who may be judged to haue loued him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of *Syracuse*, after that great massacre of the principal men, made in the beginning of this new tyrannie, were (for the most part) such, as had bene either mercinarie Souldiers, enfranchised slaues, or base and needie people; helpers in establishing the present Gouernement, and Executioners of the murders, and spoils, committed in that change. If there were any other (as some there were) they were so well observed, and (withall) so fearfull, that they durst not flirre. But it was not enough, that they all agreed in the common defence of themselves and their Citie; Famine 40 was likely to grow vpon them, and enforce them to change their resolution. In this necessitie, *Agathocles* aduentured vpon a strange course, which the euent commended, as wise. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in those vessels that rode in the Hauens; and committing the gouernment of the Citie to his brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) hee had be thought himselfe of a meane, both to raise the siege, and to repaire all other losses. A *Carthaginian* fleet lay in the mouth of the Hauens, both to hinder the entrance of victuals, and to keepe the besieged from issuing forth.

Now, at such time as *Agathocles* was readie to depart, aduertisement came, that many ships of burden, laden with corne, and other prouisions, were drawing nere 50 vnto *Syracuse*. To intercept these, the *Carthaginians* hoise saile, and lanch forth into the deepe. They were not farre gone, when they might behold *Agathocles*, issuing forth of the Port, with purpose (as they thought) to giue conuoy vnto his victuals. Hereupon they wheele about, and make a maine towards him, as thinking him the better bootie. He neither abode their coming, nor fled back into the

Citie,

Citie, but made all speede towards *Africk*; and was pursued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as day would giue them light. In the meane season, the victuallers were gotten into *Syracuse*; which was the more plentifully relieved by their coming, for that *Agathocles* had vnburdened the place of no small number. When the *Carthaginian* Admirall perceived; first, that by pursuing two fleets at once, he had mislead of them both; and secondly, that *Agathocles* returned not againe, but was gone to seeke his fortune elsewhere; he thought it good to pursue those that were fled, and to attend so well vpon them, that they should not haue leifure to doe muchie in some other part.

The *Carthaginian* Nauie followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation 10 of such as had met with him at Sea) directly towards *Africk*, and ouer-tooke him after sixe dayes. He had (at the first) a great start of them; so that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themselves, in seeking their owne misfortune. For he fought with them, and beat them; and, hauing funke, or taken many, draue the rest to flight which way they could, laden with strange tidings of his voiage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Africk*, then did he discouer vnto them his project; letting them vnderstand, That there was no better way to diuert the *Carthaginians*, not only from *Syracuse*, but from all the Ile of *Sicill*, than by bringing the warre to their owne dores. For here (said hee) they haue many that hate them, and that will readily take armes against them, as soone as they perceiue that there 20 is an Armie on foot, which dares to looke vpon their walls. Their Townes are ill fortified; their people vntrained, and vnexperienced in dangers; the mercinarie forces, that they leuie in these parts, will rather follow vs than them, if we offer greater wages than they can giue; which we may better promise and make good, by letting them haue some (here with vs) in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can doe, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus hee talked, as one already Master of all the riches in *Africk*; and with many braue wordes encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (reseruing one or two, to vse as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remaine, save only in victorie. In this heat of resolution, they winne by force two Cities; 30 which after they had thoroughly sacked, they burnt to the ground; as a marke of terrour to all that should make resistance. The *Carthaginians*, hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Armie destroyed in *Sicill*. This impression so dismaies them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had scaped in the late Sea-fight, yet still they feare, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcars* faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africk*: they suspect their principall Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray *Carthage*, vnto the enemy; they raise a great Armie, and know not vnto whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captaines in the Citie, *Hanno*, and *Bomil*. 40 *car*; great enemies, and therefore the more vnlike to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generalls of the Armie leuied, which farre exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*. But it seldom happens, that dissension betwene Commanders produceth any fortunate euent. Necessitie draue *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, resolved to deale with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made easie the victorie against the one halfe of them. For *Bomilcar* would not stirre: but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in peeces.

The reputation of this victorie, brought ouer a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* Societie, to take part with *Agathocles*: who pursuing his victorie, wins many Townes, and sends word to *Syracuse* of his good successe. The *Carthaginians* also send into *Sicill*, willing *Amilcar*, their General, to succour the state of *Africk*, which was in danger to be lost, whilst hee was traouling in the conquest of *Sicill*. *Amilcar* sends them five thousand men: all his forces he thought it not needfull to transport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* back into *Sicill*, than to bee drauene home

home by one, that could scarce retaine his owne Kingdome. But these good hopes had a bad issue. He spent some time in winning a few Townes, that adhered vnto the *Syracusians*: and hauing brought his matters to some good order, he conceived a sudden hope of taking *Syracuse* by surpris. It was a pretie (though tragically) accident, if it were true, as *Tullie* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dreame, which told him that he should suppe the next day within *Syracuse*. His fancie begot this dreame, and he beleued it. He made more haste, than good speede, toward the Citie: and coming vpon it on the sudden, had good hope to carrie it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laied an ambush to intrap him, wherein he fell. So he was 10 carried prisoner into the Citie; in which it was likeely, that he had no great cheare for his supper: for they struck off his head, and sent it into *Africk* (a welcome present) to *Agathocles*.

This good successe of things at home, did put such courage into the *Sicilian* Armie, that *Agathocles* was bold to weare a Crowne, and stile himselfe King of *Africk*. He had allured *Ophelias*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promises to deliuer the Countrie into his hands: for that (as he said) it was sufficient vnto himselfe to haue diuerted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicill*, wherein (after this warre ended) he might raigne quietly. *Ophelias* came with a great Armie, and was friendly entertained. But the traitorous *Sicilian*, taking an aduantage, did murder this his assistant; 20 and afterwards, by good words, and great promises, drew all the *Cyrenian* Armie to follow him in his warres. Thus his villanie found good successe; and he fo preuailed in *Africk*, that he got leifure to make a slep into *Sicill*. Many Townes in *Sicill* had imbraced a desire of recouering their libertie; thinking it high time to fight at length for their owne freedome, alter that they had so long bene exposed, (as a reward of victorie) either vnto Aliens, or to Tyrants, of their owne Countrie. These had preuailed farre, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the coming of *Agathocles* abated their high spirits, and his good successe in many fights, compelled them to obedience. Out of *Sicill* he returned into *Africk*, where his affaires stood in very bad termes. *Archagathus*, his sonne, had lost a battle; and (which was worse) had ill meanes to help himselfe: his Armie being in mutinie for lack of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accustomed promises of great bootie and spoile. It had now bene time for him, to offer peace to the *Carthaginians* which to obtaine, they would (questionlesse) haue giuen to him, both monie enough to pay his Armie, and all that they then held in *Sicill*. For their Citie had bene distressed, not only by this his warre, but by the treason of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himselfe Tyrant ouer them. But ambition is blinde. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed vpon the conquest of *Carthage* it selfe: out of which dreame he was awaked, by the losse of a battaile, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange euents following it. The *Cartha-* 40 *ginians*, after their great misfortunes in this warre, had renewed their old sacrifices of children to *Saturne*: from which they had abstained, euer since they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their prisoners, taken in the battaile, to offer vnto the said Idol, in way of thankfulness for their victorie. The fire, with which these vnhappy men were consumed, caught hold vpon the lodgings neere vnto the Altar; and spreading it selfe farther through the Campe, with the destruction of many men, caused such a tumult, as is vsuall in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burnt vp the Pavilion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away; each of them beleueing, that the noise in the aduerser Campe, was a signe of the enemies coming to invade it. 50 But the *Carthaginians* had a safe retreat: *Agathocles*, by a second error, fell into a new calamitie. In the beginning of this his flight in the darke, hee met with his owne *African* Souldiers; and thinking them to bee enemies, (as indeede the one halfe of them had revolted from him, to the *Carthaginians*, in the last battaile) hee beganne to assaile them, and was so stoutly resisted, that he lost, in this blinde fight, above

about foure thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart; that being fallen from the neere hope of taking the Citie of *Carthage*, vnto some distrust of his owne safetie, hee knew no more how to moderate his present weake feares, than lately he had know how to gouerne his ambition. Therefore he tooke the way that came next into his head; which was, to scale closely aboard his ships, with his younger sonne (the elder he suspected of Incest, and of Ambition) and so to flie into *Sicily*; thinking it the best course, to shiit for himselfe, as wanting vessels wherein to transport his Armie. His elder sonne, *Archagathus*, perceived his drift, arrested him, and put him vnder custodie: but by meanes of a sudden tumult, hee was let loose, escaped, and fled alone, leauing both his sonnes behinde him. His flight being noised through the Armie, all was in vprore; and extremitie of rage caused not only the common Souldier, but euen such as had bene friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold vpon his two sonnes, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathodes* was extremely bafe; I neede not vse wordes to proue: That his feare was truly, as all feare is said to be, a passion, depriving him of the succours which reason offered, the sequels doth manifest. His forsaken Souldiers, being now a headlesse company, and no longer an Armie to be feared, obtained neuerthelesse a reasonable composition from the *Carthaginians*: to whom they sold those places, whereof they had possession, for ninetene talents. Likewise, *Agathodes* himselfe, hauing lost his Armie, did neuerthelesse, by the reputation of this late warre, make peace 20 with *Carthage* vpon equall termes.

After this, the Tyrant, being deliuered from forraine enemies, discouered his bloudie nature, in most abominable cruelties, among the *Sicilians*. His wants, and his teares, vrged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoiles of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected: but in a beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. Hee deuiled new engines of torment; wherein struiuing to exceede the Bull of *Phalaris*, he made a frame of brasie, that should serue to scorch mens bodies, and withall giue him leaue to behold them in their miserie. So deuillish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a slave to his brutish affections. In these mischiefs he was so outrageous, that he neither spared 30 Sex, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the slaughter of his children in *Africa*. But this was not the way to preserve his estate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom hee had chased out of their Countie, tooke armes against him, and draue him into such feare, that hee was faine to seeke the loue at *Carthage*, which, by ruling well, he might haue had in *Sicily*. He freely deliuered into the *Carthaginians* hands, all those Townes of the *Phoenicians* in *Sicily*, belonging vnto them, which were in his possession. They required him honourably, with great store of corne, and with foure hundred talents of gold and siluer. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he preuailed against the Rebels, and settled his estate. Hauing no further businesse left in *Sicily*, hee made a voiage into *Italie*. There hee 40 subdued the *Brutians*, rather by terrour of his name, than by any force, for they yeelded at his first comming. This done, he went to the Isle of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great summe, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoile the Temples of their gods. Herein (me thinks) he did well enough. For how could he beleue those to be gods, that had continually giuen deafe eares to his horrible perjuries? Then hee returned richly home, with eleuen ships loaden with gold: all which, and all the rest of his fleet, were cast away by foule weather at Sea; one Gallie excepted, in which he himselfe escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A grievous sicknesse fell vpon him, that rorted his whole bodie, spreading it selfe through all his veines and sinewes. Whilest he lay in this case, all desiring his end, saue only *Theogenia* (a wife that hee had taken out of *Egypt*) and her small children: his Nephew, the sonne of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a younger sonne of his owne, beganne to contend about the 50 Kingdome,

Kingdome. Neither did they seeke to end the controuersie by the old Tyrants decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them laied wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew sped so well, that hee slue his Vncle, and got his Grand-fathers Kingdome without asking any leaue. These tidings wounded the heart of *Agathodes* with feare and sorrow. He saw himselfe without helpe, like to become a prey to his vngacious Nephew, from whom hee knew that no fauour was to be expected, either by himselfe, or by those, whom only hee now held deare, which were, *Theogenia*, and her children. Therefore hee aduised her and them to flie before they were surpris'd: for that otherwise they could by no meanes auoid, either death, or somewhat that would be worse. Hee gaue them all his treasures and goods, wherewith he euen compelled them (weeping to leaue him desolate in so wretched a case) to imbarke themselves hastily, and make speede into *Egypt*. After their departure, whether he threw himselfe into the fire, or whether his discafe consumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but he ended his life as basely, as obscurely, and in as much want, as he first beganne it.

After the death of *Agathodes* it was, that the *Mamertines* his Souldiers traitreously occupied *Messana*, and infested a great part of the land. Then also did the *Carthaginians* beginne to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicily*. What the Nephew of *Agathodes* did, I cannot finde. Likely it is that hee quickly perished. 20 For the *Sicilians* were driuen to send for *Pyrrhus* to helpe them, who had married with a daughter of *Agathodes*. But *Pyrrhus* was soone wearie of the Countie (as hath bene shewed before) and therefore left it; prophesying that it would become a goodly champagne field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* should fight for superiority. In which businesse, how these two great Cities did speede, the order of our Storie will declare.

§. V.

30 *Recontinuation of the Roman warre in Sicily. How Hieron, King of Syracuse, forsooke the Carthaginians; and made his peace with Rome.*



Hen *Appius Claudius*, following the aduantage of his victorie gotten at *Messana*, brought the warre vnto the Gates of *Syracuse*, and besieged that great Citie; *Hieron* found it high time for him to seeke peace: knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reason to be offended with him, for helping himselfe by what meanes he could, when they were not in case to giue him assistance; and foreseeing withall, that when once hee 40 had purchased his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to sit still, without feare of molestation, whilest *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the mastery. In this good moode, the new Roman Consulls, *M. Valerius*, and *C. Otacilius*, found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made vse of their present aduantage, and sold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Talents.

These Consulls had brought a great Armie into *Sicily*; yet did they nothing else inuest, than bring ouer *Hiero* to their side. If the *Syracusan* held them busied (which I finde not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the summe of monie imposed vpon him, and by their performing none other peece of seruice) all the 50 whole time of their abode in the land; then was his departure from the friendship of *Carthage*, no lesse to his honour, than it was to his commoditie. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his owne Kingdome to runne into manifest perill of subuersion, for their sakes, that should haue receiued all the profit of the victorie: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without straying them.

themselves to give him reliefe. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proofe of the strength of *Syracuse*, in the daies of *Agathodes*: and therefore knew, that it was able to beare out a very strong siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more slack, in sending helpe: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuse* should weaken one the other, whereby their owne warre might be the easier against them both. Yet indeede, the case of the besieged Citie was not the same, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had beene, when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reason, to trie the vttermost hazard of warre against the *Carthaginians*, who fought no other thing than to bring it into slavery: not so against the *Romans*, who thought it sufficient, if they could with-
draw it from the partie of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be governed by *Agathodes*, or by *Hiero*. The former of these cared not what the citizens endured, so long as he might preferue his owne tyrannie: the later, as a just and good Prince, had no greater desire than to winne the loue of his people, by seeking their commoditie; but including his owne felicitie within the publique, laboured to vphold both, by honest and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to passe, that hee enjoyed a long and happie raigne, liuing deare to his owne Subjects, beloued of the *Romans*, and not greatly molested by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the consideration, *That they had left him to himselfe, ere he left their Societie*, made vnwilling to seeke his ruine; or their more earnest businesse with the *Romans*, made vnable to compasse it. 20

§. VI.

How the Romans besiege and winne Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintaine assault. Their first losse, and first victorie by Sea. Of Sea-fight in generall.



* *Agrigentum* was a goodly Citie, built by the *Gelsi*, vnder conduct of *Arifon* and *Dylisius*.

HIERO, hauing sided himselfe with the *Romans*, aided them with victuals, and other necessities: so that they, presuming vpon his assistance, recall some part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* finde it high time to bestirre them; they send to the *Ligurians*, and to the troups they had in *Spain*, to come to their aide; who being arrived, they made the Citie of *Agrigentum*, the seat of the warre, against the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of munition. The *Roman* Consuls, hauing made peace with *Hiero*, returne into *Italy*, and, in their places, *Lucius Posthumus*, and *Quintus Mamilius* arriue. They goe on towards * *Agrigentum*: and finding 40 no enemy in the field, they besiege it, though it were fluffed with fiftie thousand Souldiers. After a while, the time of haruelt being come, a part of the *Roman* armie range the Countrey to gather corne, and those at the siege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* sallie furiously, and endanger the *Roman* Armie, but are great losse: but by the smart felt on both 50 sides, the Assaults redoubled their guards, & the besieged kept within their couert. Yet the *Romans*, the better to assure themselves, cut a deepe trench, be-
tweene

tweene the walls of the Citie and their Campe: and another on the out side thereof, that neither the *Carthaginians* might force any quarter suddenly, by a sallie, nor those of the Countrey without, breake vpon them vnawares: which double defence kept the besieged also from the receiuing any reliefe of victuals, and munitions, whilst the *Syracusen* supplies the Assaults with what they went. The besieged find for succour to *Carthage*: after they had beene in this sort pent vp five moneths. The *Carthaginians* imbarke an Armie, with certaine Elephants, vnder the command of *Hanno*; who arriues with it at *Heraclia*, to the West of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno* puts himselfe into the field, and surpriseth *Erbesius*, a Citie wherein the *Romans* had belloved all their prouision. By means herof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within *Agrigentum*; and the *Roman* campe no lesse streightly assailed by *Hanno*, than the Citie was by the *Romans*: in somuch, as if *Hiero* had not supplied them, they had beene forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this distresse was not enough to make them rise; *Hanno* determined to giue them battaile. To which end departing from *Heraclia*, hee makes approach vnto the *Roman* campe. The *Romans* resolute to sustain him, and put themselves in order. *Hanno* directes the *Nomidian* horse-men to charge their Vanguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to returne as broken, till they came to the body of the Army, that lay shadowed behind some rising ground. 20 The *Nomidians* performe it accordingly; and while the *Romans* pursued the *Nomidians*, *Hanno* giues vpon them, and hauing slaughtered many, beats the rest into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two moneths, but lay strongly incamped, waiting vntill some opportunitie should inuite them. But *Annibal*, that was besieged in *Agrigentum*, as well by signes as messengers, made *Hanno* know, how ill the extremitie which he endured, was able to brooke such dilatorie courtesies. *Hanno* thereupon, a second time, prouoked the Consuls to fight. But his Elephants being disordered by his owne Vanguard, which was broken by the *Romans*, he lost the day: and with such as escaped, he recouered *Heraclia*. *Annibal* 30 perceiving this, and remaying hopelesse of succour, resolute to make his owne way, finding therefore that the *Romans*, after this daies victorie, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; hee rusht out of the Towne, with all the remainder of his armie, and past by the *Roman* campe without resistance. The Consuls pursue him in the morning, but in vaine: sure they were, that he could not carrie the Citie with him, which with little ado the *Romans* entred, and pittifully spoiled. The *Romans*, proud of this victorie, purpose henceforth rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolute in the beginning of this Warre, only to succour the *Mamertines*, and to keepe the *Carthaginians* from their owne coasts: 40 but now they determine, to make themselves Lords of all *Sicily*; and from thence, being fauoured with the winde of good successe, to saile ouer into *Africa*. It is the discafe of Kings, of States, and of priuate men, to couet the greatest things, but not to enioy the least; the desire of that which wee neither haue nor neede, taking from vs the true vse and fruition of what wee haue already. This curse vpon mortall men, was neuer taken from them since the beginning of the World to this day.

To prosecute this Warre, *Lucius Valerius* and *Titus Otacilius*, two new Consuls, are sent into *Sicily*. Whereupon, the *Romans* being Masters of the field, many inland Townes gave themselves vnto them. On the contrarie, the *Carthaginians* 50 keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritime places became theirs. The *Romans* therefore, as well to secure their owne coasts, often invaded by the *African* fleets, as also to equall themselves in every kind of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune fauoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in shipwrights-craft, a storme of winde thrust

one of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, of five bankes, to the shore.

Now had the *Romans* a patterne, and by it they beganne to set vp an hundred *Quinquemes*, which were Gallies, rowed by five on euery banke, and twentie, of three on a banke: and while they were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed vpon the Sea-lands many leates, in order of the bankes in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beat the sand with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Maister, that so they might learne the stroke of the Gallie, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, to *C. Cornelius*, one of the new Consuls (for they changed euery yere) was made Admirall: who being more in loue with this new kind of warfare, then well aduised, past ouer to *Messina* with seuentene Gallies, leauing the rest to follow him. There hee staid not, but would needs row alongst the coast to *Lipara*, hoping to doe some piece of seruice. *Hannibal*, a *Carthaginian*, was at the same time Gouvernour in *Panormus*; who being aduertised of this new Sea-mans arriuall, sent forth one *Boodes*, a Senator of *Carthage*, with twentie Gallies to entertaine him. *Boodes*, sailing vpon the Consull vnwares, tooke both him and the fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* receiued this good newes, together with the *Roman* Gallies, and their Consull; he grew no lesse foolish hardie than *Cornelius* had bene. For hee, fancying to himselfe to surpriue the rest of the *Roman* fleet, on their owne coast, ere they were yet in all points provided; sought them out with a fleet of fittie saile: wherewith falling among them, hee was well beaten, and leauing the greater number of his own behind him, made an hard escape with the rest: for of one hundred and twentie Gallies, the *Romans* vnder *Cornelius* had lost but seuentene, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not easily beaten by fittie.

The *Romans*, being aduertised of *Cornelius* his ouerthrow, make haste to redeeme him, but giue the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, *Dulius*. *Dulius*, considering that the *Roman* vessels were heauie and slow, the *African* Gallies hauing the speede of them, deuised a certaine engine in the prow of his Gallies, whereby they might fasten or grapple themselves with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies sides together. This done, the waightier ships had gotten the aduantage, and the *Africans* lost it. For neither did their swiftnesse serue them, nor their Mariners craft; the Vessells, wherin both Nations fought, being open: so that al was to be carried by the aduantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Besides this, as the heauier Gallies were likely to crush and crack the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they by reason of their breadth, more steadie; and those that best kept their feet, could also best vse their hands. The example may bee giuen betwene one of the long boates of his Maiesties great ships, and a *London barge*.

Certainly, hee that will happily performe a fight at Sea, must bee skillfull in making choice of Vessels to fight in: hee must beleue, that there is more belonging to a good man of warre, vpon the waters, than great daring; and must know, that there is a great deale of difference, betwene fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The Gunnes of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clap ships together, without consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of warre: for by such an ignorant brauerie was *Peter Strozzi*, lost at the *Azores*, when hee fought against the *Marquess of Santa Cruz*. In like sort had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admirall of *England*, been lost in the yere 1588, if he had not bene better aduised, than a great many malignant fooles were, that so found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Armie aboard them; and he had none: they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that, had he intangled himselfe with those great and powerfull Vessells, he had greatly endangered this Kingdom of *England*. For twentie men vpon the de-

fences,

fences, are equall to an hundred that boord and enter, whereas then, contrariwise, the *Spaniards* had an hundred, for twentie of ours, to defend themselves withall. But our Admirall knew his aduantage, and held it: which had he not done, hee had not bene worthie to haue held his head. Heere to speake in generall of Sea-fight (for particulars are fitter for private hands, then for the Presse) I say, That a fleet of twenty ships, all good sailers, and good ships, haue the aduantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ships, and of slower sayling. For if the fleet of an hundred saile keepe themselves neere together, in a grosse Squadron; the twentie ships, charging them vpon any angle, shall force them to giue ground, and to fall back vpon their next fellows: of which so many as intangle, are made vneruiceable, or lost. Force them they may easily, because the twentie ships, which giue themselves scope, after they haue giuen one broad side of Artillerie, by clapping into the winde, and staying, they may giue them the other: and so the twentie ships batter them in pieces with a perpetuall vollie; whereas those, that fight in a troupe, haue no roome to turne, and can alwaies vse but one and the same beate side. If the fleet of an hundred saile giue themselves any distance, then shall the lesser fleet preuaile, either against those that are a-reare and hindmost, or against those, that by aduantage of ouer-sailing their fellows keepe the winde: and if vpon a Lee-shore, the ships next the winde be constrained to fall back into their own Squadron, then it is all to nothing, that the whole fleet must suffer shipwrack, or render it selfe. That such aduantage may be taken vpon a fleet of vnequall speed, it hath bene wel enough conceiued in old time; as by that Oration of *Hermocrates*, in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracusanians*, when the *Athenians* invaded them, it may easily be obserued.

Of the Art of Warre by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord *HENRIE*, Prince of *Wales*; a subiect, to my knowledge, neuer handled by any man, ancient or moderne: but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his losse; by the losse of that braue Prince; of which, like an Eclipse of the Sunne, wee shall finde the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equal words and forrowes; I will therefore leaue him in the hands of God that hath him. *Cura leues loquuntur, ingenites silent.*

But it is now time to returne to the beaten *Carthaginians*; who by loosing their aduantage of swift boats, and boarding the *Romans*, haue lost fittie saile of their Gallies: as on the other side, their enemies by commanding the Seas, haue gotten liberty to saile about the West part of *Sicily*; where they raised the siege layed vnto *Segesta*, by the *Carthaginians*, and wonne the Towne of *Macella*, with some other places.

§. VII.

Diuers enterfeats of warre, betwene the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable successe. The Romans prepare to invade Africk: and obtaine a great victorie at Sea.



He victorie of *Dulius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the first Nauall triumph, that was euer scene in that Citie; so gaue it vnto the *Romans* a great encouragement, to proceede in their warres by Sea; whereby they hoped, not onely to get *Sicily*, but all the other lies betwene *Italie* and *Africk*, beginning with *Sardinia*, which hee soon after they sent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions, that might helpe to recompence the late misfortune: and being aduertised, that some quarrell

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was

victorie before them without resistance. By the same order of fight, and reservati-
on, did the *Romans* also preuaile against other Nations. For they kept their *Triarj*
in store (who were the choice of their Armie) for the vp-shot and last blow. A great
and a victorious aduantage it hath euer bene found, to keepe some one or two
good troups to looke on, when all else are disbanded and engaged.

§. VIII.

*The Romans preuaile in Affric. Atilius the Consul propoundeth in-
olerable conditions of peace to the Carthaginians. He is viterly
beaten, and made prisoner.*

10

Now the *Romans*, according to their former resolution, after they had
repaired and re-victualled their fleet, set saile for *Africa*, and arrived
at the *Promontorie of Hercules*, a great Head-land, somewhat to the
East of the Port of *Carthage*, and some fortie leagues from *Heracleum*
Sicily, where *Amilcar* himselfe as yet staid. From this Head-land (lea-
ving the entrance into *Carthage*) they coasted the East-side of the *Promontorie*, till
they came to *Clypea*, a Towne, about fiftie English mile from it. There they dis-
embarked, and prepared to besiege *Clypea*; which, to ease them of labour, was yee-
ded vnto them. Now had they a Port of their owne on *Africa* side; without which
all inuasions are foolish. By this time were the *Africans* also arrived at their owne
Carthage; fearing that the *Roman* fleet and armie had directed themselves thither:
but being aduertised, that they had taken *Clypea*, they made prouisions of all sorts:
both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* send to *Rome* for directions,
and in the meane while waste all round about them. The order giuen from the Se-
nate, was, that one of the Consuls should remaine with the Armie, and that the
other should returne, with the fleet into *Italie*. According to this direction, *Manli-
us* the Consul is sent home to *Rome*; whither he carried with him twentie thousand
African captiues, with all the *Roman* fleet and armie; except fortie ships, fiftene
thousand foot, and five hundred horse, that were left with *Atilius*.

With these forces, *Regulus* easily wanne some Townes and Places, that were vn-
walled, and laid siege to others. But he performed no great matter, before he came
vnto *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that neere vnto the Riuer of *Bagrada*,
he encountered with a Serpent of one hundred and twentie foot long, which he slue,
not without losse of many Souldiers, being driuen to vse against it such engines of
warre, as serued properly for the assaulting of Townes. At *Adis* he met with the
Carthaginian Armie, whereof the Captiues were *Hanno* and *Basar*, together with
Amilcar, who had brought ouer out of *Sicily* five thousand foot, and five hundred
horse to succour his Countie. These (belike) had an intent, rather to wearie him
out of *Africa*, by warie protraction of time, than to vndergoe the hazard of a maine
fight. They were careful to hold themselves free, from necessitie of coming to
blowes, yet had they a great desire, to saue the Towne of *Adis* out of his hands. In-
tending therefore to follow their generall purpose, and yet to disturbe him in the
siege of *Adis*, they incampe neere vnto him, and strongly (as they thinke) on the
top of an hill: but thereby they loose the seruices, both of their Elephants, and of
their horse-men. This disadvantage of theirs *Regulus* discouers, and makes vse of it.
He assailes them in their strength, which they defend a while; but in fine the *Ro-
mans* preuaile, and force them from the place, taking the spoile of their campe. Fol-
lowing this their good fortune at the heeles, they proceede to * *Tunis* a Citie with-
in fiftene miles of *Carthage*, which they assaile and take.

* This Citie was taken from the *Triarj* by *Charles* the fifth, in the yeere 1536, and was one of the three Keyes, which he gaue in charge to *Philip* the second his sonne to keepe safe; to win this *Tunis*, the Key of *Africa*; *Flushing*, the Key of the *Netherlands*; and *Calice*, the Key of *Spain*. But two of these *Philip* lo-
st, the other he neuer found againe; the third, our *English* were bold, in the time of the renowned *Queene Elizabeth*, to wring out of his hands: where we staid not to pick any locke, but brake open the dores, and hazing rifled all, threw it into the fire.

By

By the losse of this battaile at *Adis*, and more especially by the losse of *Tunis*, the
Carthaginians were greatly dismayed. The *Numidians*, their next Neighbours to-
wards the West, insult vpon their misfortunes; inuade, and spoile their Territory,
and force those that inhabite abroad, to forsake their villages and fields, and to hide
themselues within the walls of *Carthage*. By reason hereof, a great famine at hand
threatens the Citizens. *Atilius* findes his owne aduantage, and assures himselfe
that the Citie could not long hold out: yet he feared lest it might defend it selfe,
vntill his time of Office, that was neere expired, should be quite runne out, where-
by the new Consuls were like to reape the honor of obtaining it. Ambition there-
fore, that hath no respect but to it selfe, perswades him to treat of peace with the
Carthaginians. But he propounded vnto them so vnworthy and base conditions, as
thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with feare, became now so couragious and
disdainfull, that they resolved, either to defend their libertie, or to die to the last
man. To strengthen this their resolution, they arrived at the same time a great
troupe of *Greekes*, whom they had formerly sent to entertaine. Among these was
a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what
had passed, and of the ouerthrow which the *Carthaginians* receiued neere vnto *Adis*,
gaue it out publickely, that the same was occasioned by default of the Comman-
ders, and not of the Nation. This bruit ranne, till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus*
is sent for; giues the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made Generall
of the *African* forces, he puts himselfe into the field. The Armie which he led, con-
sisted of no more than twelue thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, with an
hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought
for all that they had, Libertie, Liues, Goods, Wives, and Children: which might
well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before spoken of, were misse-
numbered; the one consisting of an hundred and fortie thousand, and the other of an
hundred and fiftie thousand: were it not commonly found, that they which vse the
service of mercinarie Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their owne dores.

Xantippus, taking the field with this Armie, marched directly towards the *Ro-
mans*; and ranging his troups vpon faire and leuell ground, fitted both for his Ele-
phants and Horse, presented them battaile. The *Romans* wondred, whence this
new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were that it should
be soone abated. Their chiefe care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants.
Against them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a *ferocious hope*;
that these might, either with darts and other casting weapons, driue back the beasts
vpon the enemies, or at least breake their violence, and hinder them from rushing
freely vpon the Legions. To the same end, they made their battailes deeper in file,
than they had bene accustomed to doe. By which means, as they were the lesse
subject vnto the impression of the Elephants; so were they the more exposed vnto
the violence of horse, wherein the enemy did farre exceede them. The Elephants
were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one ranke, before his Armie; which followed them
at a reasonable distance: his horse-men, and some light-armed foot, of the *Cartha-
ginians* Auxiliaries, were in the wings. The first onset was giuen by the Elephants,
against which the *Velites* were so vnable to make resistance, that they brake into the
battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of
the *Roman* battaile was helpfull. For when the beasts had spent their force, in pier-
cing through a few of the first ranks; the squadrons neuertheless persisted in their
order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horse, hauing at the first encounter,
by reason of their aduantage in number, driuen those of *Atilius* out of the field,
beganne to charge the *Roman* battalions in flanke, and put them in great distresse;
who being forced to turne face every way, could neither passe forward, nor yet re-
tire: but had much adoe to make good the ground whereon they stood. In the
meane while, such of the *Romans*, as had escaped the furie of the Elephants, and
left them at their backs, fell vpon the *Carthaginian* Armie, that met them in very
good

good array. It was no even match. The one were a disordered Companie, wearied with labour, and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to haue dealt with the enemy vpon equall termes. Here was therefore a greater slaughter with little fight; the *Romans* haistily recoiling to the bodie of their Armie; which being surrounded with the enemy, and spint with traualle, fell all to rout, vpon the defeat of these troupes, that open the way to a generall ouerthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtayned a full victorie; destroyng the whole *Roman* Armie, saued two thousand, and taking fise hundred prisoners, together with *Attilius* the Consull. Of their owne they loit no more than eight hundred mercenaries, which were slaine, when the fight began, by two thousand of the *Romans*; that wheeling about, to auoide the Elephants, bare downe all before them, and made way euen to the *Carthaginian* trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Armie behinde them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slaine. Hereby fortune made the *Romans* know, that they were no lesse her vassalls, than were the *Carthaginians*: how insolent foucet they had beene in their proposition of peace; as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperitie, which she neuer gave nor sold to any mortall man. With what ioy these newes were welcommed, when they came to *Carthage*, wee may easily coniecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to passe in the World, there are many examples to proue, no lesse then this of *Xantippus*: all of them confirming that sentence of *EVARISTUS* *DE* *PLINIO*, *Mens vna sapientis, plurium vniuit manus; Many mens hands equall not one wise minde.*

After this great seruice done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus* returned into *Greece*; whether for that he was more enuied then honoured, or for what other cause it is vnknewne.

The death of *Attilius Regulus* the Consull, was very memorabie. Hee was sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ranome of prisoners on both sides: giuing his faith to returne if the buisnesse were not effected. When he came to *Rome*, and plainly saw that his Countrie should loose by the bargain: so far was he from vrging the Senate vnto compassion of his owne miserie, that he earnestly perswaded to haue the prisoners in *Africk* left to their ill destinies. This done, hee returned to *Carthage*: where for his paines taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constancie and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the *Carthaginians* seeme to haue iudged him an obstinate and malicious enemy; that neither in his prosperitie would harken to reason, nor yet in his calamitie would haue the naturall care, to perseue himselfe and others, by yeelding to such an office of humanitie, as is common in all warres (not grounded vpon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small advantage. Whatsoeuer the *Carthaginians* thought of him; sure it is, that his faithfull obseruance of his word giuen, cannot be too much commended. But that graue speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange of prisoners, appeares in all reason, to haue proceeded from a vaine-glorious forwardnesse, rather than from any necessitie of state. For the exchange was made soone after his death; wherein the *Romans* had the worse bargain, by so much as *Regulus* himselfe was worth. As for the authoritie of all Historians, that magnifie him in this point; we are to consider that they liued vnder the *Roman* Empire. *Philinus*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he suffered with extreme torments, could not be more greivous to him than it was dishonourable to *Carthage*. Neither doe I think that the *Carthaginians* could excuse themselves herein; otherwise than by recrimination: saying, That the *Romans* deferred to bene better intreated for as much as it was their ordinary practice to vse others in the like sort. Crueltie doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being custumarie. It was the *Roman* fashion, to whip almost to death, and then to behead, the Captaines of their enemies whom they tooke, yea although they were such, as had alwaies made laire waies with them. Wherefore

fore it seemes not meet, in reason, that they should crie out against the like tyrannicall insolence in others, as if it were lawfull only in themselves.

The consideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Attilius* his intolerable demands; and of the sudden valour, wherinto the *Carthaginians* feare was changed by meere desperation; calls to remembrance the like insolencie of others in prosperitie, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reasonable grace hath bene denied. In such cases I neuer hold it impertinent, to adde vnto one, more testimonies; approving the true rules, from which our passions carrie vs away.

- 10 In the yeere 1378. the *Genowais* wonne so fast vpon the *Venetians*, as they not only draue their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their owne fleet within two miles of *Venice* it selfe. This bred such an amazement in the Citizens of *Venice*, that they offered vnto the *Genowais* (their State referred) whatsoeuer they would demand. But *Peter Doria*, blowne vp with many former victories, would harken to no composition; saw the yeelding of their Citie and State to his discretion. Hereupon, the *Venetians*, being filled with disdain, thrull out to Sea with all their remaining power, and assaile *Doria* with such desperate furie, that they breake his fleet; kill *Doria* himselfe; take nineteene of his Gallies, fourescore boats of *Padua*, and foure thousand prisoners; recover *Chioggia*, and all the places taken
- 20 from them; and following their victorie, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genowais*, basely to begge peace, to their extreme dishonour and disadvantage, being beaten; which, being victorious, they might haue commanded, to their greatest honour and advantage. The like hapned to the Earle of *Flanders*, in the yeere 1380, when hauing taken a notable, and withall an ouer-cruell reuenge vpon the *Gantois*, he refused mercy to the rest, who in all humilitie, submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their Citie, goods, and estates, to be disposed at his pleasure. This when he had vnadvisedly refused, and was resolu'd to extinguish them vtterly; they issue out of their Citie with fise thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperate resolution, they charge the Earle, breake his Armie, enter *Bruges* (pell-mell)
- 30 with his vanquished followers; and enforce him to hide himselfe vnder an heape of straw, in a poore cottage; out of which with great difficultie he escaped, and saued himselfe. Such are the fruits of insolencie.

§. IX.

How the affaires of Carthage prospered after the victorie against ATTILIVS: How the Romans hauing lost their fleet by tempest, resolu'd to forsake the Seas: The great advantages of a good fleet in warre, betwene Nations diuided by the Sea.

- 40 **B**Y the reputation of this late victory, all places that had bene lost in *Africk*, returne to the obedience of *Carthage*. Onely *Clypea* stands out; before which the *Carthaginians* sit downe, and assaile it, but in vaine: For the *Romans*, hearing of the losse of *Attilius* with their forces in *Africk*, and withall, that *Clypea* was besieged, make ready a grosse Armie, and transport it in a fleet of three hundred and fiftie Gallies, commanded by *M. Aemilius*, and *Ser. Fulnius*, their Consuls. At the *Promontory* of *Mercure*, two hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, set out of purpose, vpon the bruit of their comming, encounter them: but greatly to their cost. For the *Romans* tooke by force an hundred and fourteene of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they staid no longer, than to take in their owne men that had bene besieged: and this done, they made amaine toward *Sicily*, in hope to recouer all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this hasty voyage they despise the aduice of the Pilots,

* There is no Part of the World, which hath no some certaine times of outrageous weather besides their accidental stormes. We have vpon our coast a Michaelmas Blaw, that seldom or neuer failes; in the west Indies, in the monthes of *Auguſt* and *September*, those most terrible winds, which the *Spaniards* call the *Nortes*, or Northwinds, are very fearefull; and therefore they that Nauigate in those parts, take harbor till those months take end. *Charls* the fifth being as ill aduised, in passing the Seas towards *Alger*, in the Winter quarter, contrary to the counsaile of *A. Donia*, as he was in like vnfayorable times to continue his siege before *Mexin* in *Laraine*, lost an hundred and foure ships by tempest, and fiftene Gallies, with all in effect in store of men, vittualles, horses, and munition; a losse no lesse great, than his retreat, both from before the one and the other; was extreme dishonourable.

Pilots, who pray them to finde harbour in time, for that the season threatened some violent stormes; which euer hapned betweene the rising of *Orion*, and the * *Deg. ſarre*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* Fleet had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and certified them withall, that the South coast of *Sicill* had no good Ports, wherein to faue themselves vpon such an accident: yet this victorious Nation was perfwaded, that the winde and seas feared them no lesse, than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to conquer the Elements themselves. So refusing to stay within some Port, as they were aduised, they would needes put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their reputation; after this victorie against the *Carthaginian* fleet; to take a few worthlesse Townes vpon the coast. The mercilesse windes in the meane while ouertake them, and neere vnto *Camerina*, ouerturne and thrust headlong on the rocks, all but fourecore of three hundred and foure ships: so as their former

great victorie was deuoured by the Seas, before the same thereof recovered *Rome*. The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had hapned, repaire all their warlike Vessells, hoping once againe to command the Seas: they are also as confident of their land-²⁰ forces (since the overthrow of *Attilius*). They send *Asdrubal* into *Sicill* with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and fortie Elephants, imbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Armie and fleet he arrives at *Lilybaum*; where hee begins to vex the *Partisans of Rome*. But aduersitie doth not discourage the *Romans*: They build in three moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twentie ships; with which, and the remainder of their late shipwracke, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palerma*, the chiefe Citie of the *Africans* in *Sicill*, and surround it by Land and Water; after a while they take it, and leauing a Garrison therein, returne to *Rome*.

Very desirous the *Romans* were to bee doing in *Africk*: to which purpose they imploied *C. Seruilus*, and *C. Semprenius*, their Consuls. But these wrought no wonders. Some spoile they made vpon the coasts of *Africa*: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their returne, they were first set vpon the sands, and like to haue perished, neere vnto the lesser *Syrtes*, where they were faine to heaue all ouer-board, that so they might get off: then, hauing with much ado doubled the Cape of *Lilybaum*, in their passage from *Panormus* towards *Italie*, they lost an hundred and fiftie of their ships by foule weather. A greater discouragement neuer Nation had; the God of the warres fauoured them no more, than the God of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mars* enricht them with vpon the Land, *Neptune* robbed them vpon the Seas. For they had now lost, besides what they lost in fight, foure hundred & fixe ships and Gallies, with all the munition and ⁴⁰ Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, perfwaded them to giue over their Navigation, and their fight by Sea, and to send only a Land-armie into *Sicill*, vnder *L. Caelius*, and *F. Furius*, their Consuls. These they transported in some threecore ordinarie passage-boats, by the straits of *Messana*, that are not above a mile and an halfe broad from land to land. In like sort, the overthrow which *Attilius* received in *Africa*, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them lesse cholericke against the *Carthaginians*, than before, so that for two yeeres after, they kept the high and woodie grounds, not daring to fight in the faire and champion Countries. But this late resolution of forsaking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for⁵⁰ them to succour those places which they held in *Sicill*, without a Naue, much lesse to maintaine the warre in *Africa*. For whereas the *Romans* were to send forces from *Messana* to *Egesta*, to *Lilybaum*, and to other places in the extreme West parts of *Sicill*, making sometimes a march of about an hundred and forty *Engliſh* mile by land,

which

which could not be performed with an Armie, and the prouisions that follow it, in lesse than foureteen daies; the *Carthaginians* would passe it with their Gallies, in eight and fortie houres.

An old example we haue, of that great advantage of transporting Armies by water, betweene *Canutus*, and *Edmond Ironſide*. For *Canutus*, when he had entred the *Thames* with his Naue and Armie, and could not preuaile against *London*, suddenly imbarqued; and failing to the West, landed in *Dorſetſhire*, so drawing *Edmond* and his Armie thither. There finding ill entertainment, he againe shipt his men, and entred the *Seuerne*, making *Edmond* to march after him, to the succour of *Worceſterſhire*, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had *Edmond* there, hee failed back againe to *London*: by meanes whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled where hee pleased, ere succour could arrive. And this was not the least helpe, which the *Netherlands* haue had against the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their libertie, that being Masters of the Sea, they could passe their Armie from place to place, vnwearied, and entire, with all the Munition and Artilerie belonging vnto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies haue beene able to doe it. Of this an instance or two. The Count *Maurice of Nassau*, now living, one of the greatest Captaines, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceeding Ages haue brought forth, in the yeare 1590. carried his Armie by Sea, with fortie Canons, to *Breda*: making countenance either to besiege *Boisſeleue*, or *Gertruiden Berg*; which the enemy (in preuention) filled with Souldiers, and vittuals. But as soone as the winde serued, he suddenly set saile, and arriving in the mouth of the *Meuse*, turned vnto the *Rhine*, and thence to *Tyfel*, and late downe before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could march ouer land round about *Holland*, about fourecore mile, and ouer many great Riuers, with their Cannon and carriage, *Zutphen* was taken. Again, when the *Spaniſh* Armie had ouercome this wearisome march, and were now farre from home, the Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to saile vnto the *Rhine*, changed his course in the night; and sailing downe the streame, he was set downe before *Hulſt* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this Towne he also tooke, before the *Spaniſh* armie could returne. Lastly, the *Spaniſh* armie was no sooner arrived in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, hauing fortified *Hulſt*, set saile againe, and presented himselfe before *Nymegen* in *Gelders*, a Citie of notable importance, and maltred it.

And to say the truth; it is impossible for any maritime Countie, not hauing the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it selfe against a powerfull enemy, that is master of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spain* than *England* should bee an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King *Philip* the second had fully resolved to hinder Sir *John Norris* in the yeare 1589. from presenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugall*, before the gates of *Lisborne*; and that he would haue kept off the *Engliſh*, by power of his land-forces; as being too weak a Sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty Armada, by the fleet of Queene *Elizabeth*, in the yeere foregoing. Surely, it had not beene hard for him, to prepare an Armie, that should be able to resist our eleuenthouſand. But where should this his Armie haue beene bellowed? If about *Lisborne*, then would it haue bene caſie vnto the *Engliſh*, to take, ranſack, and burne the Towne of *Groine*, and to waste the Countie round about it. For the great and threatening preparations, of the Earle of *Albemarle*, the Markeſſe of *Seralba*, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the haſtie leaue of eight thouſand, vnder the Earle of *Andrada*, serue to more effect, than the increaſe of honour to Sir *John Norris*, and his Associates: considering, that the *Engliſh* charged these at *Puente de Burgos*, and passing the great Bridge, behinde which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricaded at the further end, routed them; tooke their campe; tooke their Generalls ſtandard with the Kings Armes, and pursued them ouer all the Countie, which they fired. If a roiall Armie, and not (as this was) a Companie of priuate aduenturers, had thus begunne

begunne the warre in *Galicia*, I thinke it would haue made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugale*, and make haste to the defence of their *St. Iago*, whose Temple was not farre from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution; as knowing, that *Sir Iohn Norris* his maine intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Armie, into his Kingdome, whither comming strong, he expected to bee readily and joyfully welcomed: could they haue hindered his landing in *Portugale*? Did not he land at *Fenicha*, and march ouer the Countrie to *Lyborne*, fixe daies iournie? Did not hee (when all *Don Antonio* his promises failed) passe along by the Riuer of *Lyborne* to *Casalic*, and there, hauing wonne the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But these, though no more than a handiull, yet were they *Englismen*. Let vs consider of the matter it selfe; what an other Nation might doe, euen against *England*, in landing an Armie, by aduantage of a fleet, if wee had none. This question, *Whether an invading Armie may be resisted at their landing vpon the coast of England*, werethere no fleets of ours at the Sea to impeach it; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his obseruations vpon *Casars* Commentaries, that maintaine the affirmatiue. This he holds only vpon supposition; in absence of our shipping: and comparatively, as, that it is a more safe and easie course, to defend all the coast of *England*, than to suffer an enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keepe our enemy from treading vpon our ground: wherein, if wee faile, then must wee seeke to make him so with, that he had laied at his owne home. In such a case, if it should happen, our iudgements are to weigh many particular circumstances, that belong not vnto this discourse. But making the question general, and positive, *whether England*, without helpe of her fleet, be able to debarre an enemy from landing; I hold that it is vnable so to doe: and therefore I thinke it most dangerous to make the aduventure. For the encouragement of a first victorie to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the inuaded, may draw after it a most perillous consequence.

It is true, that the Marshall *Monluc*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complaine, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to haue kept the frontier of *Guienne*, they of the *Protestant* religion, after the battaile of *Moncouter*, entred that Countie, and gathered great strength and reliefe thence; for if the King (saith he) would haue giuen me but reasonable means; *jeuse bien garde a Monsieur l'Admiral, de faire faire ses Cheueux en la Garonne*; I would haue kept the Admiral from watering his horses in the Riuer of *Garonne*. *Monsieur de Longey*, on the contrary side, prefers the not fighting vpon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commendeth the delay; which course the Constable of *France* held, against the Emperour *Charles*, when hee inuaded *Prouence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diuerse consideration to be had, betwene such a Countie as *France* is, strengthened with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of inuasions vpon firme land, that these great Capitaines spake: whose entrances cannot be vncertaine. But our question is, of an Armie to be transported ouer Sea, and to be landed againe in an enemies Countie, and the place left to the choice of the Inuader. Hereunto I say, That such an Armie cannot be resisted on the coast of *England*, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of *France*, or any other Countie: except euery Creeke, Port, or sandie Bay, had a powerfull Armie, in each of them, to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted; That *Xent* is able to furnish twelue thousand foot; and that those twelue thousand be laied in the three best landing places within that Countie, to wit, three thousand at *Margat*, three thousand at the *Nesse*, and fixe thousand at *Foulkeston*, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troupes (vnlesse some other order be thought more fit) bee directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this prouision, if the enemy, setting saile from the Isle of *Wight*, in the first

first watch of the night, and towing their long boates at their sternes, shall arrive by dawne of day at the *Nesse*, and thrust their Armie on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at *Margat*, (twentie and foure long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellows at the *Nesse*. Nay, how shall they at *Foulkeston* bee able to doe it, who are neerer by more than halfe the way? seeing that the enemy, at his first arriual, will cyther make his entrance by force, with three or foure hundred shot of great Artillery, and quickly put the first three thousand, that were intrenched at the *Nesse*, to runne; or else giue them so much to doe, that they shall be glad to send for helpe to *Foulkeston*; and perhaps to *Margat*: where-
10 by those places will bee left bare. Now let vs suppose, that all the twelue thousand *Kentish* Souldiers arrive at the *Nesse*, ere the enemy can be ready to disimbarque his Armie, so that hee shall finde it vn safe, to land in the face of so many, prepared to withstand him; yet must we beleue, that he will play the best of his owne game; and (hauing liberty to goe which way he list) vnder couert of the night, let layle towards the East, where what I shall hinder him to take ground, cyther at *Margat*, the *Downes*, or elsewhere, before they at the *Nesse* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more easie than to doe it. Yea the like may bee sayd of *Weymouth*, *Purbeck*, *Poole*, and of all landing places on the South Coast. For there is no man ignorant, that Ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily
20 or runne the Souldiers that coast them: *Les Armees ne violent point en passe; Armes ne they flye, nor rusne poss*, sayth a Marshall of *France*. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of Ships may be leene at *Sunne*-set, and after it, at the *Lisard*; yet by the next morning they may recouer *Portland*, whereas an Armie of foot shall not bee able to march it in fixe dayes. Again, when those troupes, lodged on the Sea-shores, shall be forced to runne from place to place in vaine, after a fleet of Ships; they will at length sit downe in the mid-way, and leaue all at aduerture. But say it were otherwise; That the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Armie of ours ready to receiue him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders
20 and Capitaines, shall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilburie* in the yeare 1588.) to attend the person of the Prince, and for the defence of the Citie of *London*; they that remaine to guard the coast, can be of no such force, as to encounter an Armie like vnto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of *Parma* should haue landed in *England*.

The Ile of *Tercera* hath taught vs by experience, what to thinke in such a case. There are not many Ilands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthened by art: it being euery where hard of access; hauing no good harbour wherin to shelter a Nauie of friends; and vpon euery couer or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylua*, and *Monsieur*
40 *de Chaites*, that held it to the vse of *Don Antonio*, with five or fixe thousand men, thought to haue kept the *Marquesse of Santa Cruz*, from setting foot on ground therein; the *Marquesse* hauing shewed himselfe in the Roade of *Angra*, did let saile, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the *Port des Moles*, farre distant from thence, where hee wanne a Fort, and landed, ere *Monsieur de Chaites*, running thither in vaine, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Stralster*, flaine the yeere before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred *French* prisoners murdered in cold blood, had instructed *de Chaites* and his followers, what they might expect at that *Marquesse* his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were slow in carrying reliefe to *Port des Moles*. Whether our *Englsh* would bee perswaded to
50 make such diligent haste, from *Margat* to the *Nesse*, and backe againe, it may bee doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; whereof the *French-men* had not measured the one halfe when they found themselves preuented by the more nimble ships of *Spaine*.

This may suffice to proue, that a strong Armie, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horse, is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list, in *England*,
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France,

France, or elsewhere, vnlesse it be hindred, encountered, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equall, or answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our *Englishs*, at *Fayal*, in the yeere 1597. is alleged against this: which example moues me no way to thinke, that a large coast may be defended against a strong fleet. I landed those *Englishs* in *Fayal*, my selfe, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I finde an action of mine cited, with omission of my name; I may by a ciuill interpretation, thinke, that there was no purpose to detract me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprise was such, or so ill managed, that no honour could be due vnto it. There were indeed some which were in that voyage, who aduised me not to vndertake it; and I harkened vnto them, somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilst they desired mee, to reserve the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficultie: I gaue them to vnderstand, the same which I now maintaine, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, then to invade it. The truth is, that I could haue landed my men with more ease then I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would haue rowed to another place, yea even there where I landed, if I would haue taken more companie to helpe me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashnesse, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that businesse, than of safetie. For I thought it to belong vnto the honour of our Prince & Nation, that a few Islanders should not think any aduantage great enough, against a fleet set forth by *Q. Elizabeth*: and further, I was vnwilling, that some *Low-Country* Capitaines, and others, not of mine owne squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceipt (though it would haue bin short, when I had landed in some other place) that for want of their helpe I was driven to turne taile. Therefore Iooke with me none, but men assured, Commanders of mine owne squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuse; as, Sir *William Brooke*, Sir *William Harney*, Sir *Arthur Gorges*, Sir *John Skot*, Sir *Thomas Ridgeway*, Sir *Henrie Thimpe*, Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, Capitaine *Laurence Kemis*, Capitaine *William Morgan*, and others, such as well vnderstood themselves and the enemy: by whose helpe, with Gods fauour, I made good the enterprise I vnderooke. As for the working of the Sea, the steepnesse of the Cliffs, and other troubles, that were not new to vs, we ouercame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made five or sixe Companies of the enemies, that sought to impeach our landing abandon the wal, whereon their Musketers lay on the rest for vs, and wonne the place of them without any great losse. This I could haue done with lesse danger, so that it should not haue serued for example of a rule, that failed euery in this example: but the reasons before alleged, (together with other reasons well knowne to some of the Gentlemen aboue named, though more private, then to be here laid downe) made me rather follow the way of brauerie, and take the shorter course; hauing it still in mine owne power to fall off when I should thinke it meet. It is easily said, that the Enemy was more then a Coward; (which yet was more then we knew) neither will I magnifie such a small peece of seruice, by seeking to proue him better: whom had I thought equal to mine owne followers, I would otherwise haue dealt with. But for so much as concerns the Proposition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember that the same enemy troubled vs more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the shore; that he sought how to stop vs in place of his aduantage; that many of our men were slayne or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthur Gorges* was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to bee past, when we had wonne good footing) would needes follow vs to the Town were driven by him, to forsake the pace of a man of warre, and betake themselves to an halste trot.

For end of this digression. I hope that this question shall neuer come to triall; his Majesties many mouable Forts forbid the experience. And although the *English* will no lesse disdain, than any Nation vnder heauen can doe, to be beaten vpon

vpon their owne ground, or elsewhere by a forraigne enemy; yet to entaine those that shall assaile vs, with their owne beefe in their bellies, and before they eate of our *Kentish* Capons, I take it to be the wisest way. To doe which, his Majestic, after God, will imploie his good ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment vpon the shore.

¶ X.

How the Romans attempt againe to get the mastery of the Seas. The victorie of *Cæsar*. *Cælius* the Roman Confull as *Panormus*: The siege of *Lilybæum*. How a *Rhodian* Gallie entred *Lilybæum* at pleasure, in despite of the Roman fleet. That it is a matter of great difficultie to stop the passage of good ships. The Romans, by reason of grieuous losses recieued, vnder *CLAVDIUS* and *LVRIUS* their Confulls, abandon the Seas againe.

Then, without a strong Nauie, the Romans found it altogether impossible, either to keepe what they had already gotten in *Sicily*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa* or elsewhere, they resolved once againe, notwithstanding their late misadventures, to strengthen their fleet and ships of warre. So causing fiftie new Gallies to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gaue them in charge (together with certaine Legions of Souldiers) to the new Confulls, *C. Atilius*, and *L. Manlius*. On the other side, *Asdrubal* perceiuing that the Romans, partly by reason of the ouerthrow which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the ouerthrow which they recieued by *Scipio* in *Africa*, were lesse daring than they had bene in the beginning of the warre; and withall, that one of the Confulls was returned into *Italy*, with the one halfe of the Armie; and that *Cælius*, with onely the other halfe, remained at *Panormus*: he removed with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to prouoke *Cælius* to fight. But the Confull was better aduised. For when *Asdrubal* had made his approaches somewhat neerer the Towne, *Cælius* caused a deepe trench to be cut, a good distance without the ditch of the Citie: betweene which and his trench he left ground sufficient, to embattaile a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gaue order that they should aduance themselves, and passe ouer the new trench, till such time as the *African* Elephants were thrust vpon them. From those beasts he commanded them to retire, by slow degrees, till they had drawne on the Elephants to the brink of the new trench, which they could by no means passe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they were so gawled and beaten, both by those Souldiers that were on the inside of the trench, and by those that lay in the trench it selfe, that being enraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiously vpon their owne foot men, and vterly disordered them. *Cælius*, espying this aduantage, sallied with all the force hee had; and charging the other troupes, that stood embattailed, he vtterly brake them, and put them to their heels, making a great slaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this victorie being brought to *Rome*, the whole state, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred saile, which they sent into *Sicily*, to giue end to that warre, that had now lasted fourteene yeeres. With this fleet and armie the Romans resolved to attempt *Lilybæum*, the onely place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*; and all (indeed) saue *Drepanum*, that was neere adjoining. They set downe before it, and possessed themselves of all the places of aduantage neere vnto it, especially of such as command the haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground fixe towres of defence, & by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the city, as the defendants begin to despair.

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Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the Place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of Warre. All that is broken, herepaired with admirable diligences, he maketh many furious sallies, and giuech to the *Romans* all the affronts that possibly could be made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers; among which there are certaine Lieutenants, and other petty Officers, that conspire to render and betray the Towne. But the matter is revealed by an *Achean*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly, in danger of the like treason, saved *Agriegenum*. *Himilco* vseth the helpe of *Alexon*, to assure the hired Souldiers; and employeth *Hannibal* to appease the troops of the *Gauls*, which did wauer, and had sent their agents to the enemy. All promise constancie and truth; so that the Traitors, being vnable to performe what they had vnderaken, are faine to lue in the *Roman* campe as fugitiues, that had wrought no good whereby to deserue their bread. In the meane while, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to their reliefe, hauing *Hannibal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, for their Conductor: who, in despite of all resistance, entered the Port and Citie, to the incredible ioy of the besieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perswaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) resolue to set vpon the *Romans* in their Trenches, and either force them to abandon the siege, or (at least) to take from them, or set on fire, their engines of batterie. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the vermouth, with great laughter on both sides. But the *Romans* being more in number, 20 and hauing the aduantage of the ground, hold still their places, and with extreme difficultie defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* desire greatly to vnderstand the state of things at *Lilybeum*, but know not how to send into the Towne. A certaine *Rhodian* vnderakes the seruice; and hauing recieued his dispatch, failes with one Gallie to *Agulus*, a little Iland neere *Lilybeum*. Thence, taking his time, he steered directly with the Port; and hauing a passing swift Gallie, he past through the best of the Chennel, and recovered the water-gate, ere any of those, which the *Romans* had to guard the Port, could thrust from the shores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the couert of the darke night, nor dreading to be boarded by the *Roman* Gallies, who waited his returne, he set saile, and shipping his Oares (his Gallie being exceeding quick of steerage, and himselfe expert in all parts of the chennel) recovered the Hauens mouth, and the Sea, in despite of all the pursuit made after him. Then, finding himselfe out of danger of being incompassed by many, he turned againe towards the mouth of the Hauens, challenging any one, if any one durst come forth, to vnderake him. This enterprise, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondrous at in those dayes: and yet, where there was no great Artillerie, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill a farre-off, the aduantage which this *Rhodian* made, was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and iudicious man of warre will not feare to passe by the best appointed Fort of *Europe*, with the helpe of a good Tide, and a leading gale of wind: no, though fortie peeces of great Artillerie open their mouthes against him, and threaten to teare him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queenes time, when *Denmarke* and *Sweden* were at Warre; our *East-land* fleet, bound for *Leif-land*, was forbidden by the King of *Denmarke* to trade with the subiects of his enemies, and he threatened to sinke their ships if they came through the brights of *Elfenour*. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (hauing a ship of her *Maidier*, called the *Minion*, to defend them) made the aduventure; and sustaining some Vollics of shot, kept on their course. The King made all the prouision he could, to stop them, or sinke them, at their returne. But 50 the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burroughs*, leading the way, did not only passe out with little losse, but did beat downe, with artillerie, a great part of the Fort of *Elfenour*; which at that time was not so well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any

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wound receiued. Neither was it long since, that the Duke of *Parma* besieging *Antwerp*, and finding no possibilitie to master it, otherwise then by famine, laid his Cannon on the bancke of the Riuer, so well to purpose, and so euen with the face of the water, that he thought it impossible for the least boat to passe by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blowne vp by any winde of glorie, but coming to finde a good market for their Butter and Cheese, euen the poore men, attending their profit when all things were extreme deare in *Antwerp*, passed in boats of ten or twelue Tonne, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despite of it, when a strong Westerly winde, and a Tide of flood fauoured them; as also with a contrarie 10 winde, and an ebbing water, they turned backe againe: so as he was forced, in the ende, to build his *Stockado* ouerthwart the Riuer, to his maruailous trouble and charge.

The Fort St. *Philip* terrified not vs in the yeere 1596. when we entered the Port of *Caliz*; neither did the Fort at *Puntal*, when we were entred, beat vs from our anchoring by it; though it plaied vpon vs with foure Demi-cannons within point blanche, from fixe in the morning till twelue at noone. The siege of *Offend*, and of many other places, may be giuen for prooffe, how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of a good ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is so set, as that of *Angra in Terceira*, that there is no passage along be- 30 side it, or that the ships are driuen to turne vpon a bow line towards it, wanting all helpe of winde and tide; there, and in such places, is it of great vse, and fearefull: otherwife not.

But to returne to our aduenturous *Rhodian*: Hee arriues in safetie at *Carthage*, and makes them know the estate of *Lilybeum*. Others also, after this take vpon them to doe the like, and performe it with the same successe. The *Romans* therefore labour to choke the chennel; and, for that purpose, fill many Merchants ships with great stones, and sinke them therein. The force of the Tides cleares it againe in part: but they grounded so many of those great-bellied boats in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heape, like a ragged Iland, in the pas- 30 sage. Hereby it came to passe, that a *Carthaginian* Gallie, taking her course by night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ranne her selfe a-ground thereon, and was taken. Now comes the braue *Rhodian*, thinking to enter, as hee had done before: but this *Carthaginian* Gallie, a little before taken, gaue him chase, and gathered vpon him; he findes what thees, both by her forme and by her swiftnesse: and being not able to runne from her, resolved to fight with her. But she is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybeum, after this, is greatly distressed; so the Souldiers being worne with labour and watching. But in this despair there rose so violent a tempest, as some of the *Romans* wooden Towers, by which they ouer-topt the walls of *Lilybeum*, were 40 ouer-turned. A Greeke Souldier vnderakes to fire those that were fallen, and performs it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blowne vnto by the bellows of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistlesse, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brazen heads of the battering Rammes. Hereupon, despair and wearinesse hinder the *Romans* from repairing their Engines: so that they reioice, by a long siege, to starue the defendants.

Vpon relation of what had past, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Rome*, vnder *Mc. Claudius*, the Consull. He arriues at *Messina*, and marcheth our land to *Lilybeum*: where hauing re-inforced the Armie, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surpris of *Drepanum*, a Citie on the other 50 side of the Bay of *Lilybeum*. This seruice the Captaines and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Consull imbarques his troups, and arriues on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. *Asherbalis* Gouvernour of the Towne, a valiant and prudent man of warre, who being ignorant of the new supply arriued at *Lilybeum*, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but hauing recovered his spirits, hee per-

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twades

swades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroad, than to be inclosed. Herewithall hee promiseth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deserue them; offering to leade them himselfe, and to fight in the head of his fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrusts into the Sea towards the *Romans*. The Confull, deceived of his expectation, calls back the foremost Gallies, that he might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some row backward, some forward, in great confusion. *Adherbal* findes and followes his aduantage, and forceth the Confull into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himselfe, hauing the land on his back: hoping thereby to keepe himselfe from being incompassed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-roume, so frightened, as hee could not turne himselfe any way 10 from his enemies, nor range himselfe in any order. Therefore when hee found no hope of resistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, he thrust out of the Bay with thirtie Gallies, besides his owne, and so fled away: all the rest of his fleet, to the number of ninetie and foure ships, were taken or sunke by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for this seruice is greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*, for his indiction and flight, as much disgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this great losse, arme threecore Gallies, with which they send away *L. Iunius*, their Confull, to take charge of their business in *Sicily*. *Iunius* arrives at *Messana*, where he meets with the whole remainder of the *Roman* fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of *Lilybaeum*. One hundred and 20 twentie Gallies he had; and besides these, hee had gotten together almost eight hundred ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessarie provisions for the Armie. With this great fleet he arrives at *Syracuse*, where he staies a while; partly to take in corne; partly to wait for some, that were too slow of saile, to keepe company with him along from *Messana*. In the meane time, hee dispatcheth away towards *Lilybaeum*, his *Quaessors* or Treasurers; to whom he commits the one halfe of his victuallers, with some Gallies for their conuoy.

Adherbal was not carelesse, after his late victorie: but studied how to vse it to the best aduantage. The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to *Carthage*. Of his owne Gallies hee deliuered thirtie to *Carthalo*, who had theefcore and ten 30 more vnder his owne charge; and sent him to trie, what good might be done against the *Roman* fleet, in the Hauen of *Lilybaeum*. According to this direction, *Carthalo* suddenly enters the mouth of that Hauen, where he findes the *Romans*, more attentive to the keeping in of the besieged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their owne against another fleet. So hee chargeth them, boords and takes some, and fires the rest. The *Roman* Campe takes alarme, and hastens to the rescue. But *Himilce*, Gouvernour of the Towne, is not behind hand; who sallies out at the same time, and putting the *Romans* in great distrust, giues *Carthalo* good leisure to go through with his enterprise.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ranne all along the South coast of *Sicily*, deuising how 40 to worke mischief to the enemy: wherein Fortune presented him with a faire occasion, which he wisely managed. He was aduertised by his Scouts, that they had descried, neere at hand, a great fleet, consisting of all manner of Vessells. These were the victuallers, which the Confull *Iunius*, more hastily than providently, had sent before him towards *Lilybaeum*. *Carthalo* was glad to heare of their coming: for hee and his men were full of courage, by reason of their late victories. Accompanying therefore the great multitude of *Roman* Hulks approaching, to be rather a prey, than a fleet, likely to make strong opposition, he hastens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no minde to fight: but were glad to seeke shelter in an open Road, full of rocks, vnder couert of a poore Towne, 50 belonging to their parties: that could helpe to saue them only from the present danger, by lending them engines and other aide, wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that assailed them. *Carthalo* therefore, hauing taken a few of them, lay waiting for the rest, that could not long ride vnder those rocks, but wvould be forced, by

by any great change of winde, either to put out into the deepe, or to saue their men, how they could, by taking land, with the losse of all their shipping. Whilest he was builed in this care; the Confull *Iunius* drew neere, and was discouered. Against him *Carthalo* makes out, and findes him altogether vnprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Confull had neither means to flie, nor abilitie to fight. Therefore he likewise ran into a very dangerous Creeke; thinking no danger so great, as that of the enemy. The *Carthaginian*, seeing this, betakes himselfe to a Station betwene the two *Roman* Fleets; where hee watcheth, to see which of them would first stirre, with a resolution to affalt that, which 10 should first dare to put it selfe into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coast of *Sicily*, betwene the *Promontorie* of *Pachinus* and *Lilybaeum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the winde stormed at South. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of tempest, and their signes, finding (belike) some swelling billow (for so we doe in the West of *England*, before a Southerly storme) hastened to double the Cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to couer themselves from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight, than how to Nauigate, and neuer found any foule weather in the entrailes of their beaks, their Soothsayers being all land-prophets, were suddenly over-taken with a boisterous South winde, and all their Gallies forced against the rocks, and vterly wrackt.

20 This calamitie so discouraged the *Romans*, that they resolu'd againe to forsake the Seas, and trust onely to the seruice of their Legions vpon firme ground. But such a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at Sea, or else they must not make warre in any Island, against those that haue a mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered, through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient vertue of the *Spaniards*. We seldome or neuer finde, that any Nation hath endured so many misaduentures and miseries, as the *Spaniards* haue done, in their *Indian* Discoveries. Yet persisting in their enterprises, with an invincible constancie, they haue annexed to their Kingdome so many goodly Prouinces, as burie the remembrance 30 of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwracks, famine, ouerthrowes, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of discases, both old and new, together with extreme pouertie, and want of all things needfull, haue bene the enemies, wherewith every one of their most noble Discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountered. Many yeeres haue passed ouer some of their heads, in the search of not so many leagues: yea more then one or two, haue spent their labour, their wealth, and their liues, in search of a golden Kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fift vndertakers, haue not bene dishearted. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those Treasuries, and Paradises, which they enjoy; and 40 well they deserue to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

§. XI.

The Citie of Eryx is surprized by the Romans, and recovered by AMILCAR, who stoutly holds warre with them five yeeres. The Romans having emptied their common treasure, build a new fleet, at the charges of private men. The great victorie at Sea of LVCATIVS the Consull, whereby the Carthaginians are forced to crasse peace. The conditions of the peace betwene Rome and Carthage.

THE Romans were carefull, to supply with all industrie, by land, the want of strength at Sea. Therefore they continue the siege of *Lilybaeum*, and seekte to make sure to themselves all places, whither the enemies ships could not bring reliefe. The Consull *Iunius*, to cure the wound of dishonour, which hee had received, bethought him what enterprise to vndertake. In the end hee resolved to attempt the Mountaine and Citie of *Eryx*, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: which was the fairest and richest of all the Iland; and of these, by cunning or treason, hee got possession. *Eryx* was commodiously seated betwene *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; so that it seemed a fit place for a Garrison, that should restrain the *Carthaginians* from making roads into the Countrey. Wherefore *Iunius* fortified both the top of the Mountaine, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottome, (both which places were verie defensible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the eighteenth yeere of this warre, the *Carthaginians* sent forth *Amilcar*, surnamed *Bardae*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a fleet and armie, who sailing to the coasts of *Italie*, did thoroughly repay the spoiles which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For hee first of all waited and destroyed the Territories of the *Leontines*, and of the *Brutians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entred hee into *Sicily*; and finding there no walled Citie in the *Carthaginians* power, that served fitly to infect the *Romans*, hee occupied a peece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Armie thereon; to confront as well the *Romans*, that were in *Panormus*, as those that kept about *Eryx*, putting himselfe betwene both Armies with admirable resolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had seized vpon, was not only very strong by situation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gaue him opportunitie, to scoure all the coast of *Italie* with his fleet, waiting all along as farre as to *Cuma*. In the Ile of *Sicily* hee held the *Romans* to hard worke: lying neere vnto *Panormus*, where in three yeeres abode hee did many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the enemy could neuer bee drawne to hazard the maine chance. Having wearied himselfe and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, hee vndertooke a strange peece of worke at *Eryx*. The *Roman* Garrisons, placed there by *Iunius*, on the top, and at the bottome of the Mountaine, were very strongly lodged. Neuertheless *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Sea-side, by which hee conueighed his men into the Citie of *Eryx*, that was about the middell of the ascent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to passe, that the *Romans* which kept the top of the Mountaine, were streightly held (as it were) besieged. And no lesse was *Amilcar* himselfe restrained, by both of these Garrisons, and such as came to relieue them. There hee found them pastime about two yeeres more; hoping still to wearie out those that lay over his head, as they on the contrarie did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans* and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent vnto the prosecuting of this businesse at *Eryx*. Wherein it seemes true (as *Hannibal*, in *Livy*, spake vnto *Scipio*) that the affaires of *Carthage* neuer stood in better termes, since the beginning of the warre, than now they did. For whereas the *Romans*

mans had vnto this forsaken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses; partly vpon confidence of their land-forces, which they held resistlesse; *Amilcar*, with a small Armie, had so well acquitted himselfe, to the honour of his Countrey, that by the triall of five yeeres warre, the *Carthaginian* Souldier was judged equall, if not superiour to the *Roman*. Finally, when all, that might be, had beene deuiled and gone, for the dislodging of this obdurate Warriour: no way seemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once againe to build a fleet; whereby, if the mastery of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lack of supply, should no longer be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficultie was found. The common treasure was exhausted: and the cost was not little, that was requisite vnto such an enterprise. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden vpon private purses. Diuers of the principall Citizens vndertooke to build (each at his owne charges) one *Quinquereme*, which example wrought so well, that they, whose abilitie would not serue to doe the like, joyined with some others, and haying their monie together, cocurred two or three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repaid, when the warre was finished. By this voluntarie contribution, they made and furnished two hundred new *Quinqueremes*: taking for their patterne, that excellent swift-rowing Gallie which they had gotten from the *Rhadians*, in the Port of *Lilybaeum*, as was shewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Lucatius Catulus*; who past with the same into *Sicily*, the Spring following, and entred the Port of *Drepanum*; inducours by all means to haue forced the Citie. But being aduertised that the *Carthaginian* fleet was at hand; and being mindfull of the late losses which his Predecessours had received; he was careful to put himselfe in order, against their arrivall.

Hanno was Admirall of the *Carthaginian* fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wise in picture, exceedingly formall, and skilfull in the arte of seeming reuerend. How his reputation was first bred, I doe not finde; but it was vp-held by a factious contradiction, of things vndertaken by men more worthy than himselfe. This qualitie procured vnto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient sort, whose cold temper is averse from new enterprises, and therewithall an opinion of great fore-sight, confirmed by euery losse received. More particularly, hee was gracious among the people, for that hee was one of the most grievous oppressours of their subiect Prouinces; whereby he procured vnto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithall such hatred, as turned it all to their great losse. Hee had ere this bene employed against the *Numidians*, and wilde *Africans*, that were more like to Routers, than to Souldiers, in making Warre. Of those fugitive Nations, hee learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his owne great dishonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which lost not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counsaile, when, hauing shewed himselfe an unworthie Capitaine, hee tooke himselfe to the long Robe. Yet is hee much commended in *Roman* Histories, as a temperate man, and one that studied how to preserve the League betwene *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well hee deserved of his owne Countrey, it will appeare hereafter: how beneficiall hee was to the *Romans*, it will appeare, both hereafter, and in his present voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miserable necessitie of accepting vpon hard conditions, that peace which he thenceforth commended.

Hanno had very well furnished his Nauie, with all needfull prouisions for the Souldiers at *Eryx*: (for dexteritie in making preparation was the best of his qualities) but hee had neither bene carefull in traying his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with stout fellows. Hee thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* fleet was enough, to make the vnexpted *Romans* give way: forgetting, that rather the resistlesse force of tempests; than any other strength of opposition, had made them to forsake the Seas. Yet in one thing hee had other concerned

conceiued a-right, or else was sent forth well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all to faile to *Eryx*, and there to discharge his ships of their lading: and hauing thus lightned himselfe, he meant to take aboard some part of the Land-armie, together with *Amilcar* himselfe, by whose helpe he doubted not, but that he should be able to make the enemie repent of his new aduerture to Sea. This was a good counsell, if it could haue beene performed. But *Catulus* vied all possible diligence, to prevent the execution of this deligne: not because hee was informed of the enemies purpose, but for that he knew it to be the best for them, and for that feared no danger so greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the *Carthaginian* fleet was desired; 10 yet he rather chose to fight with the enemie, that had the winde of him, than to suffer this conuoy to passe along to *Eryx*, vpon vnlikely hope of better opportunitie in the future. All that *Hanno* should haue done, *Catulus* had performed. Hee had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; hee had lightned his Gallies of all vnnecessarie burthen; and hee had taken aboard the choice men of the *Roman* Land-fouldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the first encounter, were vterly broken and defeated; hauing fiftie of their Gallies stemmed and sunke, and seuentie taken, wherein were few lesse than ten thousand men, that were all made prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change of winde, escaping to the Ile of *Hieronefus*. 20

The state of *Carthage*, vterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to resolve. Meanes to repaire their fleet in any time there were none left; their best men of warre by Sea were consumed; and *Amilcar*, vpon whose valour and iudgement the honour and safetie of the Common-weale rested, was now surrounded by his enemies in *Sicily*, where hee could not bee relieved. In this extremitie, they make dispatch vnto *Amilcar* himselfe, and authorize him to take what course he should seeme best vnto his excellent wisdom, leaving all conclusions to his election and sole counsaile.

Amilcar, whom no aduersitie, accompanied with the least hope or possibilitie of recouerie, had euer vanquished, looking ouer every promise, true or false, that the present time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future hee was not able) resolved to make triall, whether his necessitie might bee compounded vpon any reasonable termes. He therefore sent to *Lutatius* the Confull an Overture of peace: who considering it well, gathered so many arguments from the present pouertie of the *Roman* State, waisted beyond expectation in the former warre, that he willingly harkened vnto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with prouision, That it should hold none otherwise, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratifie it with their allowance.

The conditions were: First, that the *Carthaginians* should clearly abandon the Ile of *Sicily*. Secondly, that they should neuer vnder-take vpon *Hieron* King of *Syracuse*, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should set at libertie, and send back into *Italy*, all the *Romans*, whom they hold prisoners, without ranfome. Lastly, that they should pay vnto the *Romans* two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the *French* reckon the talent, thirtene hundred and twentie thousand crownes: the same to be deliuered within twentie yeeres next following.

These Articles were sent to *Rome*, where they were not thoroughly approved: but ten Commissioners were sent into *Sicily*, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand talents to the former summe; and required a 50 shorter time of payment. Further also, they tooke order, that the *Carthaginians* should not only depart out of *Sicily* it selfe, but should also with-draw their Companies out of all the other Ilands betwene it and *Italy*, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such

Such was the end of the first *Punicke Warre*; that had lasted about twentie foure yeares without intermission; in which time the *Romans* had lost, by fight or shipwrack, about seuen hundred *Quinqueremes*; and the *Carthaginians*, about five hundred: the greatnesse of which losses, doth serue to proue the greatnesse both of these two Cities, and of the Warre it selfe; wherein I hold good the iudgement of *Polyins*, That the *Romans*, in general, did shew themselves the brauer Nation; and *Amilcar*, the most worthie Capitaine.

CHAP. II.

Of diuers actions passing betwene the first and second *Punicke Warres*.

§. I.

Of the cruell warre begonne betwene the *Carthaginians* and their owne *Mercenaries*.



THE *Romans*, hauing partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*, and all the little Ilands therunto adjacent, gaue them rather meanes and leisure to helpe themselves in a following warre, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present peace. It is a true rule, *Quod leges a victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur a victis*. That lawes are given by the Conquerors, and received of the conquered. But the *Romans* had either forgotten the answer that was made vnto them, by one of the *Priuerates*; or else had forgotten to follow it, in this waightie business. For when one of *Priuerum*, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cause of his Citie, was demanded by a Senator, What peace the *Romans* might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present aduantage once them; he answered in 40 these words, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidem & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam*. If the peace be good and faithfull that you give vs, it will be perpetual; if it be ill, then of little continuance. To this answer, the Senate, at that time, gaue such approbation, that it was said, *Viri & liberi vocem auditis; an credit posse, vllum populum, aut hominem deniq; in ea condicione, cuius eum pœnitet, diutius quam necesse sit mansurum? That it was the speech of a manly, and a free man; for who could beleue, that any people, or indeede any one man, would continue longer in an oner-burdened estate, than mere necessity did enforce? Now if the *Romans* themselves could make this iudgement, of those Nations, who had little else, besides their manly resolution, to defend their liberties; surely, they grossly flattered themselves, in presuming, that the *Carthaginians*, 50 who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferior vnto themselves, would sit downe any longer by the losse and dishonour received, than vntill they could recouer their legs, and the strength, which had a while failed them, to take reuenge. But Occasion, by whom (while well entertained) not only private men, but Kings and publique States, haue more pretailed, than by any proper prowesse or vertue, with.*

with-held the tempest from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it most fearefully vpon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themselves.

For after that the first *Punicke Warre* was ended; *Amilcar*, leaving *Eryx*, went to *Lilybæum*, from whence most conveniently the Armie might be transported into *Africk*: the care of which businesse he committed vnto *Gisco*, to whom, as to a man of approued sufficiencie, he deliuered ouer his charge. *Gisco* had an especiall consideration of the great summes, wherein *Carthage* was indebted vnto these Mercenaries; and, withall, of the great disability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to send them ouer (as it were) by handfulls, a few at a time; that so the first might haue their dispatch, and be gone, ere the second or third Companies arrived. Herein hee dealt prouidently. For it had not bene hard to perswade any small number, lodged within so great a Citie as *Carthage*, vnto some such reasonable composition, as the present emptinesse of the common Treasurie did require: so that the first might haue bene friendly discharged, and a good president left vnto the second and third, whilst their delinquency had made them vnablen to recouer their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrarie opinion. They thought to finde, in the whole Armie, some that would be contented to gratifie the Publique state, by remitting a great part of their owne due: and hoped by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detayned the first and second companies; telling them, that they would make an euen reckoning with all together. Thus euery day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the Citie, not accustomed vnto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to some other place where they might be lesse troublesome. This must be done by some colourable words of perswasion: for their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too farre. Wherefore it is deuised, that they should all attend the coming of their fellows, at *Sicca*: receiuing euery one a peece of gold, to beare his charges in the meane while. This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers beginne to dislodge; leaving behinde them their wiues, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* haue no fauour to their returning into the Townes; and therefore compell them to trusse vp their fardells, that they might haue none occasion left, to make any errands thither. So to *Sicca* they removed, with all their goods; and there lay waiting for newes of their fellows arriuall, and their owne pay. Businesse they had none to doe, and therefore might easily be drawne to mutinie: the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talke was, how rich they should be, when all their money came in; how much would fall to euery single share; and for how long time the Citie was behinde hand with them in reckoning. They were all growne *Arithmeticians*; and hee was thought a man of worth, that could finde most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, euen beyond their due. No part of their long seruice was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promises of their Captaines, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to minde, as so many obligations, not to be cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some vnordinarie largesse.

Thus the time passeth away; vntill the whole Armie being arriued, and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to cleare the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they shall all be made rich; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining stoutly the common cause. So thinke they all; and assemble themselves to heare what good newes this messenger had brought: with a full resolution to help his memorie, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made vnto them; all which were to be considered in their Donatius. *Hanno* begins a verie formall Oration; wherein he bewailes the pouertie of *Carthage*; tells them, how great a summe of money is to be paid vnto the *Romans*; reckons vp the excessive charges,

charges, whereas the common-wealth had bene in the late warre; and finally desires them to hold themselves contented with part of their pay, and out of the loue which they bare vnto the Citie, to remit the rest. Few of them vnderstood his discourse: for the *Carthaginian* Armie was composed of sundry Nations, as *Greekes*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others, all of different languages. Yet they stared vpon him, and were (as I thinke) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such, as conceiued the whole tenour of his speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort he brought; they were all enraged, and fared like mad men, so that nothing would serue to appease them. *Hanno* would faine haue liked away their furie, but he knew not how: for hee lesse vnderstood their dissonant lowde noises, than they did his Oration. An Armie collected out of many countries, that haue no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither easily stirred vp to mutinie, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that *Hanno* can doe, is to vse the helpe of Interpreters, and messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meanings; some, for want of skill; others, of set purpose; and such as deliuer his errands in the worst sense, are best beleueed. Finally, they thinke themselves much abused by the *Carthaginians*, and resolute to demand their owne in peremptorie termes, at a neerer distance. In this mood they leaue *Sicca*, and march as farre as *Tunis*, that is within a little of *Carthage*, and there they incampe.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to find their one errour. It is a good rule,

*Curandum in primis, ne magna iniuria fiat
Fortibus & miseris.*

Haue speciall care, that valiant pouertie
Be not opprest with too great iniurie.

But this proud citie, hauing neglected the rule, hath also bene carelesse in promising to secure her selfe against the inconuenience that might followe. She had suffered the whole multitude, whereunto shee was like to giue cause of discontent, to ioyne it selfe into one bodie, when the severall troupes might easily haue bene dispersed: shee hath turned out of her gates the wiues, children, and goods of these poore men, which had shee retained in shew of kindnesse, shee might haue vsed them as Hostages, for her owne safetie; and by employing a miserable pennie-father, in her negotiation with men of warre, shee hath weakened the reputation of her bravest Captaines, that might best haue serued to free her from the threatening danger. Yet likely enough it is, that *Amilcar* had no desire to be vsed as an instrument in defrauding his owne souldiours of their wages: especially considering, that as he best could beare witness of their merits, so was hee not ignorant, that meane to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had bene willing thereunto. Here to may be added a probable coniecture, that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemy to *Amilcar*, had the boldnesse to impose the blame of his owne wretched counsaile, vpon the liberrall promises made by the Captaines. *Amilcar* therefore did wisely, in suffering those that maligned him, to haue the managing of their own plot, and to deale the cards which themselves had shuffled. Thus they continue to doe as foolishly, as they had at first begun. They furnish a market at *Tunis*, for the souldiours; whom they suffer to buy what they list, and at what price they list. They send euer and anon some of their Senators into the Campe; who promise to satisfie all demands, as farre forth as it should be possible. And thus by shifting from one extreme to another, they make the souldiours vnderstand, into what feare the City was driuen; which cannot but add much insolency to the passions already stirred vp.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the

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Armie,

Armie, which thereupon grows wife, and finding the season fit, labours to make a great haruest. Monie must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many haue lost their horses, in publique seruice of the state. The state shall pay for them. They had liued some yeares, by making hard shift, without receiuing their allowance of victuals from *Carthage*. If they had liued, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians*? Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in provision; or their Capitaine direct them where to fetch it? But this would not serue. They said that they had bene sometimes driuen to buy; and that (since they could not remember, how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their provision, during the whole time, and according to the dearest price that wheat had borne, whilst the warre lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiners; who might easily haue bene satisfied with farre lesse charges, and farre more honour, by receiuing their due at the first. But now they make none end of craving. For whilst the *Carthaginians* are perplexed, about this come monie; the Souldiers haue deuised many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater summe of monie, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could be found of these controuersies which daily did multiply, it was thought convenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Sich*, should be chosen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Armie consented, and made choise of *Gefeo*: partly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himselfe at all times a friendly man to them, and careful of their good, especially when they were to be transported into *Africk*: partly out of a dislike which they had conceived of *Amilcar*; for that he had not visited them in all this busie time. So *Gefeo* comes among them, and to please them the better, comes not without monie: which might giue better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. Hee calles vnto him first of all, the Capitaines, and then, the seuerall Nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had passed; aduising them temperately concerning the present; and exhorting them to continue their ieu vnto the State, which had long entertained them, and would alwaies be mindfull of their good seruices. After this he beganne to put hand to his purse: offering to giue them their whole paie in hand; and then after to consider of other reckonings, at a more convenient time. This he had bene well accepted, and might haue serued to bring all to a quiet passe; if two feditious ring-leaders of the multitude had not stood against it.

There was in the Campe one *Spendius*, a sturdie fellowe, and audacious, but a slave; that in the late warre had fled from a *Roman* whom hee seru'd, and therefore stood in feare, lest he should be deliuered backe to his Master; at whose hands he could expect no lesse, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could finde no better way to prolong his owne life, than by railing such troubles as might serue to withdraw men from care of priuate matters, and make his owne restitution impossible, were his Master neuer so importunate. With *Spendius* there associated himselfe one *Matho*; an hote-headed man, that had bene so forward in stirring vp the tumult, as hee could not chooseth but feare, lest his owne death should be made an example, to deterre others from the like feditious behaviour. This *Matho* deales with his Countermen, the *Africans*; telling them, that they were in farre worse condition, than either the *Gauls*, the *Greekes*, the *Spaniards*, or any forercyne mercenaries. For (saith he) these our companions haue no more to doe, than to receiue their wages, and so get them gone: but wee, that are to stay behinde in *Africa*, shall be called to another manner of accompt, when wee are left alone; so that we shall haue cause to wisht, that wee had returned home beggers, rather than laden with the monie, which (little though it be) shall breake our backs. Wee are not ignorant, how tyrannically these our haughtie Masters of *CARTHAGE* doe reigne over vs. They thinke it reasonable, that our liues and goods should be at their disposition; which they haue at other times bene accustomed to take away from vs, even without apparent cause, as it were to

declare

declare their Soueraigntie: what will they now doe, seeing that we haue demeaned our selues as free men, and bene bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our owne, as others haue done? Ye all doe know, that it were a very shame for vs, if by suing bene as fowle in curie danger of warre, as any other men, we should now stand quaking like slauers, and not dare to open our mouthes, when others take libertie to require their due. This notwithstanding yet may assure your selues, that we are like to be taught better manners, as fooles as our selues are gone: in regard of whom they are contented to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let vs therefore be wise, and consider, that they hate and feare vs. Their hatred will shew it selfe, when their feare is once past: wileste wee now take our time, and whilst we are the stronger, sensible them so greivous, that their hatred shall not be able to doe vs wrong. All their strength consisteth in monie, wherewithall they haue hired others against vs, and vs against others. At the present they haue neither monie nor friends. The best A mie that euer serued them, wherof wee are no small part, lies at their gate, ready to helpe vs if we be men. A better opportunitie cannot be expected: for were our swords once drawne, all *AFRICK* would rise on our side. As for the *CARTHAGINIANS*, whither can they send for helpe? The case it selfe is plaine: but we must quickly reioice. Either we must prevent the diligence of *GESCO*, by incensing these *GAULES* and *SPANIARDS*, and procuring them to drawe blood, or elsse he becometh vs to please our good masters, by ioyning with them against our fellowes, yea by offering to iorgine vnto them all our wages, if so (peradventure) they may be wonne to iorgine vs, or not oueraciously to punish our faults already committed. Hee is worthily a wretched slave, that neither hath care to winne his Masters loue, nor courage to attempt his owne libertie.

By such persuasions *Matho* winnes the *Africans* souldiers to his owne purpose. They are not now so greedy of monie, as of quarell; which hee that seeks, will not misse to finde. When *Gefeo* therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demands, for horses and victuals to some other more convenient time; they brake into great outrage, and say that they will haue all, euen all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Armie flocke together about *Matho* and *Spendius*; whose diligence is not wanting, to adde more fuel to the fire already blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the onely men to whom the souldiours will hearken: if any other stand vp to make a speech, a shew of stones, flying about his eares, puts him to silence, that hee shall neuer afterwards speake word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say: enough hath bene said already by these good spokersmen; so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can bee heard, save onely *thraue, thraue*.

Now the Rebellion beginnes to take forme. *Matho* and *Spendius* are chosen Capitaines; who, followed by a desperate crew of *Ruffians*, will suffer no man to make his owne peace, but pursue their owne ends, vnder faire pretence of the common cause. All which notwithstanding, *Gefeo* is not wanting to the good of his countrie, but aduentsures himselfe vpon their furie. One while hee deales with the Capitaines, and other principall men; taking them by the hand, and giuing gentle words: another while hee workes with the seuerall Nations; putting them all in hope of their owne hearts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so fullen as the *Africans*: indeed none of them had fo good cause. They require him peremptorilie, to giue them their owne, and not to feed them with wordes. The truth is, that they are not so couetous as they seeme: but will be more glad of an ill answer, then of a good payment. This is more then *Gefeo* knows: hee is not that *Matho* hath, any more then bare words, to bestow vpon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconsiderate heat, hee telles them, That they may doe well, if they stand in want of monie, to seeke it of their Capitaine, *Matho*. This is enough, Shall hee both defraud them & deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands vpon the treasure that he had brought; yea vpon him also, and al that are with him:

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as inten-

as intending to take this in part of payment, and, for the rest, to take another course. *Matbo* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellows beginne to grow calme, by his faire language: wherefore they cast into bonds both him, and all the *Carthaginians* that they can finde; that so the Armie may be freed from danger of good admonition, which they call Treason. After this followes open warre. *Matbo* sollicites all *Africk*; and his Embassadours are euerie where well entertained. Neither is it needfull to vnderstand: the very fame of this rebellion sufficeth to drawe the whole countrie into it. Now must the *Carthaginians* be plagued for those oppressions, with which they haue plagued others. It is true that aduersitie hath neuer bene vtold of her errors: and as she is euer assured to heare her owne, so commonly with her owne she vndergoes those of other men. The *Africans*, finding the *Carthaginians* hang vnder the wheele, tell them boldly, that their Impositions were mercilesse; that they tooke from them the one halfe of their cornes; that they doubled their tributes in all things else; and that they inflicted vpon their vassals the greatest punishments for the least offences. These cruelties the *Carthaginians* themselves haue forgotten: but the people, that haue suffered so much, retaine all in perfect memorie. Wherefore not onely such as can beare armes, are ready to doe seruice in this great Commotion; but the very women bring forth their iewels, and other ornaments, offering all to sale for maintenance of so iusta quarrell. By this great forwardnesse, and liberall contribution, *Matbo* and *Spendius* are supplied with a strong aide of threecore and tenne thousand *Africans*: and are moreouer furnished with monie, not onely to satisfie the present appetite of their men, but sufficient to continue the warre begun, though it should be of long endurance.

¶ II.

Diners obseruations vpon this warre with the mercenaries.

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† I.

Of Tyrannie, and how tyrants are driven to vse helpe of mercenaries.

Here let vs rest awhile, as in a conuenient breathing place: whence wee may take prospect of the subiect, ouer which we trauaile. Behold a tyrannicall Citie, persecuted by her owne mercenaries with a deadly warre. It is a common thing, as being almost necessarie, that a tyrannie should be upheld by mercinarie forces: it is common, that mercenaries should be false: and it is common, that all warre made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hate and crueltye. Yet wee seldome heare, that the ruine of a Tyrannie is procured or fought, by those that were hired to maintaine the power of it: and seldome or neuer doe we reade of any warre, that hath bene prosecuted with such inextinguishable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyrannie, is a violent forme of government, not respecting the good of the subiect, but onely the pleasure of the Commander. I purposely forbore to say, that it is the vniuersall rule of one ouer many: for verie truly doth *Cleon* in *Thucydides* tell the *Albians*, that their dominion ouer their subiects, was none other than a meere tyranny: though it were so, that they themselves were a great

Thucyd. lib.

were a great Citie, and a popular estate. Neither is it peraduenture greatly needfull, that I should call this forme of commanding, violent: since it may well and easily bee conceiued, that no man willingly performs obedience, to one regardless of his life and welfare; vniuersally himselfe bee either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of loue. The practice of tyrannie, is not alwaies of a like extremitie: for some Lords are more gentle, than others, to their very slaues; and he that is most cruell to some, is milde enough towards others, though it be but for his owne aduantage. Neuertheless, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend to himselfe, vnto notice of the difference which might bee found betwene the worth of seuerall men; it is commonly seene, that the taste of sweetnesse, drawne out of oppression, hath so good a relish, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not suffer it to bee restrained with any limits of respect. Why should hee seeke out bounds, to prescribe vnto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that hee hath gotten, by extorting from some few: by sparing none, hee should haue riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deale from euery one: but euery one could haue spared more. He hath wrung all their purses, and now he hath enough: but (as *Cicero* saith) he is neuer satisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a stock, though it were indeede a good yearely Income. Therefore he deuileth new tricks of robbery, and is not better pleased with the gaine, then with the Art of getting. He is hated for this; and he knows it well: but hee thinks by crueltye to change hatred into feare. So he makes it his exercise, to torment and murder all, whom he suspecteth: in which course, if he suspect none vnjustly, he may be said to deale craftily; but if Innocency be not safe, how can all this make any Conspirator to stand in feare, since the Traitor is no worse rewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore hee can thinke vpon none other securitie, than to disarme all his Subiects; to fortifie himselfe within some strong place; and for defence of his Person and state, to hire as many lustie Souldiers as shall be thought sufficient. These must not bee of his owne Countrey: for if not euery one, yet some one or other might chance to haue a feeling of the publique miserie. This considered, he allureth vnto him a desperate rabble of strangers, the most vn honest that can bee found; such as haue neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be careful to support him, by whose onely fauour they are maintained. Now lest any of these, either by detection of his wickednesse, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward, than he doth giue, should be drawne to doe as he doth; to robbe, to rauenish, to murder, and to satisfie their owne appetites, in most outrageous manner; being thought so much the more assured to their Master, by how much the more hee sees them grow hatefull to all men else. Considering in what Age, and in what Language I write; I must be faine to say, that these are not dreames: though some English-man perhaps that were vnacquainted with Historie, lighting vpon this lease, might suppose this discourse to be little better. This is to shew, both how tyrannie growes to stand in need of mercinarie Souldiers, and how those Mercenaries are, by mutuall obligation, firmly assured vnto the Tyrant.

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† II.

†. II.

That the tyrannie of a Citie ouer her Subiects is worse, than the tyrannie of one man: and that a tyrannicall Citie must likewise vse mercenary Souldiers.

NOW concerning the tyrannie, wherewith a Citie or State oppresseth her Subiects; it may appeare more wailes to be more moderate, then that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A Citie is jealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearefull of her life: the lesse neede hath shee therefore, to secure her selfe by crueltie. A Citie is not luxurious in consuming her treasures; and therefore needes the lesse, to pluck from her Subiects. If warre, or any other great occasion, drive her to necessitie, of taking from her Subiects more than ordinarie summes of monie: the same necessitie makes either the contribution easie, or the taking excusable. Indeede, no wrongs are so gricuous and hartfull, as those that are insolent. Remember (saith *Caligula* the Emperor, to his Grand-mother *Antonia*) that I may doe what I list, and to whom I list: these wordes were accounted horrible, though he did her no harme. And *Iuuenal* reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruell *Roman* Dame vpon her slaues; that whilest shee was whipping them, she painted her face, talked with her Gossips, and vsed all signes of neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grieuances wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subiects, are free from all fence of indignitie: likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although desire of libertie make them wearie of her Empire. In these respects it is not needefull, that shee should keepe a Guard of licentious cut-throtes, and maintaine them in all villanie, as a *Dionysius* or *Agathocles* must doe: her owne Citizens are able to terrifie, and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. These things, considered alone by themselves, may serue to proue, That a Citie is scarce able to deserue the name of a Tyrannesse, in the proper signification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appeare, That the miseries, wherewith a Tyrant lodeth his people, are not so heauie, as the burdens imposed by a cruel Citie. Not without some apparence of truth, it may be said, that Lust, and many other priuate passions, are no way incident to a Citie or Corporation. But to make this good, wee shall haue neede to vse the helpe of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* lasciuious, when *Cato* was faine to rise and leaue the Theater, to the end, that the reuerend regard of his grauitie, might not hinder the people, from calling for a shew of naked Courtians, that were to be brought vpon the open stage? By common practice, & generall approved custome, we are to censure the quality of a whole State; not by the priuate vertue or vice of any one man; nor by metaphysicall abstraction of the vniuersall from the singular; or of the Corporation, from those of whom it is compounded. I say therefore (as I haue said elsewhere) That it were better to liue vnder one pernicious Tyrant, then vnder many thousands. The reasons, proving this, are too many to set downe: but few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soeuer, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners; his humour may be found, and soothed; age or good aduice, yea, or some vnexpected accident, may reforme him: all which failing, yet is there hope, that his successor may proue better. Many Tyrants haue beene changed into worthie Kings: and many haue ill vsed their ill-gotten Dominion, which becoming hereditarie to their posteritie, hath growne into the most excellent forme of Government, euen so a lawfull Monarchie. But they that liue vnder a tyrannicall Citie, haue no such hope: their Mistress is immortal, and will not slacken the reins, vntill they be pulled out of her hands; and her owne mouth receiue the bridle of a more mightie Chariotier. This is wofull: yet their present sufferings make them lesse mindfull

of

of the future. New flies, and hungrie ones, fall vpon the same fore, out of which, others had already sucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poore kindred and friends, who meane not to returne home empty to their hiues, without a good lading of waxe and honie. These flies into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with euery mans wealth, or whatsoeuer else, in all the Prouince, is worthie to be desired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his feares: becoming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these malicious guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endlesse labour (yet it must be vndergone) and such as euery one hath not meanes to goe about: but were this effected, what auaileth it? The loue of one Governour is purchased with gifts: the Successour of this man, he is more loving than could be witheld, in respect of a faire Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrarie faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goers, who seekes the ruine of all that haue beene inward with them. So the miseries of this tyrannie are not simple; but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of ciuill warre. The *Romans* had a Law *De Repetundis*, or *Of Recouerie*, against extorting Magistrates: yet wee finde, that it serued not wholly to restrain their Prouinciall Governours; who presuming on the fauour of their owne Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Prouinces, to worke all these enormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for feare of judgement. If the subjects of *Rome* groned vnder such oppressions; what must we thinke of those, that were vassalls vnto *Carthage*? The *Romans* impoled no burthen some tributes; they loued not to heare, that their Empire was gricuous; they condemned many noble Citizens, for hauing bene ill Governours. At *Carthage* all went quite contrarie: the rapines newly deuised by one Magistrate, serued as prebends to instruct another; euery man resolved to doe the like, when it should fall to his turne; and he was held a notable Statesman, whose robberies had bene such, as might afford a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this *Carthaginian* practice, are not extant: the gouernement of *Verres* the *Roman*, in *Sicill*, that is liuely set out by *Tullie*, may serue to informe vs, what was the demerour of these *Punicke Rulers*, who stood in feare of no such condemnation, as *Verres* vnder-went. By prosecuting this discourse, I might inferre a more generall Proposition; That a Citie cannot gouerne her subject Prouinces so mildly, as a King; but it is enough to haue shewed, That the tyrannie of a Citie is farre more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.

Suteable to the crueltie of such Lords, is the hatred of their subjects; and againe, suteable to the hatred of the subjects, is the jealousy of their Lords. Hence it followed, that in warres abroad, the *Carthaginians* durst vse the seruice of *African* Souldiers; in *Africke* it selfe, they had rather bee beholding to others, than were farther fetched. For the same purpose did *Hannibal*, in the second *Punicke Warre*, blisse his mercenaries out of their owne Countreys; vt *Afri in Hispania*, *Hispani in Africa*, melior proci ab domo futurus vterq; miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati stipendia facerent; That the *Africans* might serue in *Spain*, the *Spaniards* in *Africke*, being each of them like to proue the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutual pledges. It is disputable, I confesse, whether these *African*, and *Spanish* hirelings, could properly be termed *Mercenaries*: for they were subiect vnto *Carthage*, and carried into the field, not only by reward, but by dutie. Yet seeing their dutie was no better than enforced, and that it was not any loue to the State, but meere desire of gain, that made them fight; I will not nicely stand vpon propriety of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* also doth, no better than *Mercenaries*.

†. III.

†. III.

The dangers growing from the use of mercinarie Souldiers, and forraigne Auxiliaries.

THe extreme danger, growing from the imployment of such Souldiers, is well obserued by *Machiavel*: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serue, than to those against whom they serue. They are seditious, vnfaitfull, disobedient, deuours, and destroyers of all places and countries, wherinto they are drawne; as being held by no other bond, than their owne commoditie. Yea, that which is most fearefull among such hirelings, is, that they haue often, and in time of great extremitie, not only refused to fight, in their defence, who haue entertained them, but reuolted vnto the contrarie part; to the vtter ruine of those Princes and States, that haue trusted them. These Mercinaries (saith *Machiavel*) which filled all *Italie*, when *Charles* the eighth of *France* did passe the *Alpes*, were the cause that the said *French King* wonne the Realme of *Naples*, with his Buckler without a sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza*, the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by *Queene Ioane* of *Naples*, abandoned her seruice on the sudden; and forced her to put her selfe into the hands of the King of *Aragon*. Like vnto his father was *Francis Sforza*, the first 20 of that race Duke of *Millan*: who, being entertained by the *Milanese*, forced them to become his slaves; euen with the same Armie which themselves had leied for their owne defence. But *Lodewick Sforza*, the sonne of this *Francis*, by the iust judgement of God, was made a memorable example vnto posteritie, in loosing his whole estate by the trecherie of such faithlesse Mercinaries, as his owne father had bene. For, hauing waged an Armie of *Switzers*, and committed his Duchie, together with his person, into their hands; he was by them deliuered vp vnto his enemy the *French King*, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of *Loches* to his dying day.

The like inconuenience is found, in vsing the helpe of forraigne Auxiliaries. We 30 see, that when the Emperor of *Constantinople* had hired ten thousand *Turkes*, against his neighbour Princes; he could neuer, either by perswasion or force, set them againe ouer Sea vpon *Asia* side: which gaue beginning to the *Christian* seruitude, that soone after followed. *Alexander*, the sonne of *Cassander*, fought aide of the great *Demetrius*; but *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdome, slue the same *Alexander*, who had inuited him, and made himselfe King of *Macedon*. *Syracus* the *Turke* was called into *Egypt* by *Sanar* the *Soldan*, against his Oppolite: but this *Turke* did settle himselfe so surely in *Egypt*, that *Saladine* his Successour became Lord thereof; and of all the holy Land, soone after. What neede we looke out for examples of this kinde? Euery Kingdome, in effect, can furnish vs. The *Brittaines* drew the *Saxons* into this our Countrey; and *Mac Murrough* drew the *English* into *Ireland*: but the one and the other soone became Lords of those two Kingdomes.

Against all this may be alleadged, the good successe of the vnited Prouinces of the *Netherlands*, vsing none other than such kinde of Souldiers, in their late warre. Indeede these *Low Countries* haue many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthie, industrious, and valiant in their kinde. They are stout Seamen and therein is their excellencie; neither are they bad, at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they haue seldome bene able to stand against the *Spaniard*. Necessitie therefore compelled them to seeke helpe abroad: and the like 40 necessitie made them forbear to arme any great numbers of their owne. For, with monie raised by their Trade, they maintained the warre: and therefore could ill spare, vnto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more vse in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they sped well. Surely they sped as ill as

might

might be, whilst they had none other than mercinarie Souldiers. Many huttlesse attempts, made by the Prince of *Orange*, can witnesse it: and that braue Commander, Count *Lodowick of Nassau*, felt it to his griefe, in his retrait from *Greeninghen*, when in the very instant, that required their seruice in fight, his mercinaries cried out aloud for monie, and so ranne away. This was not the only time, when the hired souldiers of the *States*, haue either fought to hide their cowardize vnder a shew of greedinesse; or at least, by meeke couetousnesse, haue ruined in one houre the labour of many moneths, I will not stand to proue this by many examples: for they themselves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of *Monseur* 10 the Duke of *Amica*, brother to the *French King*; saue that it is follie to conceale what all the world knowes. He that would lay open the danger of forraigne Auxiliaries, needeth no better pattern. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselves Lords ouer those, to whom they lend their succour: but where shall we meet with such another as this *Monseur*, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Countrie, made it his first worke, to thrust by violence a galling yoke vpon the peoples neck? Well, hee liued to repent it, with griefe enough. Euen whilst he was counteruiting vnto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginarie sorrow for the poore Burghers of *Antwerpe*, as 20 verily beleecing the Towne to bee surprisid and wonne; the death of the Count *St. Aignan*, who fell ouer the wall, and the Cannon of the Citie, discharged against his owne troupes, informed him better what had hapned; shewing that they were his owne *French*, who stood in neede of pittie. Then was his fained passion changed, into a very bitter anguish of minde; wherein, smiting his breast, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Aleas, mon Dieu, que veulx tu faire de moy; Alas, my God, what wilt thou doe with me?* So the affaires of the *Netherlands* will not serue to proue, that there is litle danger in vsing mercinarie souldiers, or the help of forraigne Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding they were obedient vnto necessitie, and sought helpe 30 of the *English*, *Scots*, and *French*: wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when there was in *France* a King, partaker with them in the same danger; when the *Queen* of *England* refused to accept the Soueraignie of their Countrie, which they offered, yet being prouoked by the *Spaniard* their enemy, pursued him with continuall warre; when the heire of *England* reigned in *Scotland*, a King too iust and wise (though not ingaged in any quarrell) either to make profit of his Neighbours miseries, or to helpe those that had attempted the conquest of his owne inheritance: then might the *Netherlanders* very safely repose confidence, in the forces of these their Neighbour-Countries. The souldiers that came vnto them from hence, were (to omit many other commendations) not only regardfull of the pay that they should receiue; but well affected vnto the cause that they tooke in hand: or if any were cold in his deuotion, to the side whereon he fought, yet was he kept in order, 40 by remembrance of his owne home, where the *English* would haue rewarded him with death, if his faith had bene corrupted by the *Spaniard*. They were therefore trusted with the custodie of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the necessitie of the poorer sort was relieued, before the pay-day came, with lendings, and other helps, as well as the abilitie of the States could permit. When three such Princes, reigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintaine against the power of a fourth, injurious (or at least so seeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Countrie, of the same Religion, and to which they all are louingly affected: then may such a Countrie be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other businesse, in hope of like successe. But these circumstances meet so seldome, as it may 50 well hold true in general: That mercinarie, and forraigne auxilinarie forces, are no lesse dangerous, than the enemy, against whom they are entertained.

†. IIII.

†. IIII.

That the moderate government of the Romans gave them assurance to use the service of their owne subjects in their warres. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyrannie, which hindreth the use and benefit of the like moderation.

Here may it be considered, whether also the Romans were not compelled to use service of other souldiours in their many great warres, but performed all by their owne citizens? for if it were their manner to arme their owne subjects; how happened it, that they feared no rebellion? if strangers; how then could they avoid the inconveniences above rehearsed? The answer is; That their Armies were compounded vually of their owne citizens, and of the *Latines*, in equal number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of the *Campanians*, *Hetrurians*, *Sannites*, or other of their subjects, as were either interessed in the quarrell, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times, (though seldom they did imploy so many,) ten Roman Legions; a good strength, if all other helpe had beene wanting; which serued to keepe in good order their subjects, that were alwaies fewer in the Army than themselves. As for the *Latines*, if consanguinitie were not a sufficient obligation; yet many priuiledges and immunities, which they enjoyed, made them assured vnto the State of Rome: vnder which they liued almost at libertie, as being bound to little else, than to serue it in warre. It is true, that a yoke, how easie soeuer, seemes troublefome to the necke that hath beene accustomed to freedom. Therefore many people of *Italie* haue taken occasion of seuerall advantages, to deliuer themselves from the Roman subjection. But still they haue beene reclaimed by warre; the Authors of rebellion haue sharply punished; and the people, by degrees, haue obtained such libertie, as made them esteeme none other wise of Rome, than as the common citie of all *Italie*. Yes, in proceesse of time it was granted vnto many cities, and those farre off removed, euen to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, where *Saint Paul* was borne, That all the Burgeses should be free of Rome it selfe. This fauour was conferred absolutely vpon some; vpon some, with restraint of giuing voice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation, as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conquest, to release vnto their new subjects halfe of their tribute which they had beene wont to pay vnto their former Lords, which was a readie way, to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition; when the reuiue of harder times past, should rather teach them to feare a relapse, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking inuouation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a speciall note of the Romans good government, That when some, for their well-deferuing, haue had the offer to be made citizens of Rome; they haue refused it, and held themselves better contented with their owne present estate. Wherefore it is no maruaile, that *Petellia*, a citie of the *Brutians* in *Italie*, chose rather to endure all extremitie of warre, than vpon any condition, to forsake the Romans, euen when the Romans themselves had confessed, that they were vnable to helpe these their subjects, and therefore willed them to looke to their owne good, as hauing beene faithfull to the vrmost. Such loue purchased these milde Governours, without impairing their Maiestie thereby. The summe of all is: They had, of their owne, a strong Armie; they doubled it, by adioyning therunto the *Latines*; and they further increased it, as neede required, with other helpe of their owne subjects: all, or the most of their followers, accounting the prospectie of Rome to be the common good.

The moderate use of souereigne power being so effectual, in assuring the people vnto their Lords, and consequentlie, in the establishment or enlargement of Dominion: it may seeme strange, that the practice of tyrannie, whose effects are contrary, hath beene so common in all ages. The like, I know, may bee said, of all Vice,

Liv. Dec. 3. 4.

Liv. Ibid.

and Irregularitie whatsoeuer. For it is lesse difficult (whatsoeuer thinke otherwise) and more safe, to keepe the way of Iustice and Honestie, than to turne aside from it; yet commonly our passions lead vs into by-patches. But where Lust, Anger, Feare, or any the like Affection, seduceth our reason, the same vniuersitie appeare either bringeth with it an excuse, or at least will take away all cause of wonder. In tyrannie it is not so: for as much as we can hardly deterie the passion, that is of force to inordinate it selfe into the whole tenour of a Government. It must be confessed, that lawlesse desires haue bred many Tyrants: yet so, that these desires haue seldom beene hereditarie, or long-lasting; but haue ended commonly with the Tyrants life, or sometimes before his death; by which means the Government hath beene reduced to a better forme. In such cases, the saying of *Aristotle* holds, That Tyrannies are of short continuance. But this doth not fauour the question in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exercise Tyrannie? why did the *Albanians*? why haue many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their generall good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safetie of the Weale publique? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection, wherein so many thousand citizens, diuided and subdiuided within themselves by factions, did all concur, notwithstanding the much diuersitie of temper, and the vehemencie of private hatred among them? Doubtles, we must be faine to say, That Tyrannies, by 20 it selfe, a Vice distinct from others. A Man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt, euen by Nature, to command, or to obey; every one in his proper degree. Other desires of Mankind, are common likewise vnto brut beasts; and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: but the desire of rule belongeth vnto the nobler part of reason; whereunto is also answerable an aptnesse to yeeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are giuen by nature, not onely to Man and Beast, but vnto all sorts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of their life: as Feare, Anger, Lust, and other Affections are likewise natural, in convenient measure, both vnto Mankind, and to all creatures that haue sense, for the shunning or repelling of harme, and seeking after that which is requisite: euen so is this desire of ruling or obeying, engrained by 30 Nature in the race of Man, and in Man onely as a reasonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a ciuile forme of iustice. All these in bred qualities are good and vsfull. Neuertheless, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttonie and Drunkenesse, which, in reproach, are called beastlie, by an vnproper terme: since they grow from appetites, found in lesse worthie creatures than beasts, and are yet not so common in beasts, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions as descend no lower than vnto brut beasts, are held lesse vile; and perhaps not without good reason: yet are they more horrible, and punished more grievously, by sharper Lawes, as being in generall more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse, than of that which is best; there is not any Passion, that nourisheth a vice 40 more hurtfull vnto Mankind, than that which issueth from the most noble roote, euen the depraued Affection of ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefs, of which hath beene an old question in dispute, whether bee the worse; That all things, or That nothing, should be lawfull. Of these a dull spirit, and ouer-loaden by fortune, with power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrarie dis Temper, whose vehemencie the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Vnder the extremitie of either, no countrie is able to subsist: yet the defectiue dulnesse, that permitteeth any thing, will also permit the execution of Law, to which, meere necessitie doth enforce the ordinarie Magistracie; whereas Tyrannie is more actiue, and pleaseth it selfe in the excess, with a false colour of iustice. Examples of stupiditie, and vnaptnes to rule, are not very frequent, though such natures are euery where found: for this qualitie troubles not it selfe in seeking Empires; or if by some error of fortune, it encounter therewithall, (as when *Cleaudius*, hiding himselfe in a corner, found the Empire of Rome) some friend or else a wife, is not wanting to supply the defect, which also cruelitie doth helpe 50

Arist. Polit. lib. 5. c. 12.

to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing vnknowne, is without a name. Tyrannie is more bold, and feareth not to be knowne, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *propter vim & felix scelus*, a fortunate mischief, as long as it can subsist. There is no reward or honour (saith PETER CHARRON) assigned to those, that know how to increase, or to preserve humane nature: all honours, greatness, riches, dignities, empires, triumphs, trophies, are appointed for those, that know how to afflict, trouble, or destroy it. CAESAR, and ALEXANDER, haue vn-made and slaine, each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behinde them. Such is the error of Mans iudgement, in valuing things according to common opinion. But the true name of Tyrannie, when it growes to ripenesse, is none other, than *Feritie*: the fame that Aristotle saith to be worse than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, issuing from the Passions incident both to Man, and Beast; no lesse than Periurie, Murder, Treason, and the like horrible crimes, excede in villanie, the faults of Gluttonie and drunkennesse, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof *Sciron*, *Procrustes*, and *Pitycampes*, that vsed their bodily force to the destruction of Mankind, are not better examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionysius* and *Agathodes*, whose mischievous heads were afflicted by the hands of detestable Ruffians. The same barbarous desire of Lordship, transported those old examples of *Feritie*, and these latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reason: neither of them knew the vse of Rule, nor the difference betweene Freemen, and slaves.

The rule of the husband ouer the wife, and of parents ouer their children, is naturall, and appointed by God himselfe; so that it is alwaies, and simple, allowable and good. The former of these, is, as the dominion of Reason ouer Appetite: the latter is the whole authoritie, which one free man can haue ouer another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father ouer his whole countrie: which hee that knowes what the power of a Father is, or ought to bee, knowes to be enough. But there is a greater, and more Maisterlike rule, which God gaue vnto Adam, when he said; *Haue dominion ouer the fish of the Sea, and ouer the fowle of the aire, and ouer euery liuing thing that moueth vpon the earth*: which also hee confirmed vnto Noah, and his children, saying, *The feare of you, and the dread of you, shall be vpon euery beast of the earth, and vpon euery fowle of the aire, vpon all that moueth vpon the earth, and vpon all the fishes of the Sea, into your hands are they deliuered*. Hee who gaue this dominion to Man, gaue also an aptitude to vse it. The execution of this power hath since extended it selfe, ouer a great part of Mankind. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disability to gouerne themselves, proues them, according vnto Aristotles doctrine, to be naturallie slaves.

Yet finde I not in Scripture any warrant, to oppress men with bondage: vnlesse the lawfulness thereof be sufficiently intimated, where it is said, That a man shal not be punished for the death of a seruant, whom he hath slaine by correction, if the seruant liue a day or two, because he is his monie; or else by the captiuitie of the Midianitish giles, which were made bond-slaves, and the Sanctuarie had a part of them for the Lords tribute. Doubtlesse the custome hath bene very ancient: for Noah laid this curse vpon Canaan, that hee should be a seruant of seruants; and Abraham had of Pharaoh, among other gifts, men-seruants, and maide-seruants, which were none other than slaves. Christian Religion is said to haue abrogated this olde kinde of seruilitie: but surely, they are decieued, that thinke so. Saint Paul desired the libertie of Onesimus, whome he had wonne vnto Christ: yet wrote hee for this vnto Philemon, by way of request, craving it as a benefite, not vrging it as a dutie. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the same Saint Paul giueth vnto seruants: *Let euery man abide in the same calling wherein hee was called: art thou called, being a seruant? so care not for it, but if thou mayst be made free, vse it rather*. It is true, that Christian Religion hath procured libertie vnto many; not onely in regard of pietie, but for that the Christian Masters stood in feare, of being discouered by their slaves, vnto the persecuters of religion. Mahomet likewise by giuing libertie to his followers, drew

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many vnto his impietie: but whether he forbade it, as vnlawfull, vnto his sectators, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; I saue that by the practice of the Turks and Moores, it comes he did not. In England we had many bond-seruants, vntill the times of our last ciuile warres: and I thinke that the Lawes concerning *vilinage* are still in force, of which the latest are the sharpest. And now, since slaves were made free, which were of great vse and seruice, there are growne vp a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurfes and other the like Trades; slaves in Nature, though not in Lawe.

But whether this kind of dominion be lawfull, or not; Aristotle hath well proued, that it is naturall. And certainly wee finde not such a latitude of difference in any creature, as in the nature of man: wherein (to omit the infinite distance in estate of the elect & reprobate) the wisest excell the most foolish, by far greater degree, than the most foolish of men doth surpass the wisest of beasts. Therefore when Commiseration hath giuen way to Reason: we shall find that Nature is the ground euen of Masterly power, & of seruile obedience, which is thereto correspondent. But it may be truly said, that some countries haue subsisted long, without the vse of any seruilitie: as also it is true, that some countries haue not the vse of any tame cattell. Indeede the affections which vphold ciuill rule, are (though more noble) not so simple needfull, vnto the sustentation either of our kind, as are Lust, and the like; or of euery one, as are hunger and thirst; which notwithstanding are the lowest in degree. But where most vile, and seruile dispositions, haue libertie to shew themselves begging in the streets; there may wee more iustly wonder, how the dangerous toyle of sea-faring men can finde enough to vndertake them, than how the swarme of idle vagabonds should increase, by access of those, that are wearie of their owne more painefull condition. This may suffice to proue, that in Mankind there is found, ingrafted euen by Nature, a desire of absolute dominion: wherunto the generall custome of Nations doth subscribe; together with the pleasure which most men take in flatterers, that are the basest of slaves.

This being so, we finde no cause to maruaile, how Tyranny hath bene so rise in all ages, and practised, not onely in the single rule of some vicious Prince, but euer by consent of whole Cities and Estates: since, other vices haue likewise gotten head, and borne a generall sway; notwithstanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that haue vsed well the inferior Passions: how then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not bee disordered? In the gouernment of wife and children, some are vterly carelesse, and corrupt all by their dull conuenance: others, by masterly rigour, hold their owne blood vnder condition of slavery. To be a good Gouernour is a rare commendation; and to preferre the Weale publike aboue all respects whatsoeuer, is the Vertue iustly termed *Heroicall*. Of this Vertue, many ages afford not many examples. Hector is named by Aristotle, as one of them; and deservingly, if this praise be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, vsed in defence of a mans owne countrie. But if we consider, that a loue of the generall good cannot be perfect, without reference vnto the fountain of all goodnesse: wee shall finde, that no Morall Vertue, how great soeuer, can, by it selfe, deserue the commendation of more than Vertue, as the Heroicall doth. Wherefore we must search the Scriptures, for patterns herof; such as David, Iosaphat, and Iosias were. Of Christian Kings if there were many such, the world would soone be happie. It is not my purpose to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where it is due; or by preferring a lesse excellent. But he that can finde a King, religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement either of aduersitie, or of some regard of state; a procurer of the general peace and quiet; who not onely vseth his authoritie, but addes the trauell of his eloquence, in admonishing his Iudges to doe iustice; by the vigorous influence of whose Gouernment, ciuilitie is infused, euen into those places, that haue bene the dennes of savage Robbers and Cutthrotes; one that hath quite abolished a slavish

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Law,

Law, by which an whole Nation of his subiects were held in bondage; and one, whose higher vertue and wisdom doth make the praise not onlie of Nobilitie and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the bloud, the wines, and the goods, of those that are vnder his power, together with a world of chiefe commendations belonging vnto some good Princes, to appeare lesse regardable: he, I say, that can finde such a King, findeth an example, worthe to adde vnto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Vnder such a King, it is likelie by Gods blessing, that a Land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in countries before vnknowne; that Ciuilitie and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen countries; and that the happinesse of his subiects, shall cause the Nations farre off remoued, to wish him their Soueraigne. I neede not adde herunto, that all the actions of such a King, euen his bodilie exercises, doe partake of vertue; since all things tending to the preferuation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who, fixing his contemplation vpon God, seeketh how to imitate the vnspokeable goodnesse, rather than the inaccessible maiesie, with both of which himselfe is indued, as farre as humane nature is capable) doe also belong to the furtherance of that common good, which hee procureth. Left any man should thinke me transported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bonds of reason; I adde herunto, that such a King is neuertheless a man must die, and may erre: yet wisdom and fame shall set him free, from *error*, and from *death*, both with and without the helpe of *time*. One thing I may not omit, as a singular benefite (though there be many other besides) redounding vnto this King, as the fruit of his goodnesse. The people that liue vnder a pleasant yoke, are not onely louing to their Soueraigne Lord, but free of courage, and no greater in mulier of men, then of stout fighters, if neede require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as ouer slaues, shall bee attended in time of needfullie, by slauish mindes, neither louing his person, nor regarding his or their owne honour. Cowards may bee furious, and slaues outrageous, for a time: but among spirits that haue once yielded vnto slaueerie, vniuersally it is found true, that *Homer* saith, *God bercaueth a man of halfe his vertue, that day when he casteth him into bondage*.

Hun. Odys. l. 17.

Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonably haue spoken, in the generall discourse of Government: but where so liuely an example, of the calamitie following a tyrannicall rule, and the vse of Mercinaries, thereupon depending, did offer it selfe, as is this present businesse of the *Carthaginians*; I thought that the note would be more effectfull, than being barely deliueed, as out of a common place.

§. III.

How the warre against the Mercinaries was diuersly managed by HANNO and AMILCAR, with variable successe. The bloody consultations of the Mercinaries; and their final destruction.

BEing now to returne vnto those Mercinaries, from whome I haue thus farre digressed, I cannot readily finde, by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*; neither care they to pretend, that they seeketh their wages already due; so that they are neither Mercinaries, nor Mutiners. Had they all bene subiects vnto *Carthage*, then might they iustly haue bene termed Rebels: yet but *Spendius*, and others, that were the principall part of them, ought none allegiance to that State, which they endeouored to subuert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and still call them Mercinaries, as *Polybius* also doth.

These

These vnder the aduantage of their present strength, beseege *Vitea*, and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being seated vpon the western Hauon of *Carthage*, where it is diuided by a necke of land; *Hippagreta* standing inwards vpon the great Lake; *Vitea* further out vpon the Sea. Neither was the Campe at *Tunis* abandoned, which lay fitlie to hinder the *Carthaginians*, from passing vp into the countrie: for *Matbo* and *Spendius* wanted not men, to followe the warre in all parts; at once.

Howe the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this vnexpected perill, any man may conceiue. But the businesse it selfe awakes them hastilie. They are hardly prest on all sides; and therefore trauailed their braines to the vttermost, how to shake off these furious dogges from their shoul ders, who sometimes by night, sometimes by day, came vnto the very walles of their Citie. In this exigent *Hanno* was made their Generall: who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good preparation: but had gotten together whatsoeuer was needfull, as well to relieue a Towne besieged, as to batter and assaile any place defended against him. With these provisions, and with an hundred Elephants, hee came to *Vitea*; so suddenly, that the enemies as men surpris'd, forsooke their Trenches, and retired themselves vnto a rising peece of woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence of his beasts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to doe with *Numidians*, whose custom was, after any losse, to flie two or three whole daies iourne off; presently entred the Towne; to shew himselfe, after this his victory. But these good fellows, against whom he was to warre, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight againe, many times in one day, as need required, T herefore as soone as they perceiued, that hee knew not how to vse a victorie; they assailed their owne Campe, and with great slaughter, draue the *Carthaginians* out of it, forcing them to hide themselves within *Vitea*; and got possession of all the store, that *Hanno* had brought for the reliefe of the Towne. This bad beginning *Hanno* follo wed with futable indifferencie: loosing the benefit of many faire opportunities, and suffering the enemies to take possession of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firme land.

The *Carthaginians*, perceiuing this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their shete-anchor; sending to the field their great Captaine, *Amilcar*, whom they furnished with ten thousand foote of supply, and seuentie Elephants. *Amilcar* had worke enough to doe, before he should be able to meet with the enemy vpon equall ground. For besides other places of aduantage that the Mercinaries had occupied, *Hanno* had suffered them to winne the only Bridge, by which the River *Masra*, or *Bagradas*, was passable vnto these, that were to trauaile into the Continent. This Riuer had not many fords, nor those easie for a single man to get ouer: but vpon them all was kept such guard, as gaue to *Amilcar* little hope of preuailing in seeking way by force. As for the Bridge it selfe, *Matbo* and his followers were there lodged: and had there built a Towne, wherein to lie commodiously, intente onely to the custodie thereof. But *Amilcar* had obserued, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* vied to be sometimes cloyed with sand and grauell, that was driven in by certaine customarie windes, & could not be driven out againe, by force of that slow Riuer, till the winde falling, or changing, suffered the weight of the waters, to disburden their channel. Hereof he made vse; and taking his opportunity, passed the Riuer; contrarie to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his owne Citizens.

There was no neede to bid *Spendius* looke about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come ouer *Bagradas*: all the Mercinaries were troubled with the newes; knowing that they were no longer to deale with the improuident grauitie of *Hanno*, but with an able spirit, euen with their own Master in the Art of Warre, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this feare was soone changed into presumption; when more than fiftene thousand of their owne societie, were come from *Vitea*; and other tenne thousand from the gard of the Bridge. Their

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Armie

Armie was farre greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were, in their owne iudgement, the better men, vpon which confidence, they refolued to charge him on all sides, and beate him downe, in despite of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attended vpon him; watching for some aduantage; and still exhorting one another to play the men, and giue the onset. Especially they that followed him in the Reare, had a great minde to begin the fight; whereunto their promptnesse was such, as tooke from them their former circumspection. *Amilcar* held his way towards the Bridge, keeping himselfe on plaine grounds, that were fittest for the seruice of his Elephants, which hee placed in front of his Armie. Neither made hee shewe of any desire to fight, but suffered the rashnes of his enemies to increase, till it should brake into some disorder. At length perceiuing, that with more boldnesse than good heed, they followed him so neere, as would bee little for their good; if hee should turne vpon them, he hastened his march, euen to such a pace, as made a shewe little differing from plaine flight. The Mercenaries presently fell vpon his skirts; belceuing, that for feare of them he was ready to runne away. But whilest they confusedly, as in sudden opinion of victorie, were druing at the heeles of those that had the Reare; *Amilcar* wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotely, but in very good order, so that amazed with the apprehension of unexpected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this ouerthrowe, there were ixte thousand of the Mercenaries slaine, and about two thousand taken; the rest fled; some to the Campe at *Vtica*, others to the Towne at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them so fast, that he wanne the place easily: the enemies being thence also fled vnto *Tunes*, as not hauing recollected their spirits to make it good.

The fame of this victorie, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in pursuing it, caused many Townes reuolted, partly by feare, partly by force, to returne to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matho* wanting to himselfe, in this dangerous time. He sent about *Numidia* and *Africke*, for new supplies; admonishing the people, now or neuer to doe their best, for the recouerie of their freedome; hee perswaded *Spendius*, and *Antaritus* that was Captaine of the *Gauls*, to wait vpon *Amilcar*, and alwaies to keepe the higher grounds, or at least the foot of some hill, where they might be safe from the Elephants; and hee himselfe continued to presse the Towne of *Hippagreta* with an hard siege. It was necessarie for *Amilcar*, in passing from place to place, as his businesse required, to take such waies as there were: for all the countrey lay not leuell. Therefore *Spendius*, who still coasted him, had once gotten a notable aduantage of ground: the *Carthaginians* lying in a Plaine, surrounded with hilles, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, with their *Numidian* and *African* succours. In this difficultie; the same of *Amilcar* his personall worth did greatly benefit his countrey. For *Naraulsus*, a yong gentleman commanding ouer the *Numidians*, was glad of this occasion seruing to get the acquaintance, and loue of so braue a man, which he much desired: and therefore came vnto *Amilcar*, signifying his good affection to him, with offer to doe him all seruice. *Amilcar* ioyfully entertained this friend; promised vnto him his owne daughter in marriage; and so wanne from the enemies two thousand horse, that following *Naraulsus* turned vnto the *Carthaginians* side. With this helpe he gaue battaile vnto *Spendius*: wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approue his owne valour, to his new friend. So the victorie was great: for there were slaine ten thousand of *Spendius* his fellows, and foure thousand taken prisoners, but *Spendius* himselfe, with *Antaritus* the *Gauls*, escaped to doe more mischief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his prisoners: pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many, as were vnwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they should neuer more beare arms against the *Carthaginians*; threatening to take sharpe reuenge vpon all, that should breake this Councant.

This humanitie was vehemently suspected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Antaritus*; as tending

tending to winne from them, the hearts of their fouldiers. Wherefore they refolued to take such order, that not a man among them should dare, to truit in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any safetie, whilest *Carthage* was able to doe him hurt. They counterfeited letters of aduertisement, wherein was contained, that some of their company respectue onely of their priuate benefit, and careless of the generall good, had a purpose to betraie them all vnto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needfull, to looke well vnto *Geseo*, and his companions, whom these traitours had a purpose to enlarge. Vpon this Theme *Spendius* makes an Oration to the fouldiours, exhorting them to fidelitie; and shewing with many words, that the seeming humanitie of *Amilcar*, toward some, was none other than a baite, wherewith to entrap them all at once together; as also telling them, what a dangerous enemy *Geseo* would prouoe, if hee might escape their hands. While hee is yet in the midt of his tale; were letters come, to the same purpose. Then steps forth *Antaritus* and speakes his minde plainly: saying, that it were the best, yea the onely way, for the common safetie, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if some were desiring to make their owne peace, it would goe hard with those that had a care of the warre; that it were better to make an end of *Geseo* his life, than to trouble themselves with looking to his custodie; that by such a course euery one should be engaged in the present Action, as hauing none other hope left, than in victorie alone; finally, that such as would speake here-against, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This *Antaritus* was in great credit with the fouldiours, and could speake sundrie languages, in such sort, that hee was vnderstood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Geseo*, and all the other prisoners, should forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Neuerthelesse there were some, that for loue of *Geseo*, sought to alter his intended crueltie; but they were forth with stoned to death, as a Document vnto others; and so the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they therewithall contented; but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* prisoners which they tooke, should be serued in like sort: and that the subiects or friends of *Carthage*, should lose their hands, and so be sent home: which rule they obserued euer afterwards.

Of this crueltie I need say no more, then that it was most execrable feritie. As for the counsaile of vsing it, it was like vnto the counsaile of *ACHITOPHEL*, All *Israel* shall heare, that thou art abhorred of thy fathers; then shall the hands of all that are with thee, be strong. Such are the fruits of desperation. He that is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his owne fellowes, if they be more innocent; and to auoide the punishment of lesse offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the reuengefull spirits of those that haue bene wronged, are breeders of this desperation: to which may be added, some deficiency of Lawes, in distinguishing the punishments of malefactors, according to the decree of their fœuerall crimes. A coward thinkes all prouision too little, for his owne securitie. If *Ptolemæus* be a coward (said the Emperour *Mavritius*); then is he neuer dæron. To be steadfast and sure, in taking reuenge; is thought a point of honour, and a satisfaction against new iniuries. But wrongfully: for it is oppositeto the rule of *Christianitie*; and such a qualitie discovered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwise would haue repented, and sought to make amends, for the wrong done in passion. This was it, which wrought so much woe to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Matho*, and his *Africans*, to suspect euen their gentlenesse, as the introduction to extreme rigour. Like vnto the cruelties of Princes and Gouernours, are the cruelties of Lawes. (Where one and the same punishment, is awarded vnto the lesse offence, and vnto the greater, he that hath aduentured to robbe a man, is easily tempted to kill him, for his owne securitie.

Against these inconueniences Mercie and Seueritie, vsed with due respect, are the best remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as these his owne fouldiours were any way likely to be reclaimed, by gentle cources; his humanitie

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was

was readie to inuite them. But when they were transported with beastly outrage, beyond all regard of honestie and shame, he rewarded their villanie with answerable vengeance; casting them vnto wilde beasts, to be deuoured.

Vntill this time *Hanno*, with the Armie vnder his command, had kept himselfe apart from *Amilcar*, and done little, as may seeme, for that nothing is remembered of him, since his late losses. Neither was *Amilcar* forrie to want his helpe, as being able to doe better without him. But when the warre grew to such extremitie, as threatned utter ruine to the one or the other side: then was *Hanno* sent for, & came to *Amilcar*, with whom hee ioynd his forces. By this access of strength *Amilcar* was not enabled, to doe more then in former times: rather he could now performe nothing; such was the hatred betwene him and his vnworthy Colleague. The Townes of *Vitea* and *Hippagreta*, that had stood alwaies firme on the *Carthaginian* partie, did now reuolt vnto the enemye, murdering all the souldiours that they had in Garrison, and casting their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buried. The prouisions brought by sea, for maintenance of the Armie, were lost in foule weather: and *Carthage* it selfe stood in danger of being besieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* consulted, whilest one of the *Carthaginian* Generals did (as it were) binde the others hands.

It hath in all Ages bene vsed, as the safest course, to send forth in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Armie. This was the common practice of those two mighty Cities, *Athens* and *Rome*; which other States and Princes haue often imitated; perswading themselves, that great Armies are not so well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excel each other, will vse the greater diligence. They haue also ioynd two chiefe Commanders in equall commission, vpon this further consideration; the better to restrain the ambition of any one, that should be trusted with so great a strength. For hercof all Common-weales haue bene ialous, hauing bene taught by their examples that haue made themselves Tyrants ouer those Cities and States that haue employed them. In this point, the *Venetians* haue bin so circumspect, as they haue for the most part, trusted strangers, and not their owne, in all the warres which they haue made. It is true, that the equall authoritie of two commanding in chiefe, serueth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning vpon the Prince or State that hath giuen them trust: but in manning the warre it selfe, it is commonly the cause of ill successe. In warres made neere vnto *Rome* it selfe, when two good friends were Consuls, or such two at least, as concurred in one desire of *Triumph*; which honor (the greatest of any that *Rome* could giue) was to be obtained by that one yeeres seruite; it is no maruaile, though each of the Consuls did his best, and referred all his thoughts vnto none other end then victorie. Yet in all dangerous cases, when the Consuls proceeded otherwise then was desired, one *Dilector* was appointed, whose power was neither hindered by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indecde the manner, to send forth both the Consuls to one warre; but each went, whither his lot called him, to his owne Prouince; vnlesse one businesse seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fitt to be ioined in the administration. Now although it was so, that the *Romans* did many times preuaile with their ioynt Generals: yet was this neuer or seldome, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modestie hath often bene such, that the lesse able Capitaine, though of equall authoritie, hath willingly submitted himselfe to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they haue many times, by ordaining two Commanders of one Armie, receiued great and most dangerous ouerthrowes; whereof in the second *Punic* warre we shall finde examples. On the contrarie side, in their warres most remote, that were alwaies mannaed by one, they seldome failed to winne exceeding honour, as hercafter shall appeare. Now of those tenne Generals, which serued the *Athenians* at the Battaille of *Marathon*, it may truly be said, that had not their temper been better, than the iudgement

of the people that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of *Miltiades*; their affaires had found the same successe which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicilie*: the one being so ouer-warie, and the other so hallic, as all came to nought: that they vnderooke; whereas *Cimon* alone, as also *Aristides*, and others, hauing sole charge of all, did their Countrie and Common-weale most remarkable seruite. For it is hard to finde two great Capitaines, of equall discretion and valour; but that the one hath more of iudgement, and so the contrarie, by which the best occasions are as often ouerslpt, as at other times many actions are vnseasonably vnderaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Candy* was slain after the Battaille of *Iarnas*, (which Prince, together with the Admirall *Chysition*, had the conduct of the Protestant Armie) the Protestants did greatly bewaile the losse of the said Prince, in respect of his Religion, person, and birth; yet comforting themselves, they thought it rather an aduancement, than an hinderance to their affaires. For so much did the valour of the one, out-reach the aduisednesse of the other, as whatsoeuer the Admirall intended to winne by attending the aduantage, the Prince aduentured to lose, by being ouer-confident in his owne courage.

But we need no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this present busines: who, though they were still sicke of their ill-grounded loue to *Hanno*, and were vnwilling to disgrace him; yet seeing that all ranne towards ruine, through the discord of the Generals, committed the decision of their controuersies, vnto the Armie that serued vnder them. The iudgement of the Armie was, that *Hanno* should depart the Campe: which he did; and *Hannibal* was sent in his stead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*; and that was enough.

After this, the affaires of *Carthage* began to prosper somewhat better, *Matho* and *Spendius* had brought their Armie neere vnto the Citie; and lay before it, as in a siege. They might well be bold, to hope and aduenture much; hauing in their Campe about fiftie thousand, besides those that lay abroad in Garrisons. Neuertheless, the Citie was too strong for them to winne by assault: and the entrance of victualles they could not hinder, if any should bee sent in by friends from abroad.

Hieron, King of *Syracuse*, though during the warres in *Sicilie* he assisted the *Romans*, and still continued in their Alliance, yet now sent succours to the *Carthaginians*: fearing their fall, and consequently his owne, because if no other State gaue the *Romans* somewhat to trouble their digestion, the Principalltie of *Syracuse* would soone be deuoured by them. The *Romans* also gaue them some slender assistance, and for the present refused good offers made vnto them by the Mercenaries. This they did, to shew a kind of noble disposition; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the sequelle manifestly proued.

Whilest *Matho* and his followers were busily pressing the Citie, *Amilcar* was as diligent, in waiting at their backs, and cutting off all that came to their supply: so that finding themselves more straightly besieged by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purposed to desist from their vaine attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issue into the field: where *Spendius*, and one *Zarcas* an *African* Capitaine assisting the rebellion, take vpon them to finde *Amilcar* worke; leaving *Matho* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a generall care of the businesse. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and horse of *Naransius*, made *Spendius* fearefull to descend into the Plaines. Wherefore hee betooke himselfe to his former method of warre; keeping the mountaines, and rough grounds, or occupying the straightest passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might thinke it selfe, with little disadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art, than could bee matched by the labour of *Spendius*. Hee drew the enemye to many skirmishes; in all which the successe was such, as added courage to his owne men, and abated the strength and spirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, prouoking them night and day:

day: still intrapping some of them, and sometimes giuing them the ouerthrow in plaine battaile: vntill at length he got them into a straight, whence ere they should get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their iudgement was enough, to perceiue their owne disadvantage: and therefore they had the lesse stomake to fight; but awaited for helpe from *Tunis*. *Amilear* prudently foreseeing, that necessitie might teach them, to dare impossibilities. vsed the benefit of their present feare, and shut them close vp with *Trench* and *Rampart*. There they waited miserably for succour, that came not: and hauing spent all their vittualles, were so pinched with hunger, that they fed vpon the bodies of their prisoners. This they suffered patiently, as knowing that they had not deferred any fauour from *Carthage*; 10 and hoping, that their friends at *Tunis* would not bee vnmindfull of them. But when they were driuen to such extremities, that they were faine to deuoure their owne companions, and yet saw none appearance or likelihood of reliefe: their obstinacie was broken; and they threatened their Captaines with what they had deferred, vnlesse they would goe forth to *Amilear*, and seeke such peace as might be gotten. So *Spentius*, *Zarxas*, and *Aulartus*, fell to consultation, wherein it was resolved, to obey the multitude, and yeeld themselves, if it were so required, vnto the death, rather than to perish by the hands of their owne companions. Hereup- 20 on they lend to craue parle, which is granted; and these three come forth to take with *Amilear* in person. What they could say vnto him, it is hard to coniecture: yet by the conditions which *Amilear* granted, it seemes that they tooke the blame vpon themselves, and craued pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* should choose, out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remaine at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his shirt, or in one single coate. When the peace was thus concluded; *Amilear* told these Ringleaders, that he chose them presently, as part of the ten, and so commanded to lay hands on them: the rest he forthwith went to fetch, with his whole Armie in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded vpon so gentle articles, thought themselves betraied: and therefore a- 30 mazedly ranne to armes. But they wanted Captaines to order them; and the same astonishment, that made them breake the Couenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gaue vnto *Amilear* both colour of iustice, in accomplishing reuenge, and ease in doing the execution. They were all slaine: being fortie thousand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the newes thereof, exceeding welcome to *Carthage*; and terrible to the reuolted Cities of *Africk*. Henceforward *Amilear*, with his *Zarxasus* and *Hannibal*, carried the warre from Towne to Towne, and found all places ready to yeelde: *Vtica*, and *Hippagreta*, onely standing out, vpon feare of deferred vengeance; and *Tunes*, being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Armie. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chiefe strength of 40 the enemy. Comming before this Towne, they brought forth *Spentius*, with his fellowes, in view of the defendants, and crucified them vnder the walles; to terrifie those of his olde companions, that were still in armes. With this rigour the siege began; as if speedie victorie had beene assured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis*, which lay towards *Carthage*; *Amilear* on the opposite side: too farre asunder to helpe one another in sudden accidents; and therefore it behoued each, to be the more circumspect.

Matho from the walles beheld his owne destinie, in the miserie of his companions, and knew not how to auoide it otherwise, than by a cast at dice with fortune. So he brake out vpon that part of the *Carthaginian* Armie, that lay secure, as if all 50 danger were past, vnder the command of *Hannibal*: and with so great and vnexpected furie he assailed, that after an exceeding slaughter, he tooke *Hannibal* prisoner; on whom, and thirtie the most noble of the *Carthaginian* prisoners, he presently reuenged the death of *Spentius* by the same torture. Of this *Amilear* knew nothing till

till it was too late; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great losse, to continue the siege; but was faine to breake it vp, and remoue vnto the mouth of the Riuer *Bagradas*, where he incamped.

The terror was no lesse within *Carthage*, vpon the fame of this losse; than had beene the ioy of the late great victorie. All that could beare armes, were sent into the field, vnder *Hanno*; whom, it seemes, they thought the most able of their Captaines foruiuing the late accidents of Warre. If there were any Law among them, forbidding the imployment of one sole General, neere vnto their Citie (for they are knowne to haue trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hastic 10 exigent, to deulse about repealing it. But thirtie principall men are chosen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilears* campe, and by all good perswasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It acerely touched *Amilear* in his honour, that the carelesnesse of *Hannibal* seemed to be imputed vnto him, by sending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Neuerthelesse after many conferences, the authoritie of the Senatours prevailed; *Amilear* and *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whilest this warre lasted, *Hanno* tooke warning by *Hannibals* calamities, to followe good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly 20 hatred.

In the meane season *Matho* was come abroad; as meaning to vse the reputation 20 of his late successe, whilest it gaue some life vnto his businesse. He had reason to doe as he did: but he wanted skill to deale with *Amilear*. The skirmishes, and light exercies of warre, wherein *Amilear* trained his *Carthaginians*, did lo farre abate the strength, and withall diminish the credit of *Matho*, that he refused to trie the fortune of one battaile: wherein either his desires should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no lesse prone, than *Matho*; as being wearie of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their owne men, which had approued it selfe in many trials; and well assured of *Amilear* his great worth, whereunto the enemy had not what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making prouision: inui- 30 ting their friends to helpe; and drawing forth into the fildie, all that lay in *Garrison*.

The issue of this Battaille might haue beene foretold, without helpe of witchcraft. *Matho*, and his followers, had nothing whereto presume, save their daring spirits, which had beene well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to runne away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as ha- 40 uing often beene victorious: and in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a Commander, as was not easily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely, that the desire of libertie should worke so much, in men accustomed to seruitude, as the honour of their State would, in Citizens, whose future and present good lay all at once engaged in that adventure. So the *Carthaginians* wanne a great victorie, wherein most of the 40 *Africans* their enemies were slaine; the rest fled into a Towne, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yeilded; and *Matho* himselfe was taken alive. Immediately vpon this victorie, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made submission to their old masters: *Vtica* onely, and *Hippagreta* stood out, as knowing how little they deserved of fauour. But they were soone forced, to take what conditions best pleased the victours. *Matho* and his fellowes were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they suffered all torments that could be deuised, in recompence of the mischiefs which they had wrought in this warre. The warre had lasted three yeeres, and about foure moneths, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*, whose subjects did not loue them, should with lesse expence, by contenting their Mercina- 50 ries, haue prevented in the beginning.

§. IIII.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the Ilanders. The faithlesse dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrary to the peace.

WHilest *Matho* and *Spendius* were making this terrible combustion in *Africke*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Bostar* the Gouvernour, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iland to their own vie. Against these one *Hanno* was sent with a small Armie (such as could be spared in that busie time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, leuied on the Iudden. But these companions that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety, and present profit, to ioyne themselves with those that were already revolted, than to indanger themselves by battaile, for the good of that commonweale, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels; offering to runne one course of fortune with them in their enterprize. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore, to take away all 20 ieaousie and distrust, they resolved to hang vpon their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath bene in all Ages, with those that haue vndertaken the quarrell of an vnjust warre, to enioyne the performance of some notorious and villanous act, to those that come into them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assist the impious purposes which they haue in hand. It is indeed the best pawne, that desperate men can deliuer to each other, to performe some such Actions, as are equally vnparadonable to all.

By such a kind of crueltie did the vngratefull *Mantineans* murder a Garrison of *Achaians*, sent vnto them for their defence against the *Lacedaemonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when hee had formerly posselt himselfe of their Citie, by right of warre, did 30 not onely spare the sacke and spoile thereof, but gaue them equall freedome with the rest of the Cities vntoed. These *Results* are also common in our Court-warres; where, in the conquests of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depression or destruction of olde friends, we cannot be receiued and trusted by olde enemies. *Ce sont les coups de vieille escrim.* These, (say the French) be the blowes of the old art of fencing.

These Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit lesse violent in their purpose, than were *Spendius*, and his associates: onely they wanted a *Matho* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Prouince. The Ilanders were no lesse glad, than the souldiours, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Countrey: but they 40 could not agree about the profit of the victorie. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the souldiours for their paines taken. Contrariwise, the souldiours were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Ile, was deuolued vnto themselves, by right of conquest. The same quarrell would (in likelihood) haue risen, betwene *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, and their *African* friends; if the common desire of both had once taken effect: vnlesse the riches of *Carthage* had serued to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Countrey; the matter was not easily taken vp. So they fell to blowes; which how they were dealt, I know not; but finally, the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to saue themselves in *Italy*. 50 Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had inuited the *Romans* into it, with as good right, as the *Amernines* had called them into *Sicily*. Yet this offer was refused, vpon reasons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had reliqued *Matho* and *Spendius* with corne; of whom the

the *Carthaginians* tooke almost fife hundred, and held them in prison. Hercof was made a great complaint: so that the *Romans* sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to dispute: they quietly yelded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbade all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all prouisions to *Carthage*. And vpon the same reason, did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the Citie of *Pica*, offering it selte vnto their subiection. This might haue serued, as a notable example of the *Roman* faith, to all posteritie: had not the issue proued, that it was meere regard of greater profit, which kept 10 them so temperate, no longer than the hope lalled of thriving better thereby, than they should haue done by open breach of faith. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended, at that time, vpon the vertue of *Amilcar*: who had he bene ouerthrowen by *Spendius* or *Matho*, in one maine battaile, that mightie Citie must either haue fallen into the barbarous hands of merciles villaines, or haue humbled herselfe vnder protection of the *Romans*, with whom shee had lately struen for superiortie. That extreme necessitie, wherinto *Matho* reduced the Citie, by the fortune of one fallie made out of *Tunis*, is enough to proue, that *Carthage* was not farr from such a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not vnwisely done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindnesse, and honourable dealing, as might inuite a rich, but 20 linking shippe, to runne her selfe aground vpon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africke*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recouerie of *Sardinia*: then did Ambition put off her goodly vizour. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recouered her secte againe; began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced warre against this enfeebled and impowerished Citie, vnder a shamelesse pretence, that the preparations made for *SARDINIA*, were made 30 indeed against *Rome* it selfe. The *Carthaginians* knew themselves vnable to resist; and therefore yelded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing vnto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would haue twelue hundred talents, in recompence belike (for I see not what reason they could allege) of the great feare which they had endured, of an inuasion from *Carthage*. It is indeed plaine, that they impudently sought occasion of warre. But necessitie taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the monie was paid, how hardly focuer it was raised. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complaine of the *Punicke* faith, in breach of Couenants: the her selfe hath broken the peace alreadie, which *Amilcar* purposeth to make her 40 dearely repent; but what *Amilcar* liues not to performe, shall be accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned sonne.

§. V.

How the affaires of Carthage went betwene the African Rebellion, and the second Punicke warre.

THe iniurious dealing of the *Romans*, expressing their desire to picke a quarrell; serued to instruct the *Carthaginians* in a necessarie lesson. That either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolute to be obedient vnto those that were more mighty. In a Citie long accustomed to rule, the brauer determination caslie tooke place; and the best means were thought vpon, for the increase of puissance and Empire. The 50 strength, and the ieaousie of the *Romans*, forbade all attempts vpon the Mediterranean seas; but the riches of *Spain*, that lay vpon the *Oceanus*, were vnknowne to *Rome*: wherefore that Prouince might serue, both to exercise the *Carthaginians* in warre, and to repaire their decayed forces, with all needfull supplies. Of this *Spanish* Expedition, the charge and sueraigne trust was committed vnto *Amilcar*: vpon whom

whom his Countrey did wholly repose it selfe; in hope to recouer strength by his meanes, that had faued it from ruine.

Hanno, with some other eniuous men, that were of his faction, took little pleasure in the generall loue and honour, which daily increased towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not denie him to bee the most worthy of command in all the Citie: onely they commended peace and quietnesse, aduising men to beware of prouoking the *Romans*, in whose amitie they laid, that the felicitie of *Carthage* did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the eares of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Countrey weale; they got none other reputation, than of singularitie: which the ignorant sort suspected to be wisdom.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually vpheld and enlarged, by many notable seruices that he did, to the singular benefit of his Countrey. He passed the Streights of *Hercules*, (now called the Streights of *Gibraltar*) and landed on the western coast of *Spain*; in which Countrey, during nine yeeres that he liued there, hee subiected vnto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all those Provinces. But finally, in a battaile that he fought with a Nation in *Portugale*, called the *Vettones*, (defending himselfe a long time with an admirable resolution) hee was inuironed and slaine: carrying with him to the graue the same great honour and fame, by which in many small victories, he had acquired the name of a second *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* his sonne in law was made Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*. This was a good man of warre; but farre better in practice and cunning, than in deedes of armes. By his notable dexteritie in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: adding so many subiects and confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to grow ialous againe of this hastie increase. He built a goodly Citie, vpon a commodious Hauē, in the Kingdome of *Granado*, opposite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gaue it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it neerely retaineth, being called now **Carthage*. With this successe of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but begin to cause their owne negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much paines to beate them out of the Ile of *Sicily*, as suspecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbering themselves in a warre of farre lesse importance, (whereof I shall speake anon) giuen them leysure, without interruption, to recouer vpon their owne Continent, a Dominion by farre exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in reuēue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to helpe this, at the present they knew not; for they daily expected to be inuaded by the *Gauls*, their ancient enemies, and neerest neighbours to the West. But hee needeth little helpe of force, that knoweth himselfe to be feared: it is enough if hee requell; since his requell shall haue the vertue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* vterly destitute of all good colour; that might helpe them to intermeddle in *Spain*. The *Spaniards* were then vnacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the name: so that there were no *Numerians*, nor other such Rebels, to call in Roman succours. But in the enterprise of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serue their turne in *Spain*. For though it were apparent, that the *Spanish* affaires had no relation to the peace betweene these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Asdrubal* had any purpose, to extend his victories vnto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had bene suspected) they sent vnto him, requiring that hee should forbear to proceed any further, than to the Riuer of *Iberus*. In addressing their messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the Citie of *Carthage*; they seeme to haue hoped, that howe soeuer the generalitie of the *Carthaginians* had sweetly swallowed many bitter pilles, to auoide all occasion of warre with *Rome*: yet the brauerie of one man might proue more fastidious, and, resenting the iniurie, returne such answer, as would intangle his whole Countrey in the quarrell,

*The *Spaniards* haue since built a Citie of the same name in the West Indies: which being peopled by them in the yeere 1532, was sacked by the *English* in the yeere 1585

quarrell, that they so much desired; and might embrace at leisure, when once they had found apparent cause. But *Asdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: and whereas they would haue this insolent couenant inserted into the articles of peace; he tooke vpon him to doe it, of his owne power, with such appearance of conformitie to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and fought no further.

If it had bene so, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto pressed by the *Romans*, for feare of present warre, had ratified this new composition made by *Asdrubal*, yet should it not haue stood bound in honour, to obserue the same carefully, vntill an oath had also bene extorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, vnder the bare authoritie of *Asdrubal*; this Capitulation was none other in effect, than a second breach of peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accused more iustly, than they could accuse the *Carthaginians* of periuice, (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treatie with *Asdrubal*, the *Romans* wanne some reputation in *Spain*. For when it was once conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the Citie which would needs be mistress ouer them, stood in feare her selfe, of receiuing blowes from a flouter Dame; there were soone found some, that by offering themselves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-seruants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will shortly teach them another lesson. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South side of *Iberus*, entred into confederacie with the *Romans*, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawfull vnto the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither subiect, nor open enemy in warre to the *Carthaginians*) into their societie: and vnlawfull it was vnto the *Carthaginians*, to vse violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Neuerthelesse, if we consider the late agreement made with *Asdrubal*; we shall finde that the *Romans* could haue none other honest colour of requiring it, than an implicit couenant of making the Riuer *Iberus* a bound, ouer which they themselves would not passe, in any Discouerie or Conquest by them intended to be made vpon *Spain*: in which regard, they might haue some honest pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome* as yet had no foote, on the one side of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other side of that Riuer, held almost all the Countrey. Howe soeuer it were, this indignitie was not so easily digested, as former iniuries had bene. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginians*, should behold *Saguntum* resting securely among them, vpon confidence of helpe from a more mightie Citie. Wherefore either in this respect; or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest iniuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to do themselves right: warre against *Saguntum* was generally thought vpon, let the *Romans* take it how they list. In such termes were the *Carthaginians*, when *Asdrubal* died, after he had commanded in *Spain* eight yeeres: (being slaine by a slave, whose master hee had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, sonne of the Great *Amilcar*, was chosen Generall in his stead.

§. VI.

The estate of Greece from the death of PYRRHVS, to the raigne of PHILIP the sonne of DEMETRIVS in Macedon.

IN the long terme of the first Punick warre, and the vacation following, betweene it and the second; the estate of Greece, after the death of Pyrrhus, was growne somewhat like vnto that, wherein Philip of Macedon had found it; though farre weaker, as in an after-spring. The whole countie had recouered by degrees, a forme of libertie: the pettie tyrannies (bred of those inferiour Captaines, which in the times of generall combustion, had seised each vpon such Townes as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatnesse, as not onely serued to defend the selues, but to giue protection to others. This conuerſion to the better, proceeded from the like diſſenſions and tumults in Macedon, as had bene in Greece, when Philip first began to encroch vpon it. For after many quarrels and great warres, about the Kingdome of Macedon, betweene Antigonus the elder, Cassander, Demetrius, Lysimachus, Seleucus, Pyrrhus, and the Gauls: Antigonus, the sonne of Demetrius, finally got and held it, reigning fixe and thirtie yeeres; yet so, that he was diuers times thence expelled, not onely by the Gauls, and by Pyrrhus, as hath bene already shewed, but by Alexander the sonne of Pyrrhus the Epirot, from whose father he had hardly wonne it. This happened vnto him, by the reuolt of his souldiours, euen at such time, as hauing ouerthrowne with great slaughter an Armie of the Gauls, he was conuering his forces against the Athenians, whom he compelled to receiue his Garrisons. But his yong sonne Demetrius raised an Armie; wherewith he chased Alexander, not onely out of Macedon, but out of his owne Epirus, and restored his father to the Kingdome.

By the helpe of this yong Prince Demetrius (though in another kind) Antigonus got into his possession the Citadell of Corinth; which was iustly termed the ſetter of Greece. The Citadell called *Acrocorinthus*, stood vpon a ſteepe rockie hill on the North ſide of the towne; and was by nature and art ſo ſtrong, that it ſeemed impregnable. It commanded the towne; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running betwene the *Aegean* and *Ionique* Seas, ioyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Maîne of Greece. Wherefore he that held poſſeſſion of this Caſtle, was able to cut off all paſſage by land, from one halfe of Greece vnto the other; beſides the commoditie of the two Seas, vpon both of which, this rich and goodly Citie had commodious hauens. Alexander, the ſonne of *Polyperchon*; and after his death, *Craſſipolis* his wife, had gotten Corinth in the great ſhuffling of Provinces and Townes, that was made betweene Alexanders Princes. Afterwards it paſſed from hand to hand, untill it came, I know not how, to one Alexander; of whom I finde nothing elſe, than that he was thought to be poſſeſſed by this Antigonus, who deceiued his wife *Nicea* thereof, and got it from her by a trick. The deuice was this. Antigonus ſent his yong Demetrius to Corinth, willing him to court *Nicea*, and ſeek her marriage. The fooliſh old widow perceiued not how vnſit a match ſhe was for the yong Prince, but entertained the fancie of marriage; whereto the old King was euen as readie to conſent, as was his ſonne to deſire it; and came thither in perſon to ſolemnize it. Hereupon all Corinth was filled with ſacrifices, feaſts, plaies, and all ſorts of games: in the middelt of which, Antigonus watched his time, and got into the Caſtle, beguiling the poore Ladie, whoſe ieaſouſie had bene exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchaſe hee was ſo glad, that he could not containe himſelfe within the grauitie beſeeming his old age. But as hee had ſtollen it; ſo was it againe ſtollen from him: neither liued he to reuenge the loſſe of it, being already ſpent with age.

Demetrius,

Demetrius, the ſonne of this Antigonus, ſucceeding vnto his father, reigned ten yeeres. He made greater prooſe of his vertue before he was King, than after. The *Dardaniens*, *Ætolians*, and *Acheans*, held him continually buied in warre; wherin his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About theſe times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Gracians* to caſt off their yoke.

Philip, the onely ſonne of Demetrius, was a yong childe when his father died; and therefore Antigonus, his vncl, had the charge of the Kingdome, during the minority of the Prince; but he aſſumed the name and power of a King, though hee reſpected Philip as his owne ſonne, to whom he left the Crowne at his death; This Antigonus was called the Tutor, in regard of his Proteſtorſhip; and was alſo Deſon, that is as much as, *Will-giue*, becauſe he was ſlow in his liberality. He repreſented the *Dardaniens* and *Theſſalians*, which moleſted his Kingdome, in the beginning of his raigne. Vpon confidence of this good ſeruiſe, hee tooke ſtate vpon him, as one that rather were King in his owne right, then onely a Proteſtor. Hereupon the people ſett to mutinie; but were ſoonc appeaſed by faire words, and a ſeeming vnwillingneſſe of his to meddle any more with the Gouernment. The *Achaïans* tooke from him the Citie of *Athens*, ſoonc after Demetrius his death; and likely they were to haue wrought him out of all or moſt that hee held in Greece, if their owne eſtate had not bene endangered by a neerer enemy. But ciuile diſſention, which had ouerthrowne the power of Greece, when it flouriſhed moſt; ouerthrew it eaſily now againe, when it had ſcarcely recouered ſtrength after a long ſickeſſe; and gaue to this Antigonus no leſſe authoriti: therein, than Philip the father of Alexander, got by the like aduantage.

Theſe *Achaïans*, from ſmall beginnings, had increaſed in ſhort time to great ſtrength and fame: ſo that they grew the moſt redoubted Nation of all the *Greeks*. By the equalitie of their Lawes, and by their clemencie (notwithſtanding that they were a long time held vnder by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not onely draw all others by their loue and alliance, but induced, through their example, the reſt of the Citieſ of *Peloponnesus*, to be gouerned by one Lawe, and to vſe one and the ſame ſort of waight, meaſure, and monie.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the firſt that vnited them againe; and gaue them courage, after that they had bene by the *Macedonian* Captaines diuided into many Principalityes. In elder times they were gouerned by Kings, as moſt of the great Citieſ of Greece were; to which kinde of rule they firſt ſubiected themſelues, after the deſcent of the *Heraclids*, when *Tiſſamenus* the ſonne of *Oreſtes* poſſeſſed the Terriorie of *Achaia*. In this eſtate they continued to the time of *Gyges*; after whom, when his ſonnes fought to change the Legall gouernment of their Predeceſſors into Tyrannie, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as ſeeming moſt equall. This forme of Common-wealth had continuance, with ſome ſmall changes according to the diuerſitie of times, till the raigne of Philip and Alexander Kings of Macedon: who tempeſt-like ouerturned all things in that part of the world. For thoſe twelue Citieſ, called the *Cities of alliance*, whereof *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten vp a little before the Battaille of *Leuctres*; were, by diſturbance of the *Macedonians*, diuided from ea: h other, and trained into a warre, no leſſe fooliſh than cruell, among themſelues. But in the one hundred and foure and twentieth *Olympiad*, in which, or neere it, *Ptolomee* the ſonne of *Lagus*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolomee Ceraunus*, left the world ſtwo of the ten remaining Citieſ and people, namely, the *Patrenſes* and the *Dimeis*, vnited themſelues, and laid the foundation of that generall accord, and re-vnion, which after followed. For hauing bene, ſome of them *Partiſans* with ſundry *Macedonian* Captaines, and others hauing bene gouerned by pettie Kings; they began to faſten themſelues in a ſtrong league of amitie, partly, in the *Olympiad* before ſpoken of, and partly, at ſuch time as Pyrrhus made his firſt voiage into *Italie*. Now after the vniting of the *Patrenſes* and *Dimeis*, to whom alſo the Citieſ of *Tritea*, and *Phara*, ioyned themſelues;

LIIII 2

Agira

Ægira chased out her Garrison; and the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Cerantians* into the same Confederacie. These Cities, for twentie & five yeeres, vied the same forme of Governement with the *Achaïans*; who by a Senatorie and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Commonweale; and soone after, by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Caryneus* was the first, and *Aratus* the second.

This *Aratus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who living at *Argos* in exile, whilst his Countrey was oppressed by Tyrants, found means, through the helpe of other banished men, to enter their owne Citie by night, with ladders; whence they chased the Tyrant, and restored the people to libertie. This was in the time of *Antigonus Gonatas* King of *Macedon*, a Prince more busie in watching what to get 10 among the *Greekes*, than wife in looking to his owne. For feare of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* entred into the *Achaïan* league: which though at that time it received more increase, by their acceſſion, than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction served well enough against *Antigonus*, whose subtilty was somewhat greater than his valour. As the industrie and counsaile of *Aratus* deliuered his Countrey from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaïan* league: so further, by his great liberality, with the exceeding great cost of one hundred and fiftie talents, he pacified the inexplicable controuersies, betwene the banished *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, and the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Lands, as also with the same money he drew many others to assist him in those enterprises 20 following, that redounded to the singular good of all *Achaïa*. The money he obtained of *Ptolemie Euergetes* King of *Egypt*; who partly had a desire to hold some strong and sure friendship in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the conversation of *Aratus* himselfe, that made a dangerous voyage to him into *Egypt*, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious peeces, wherein the workemen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The first of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the surprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadell of *Corinth*; which he wanne by night, being thereto guided by some theuees that he had hired for the purpose, who living in the place, had practised to rob *Antigonus* his treasure, passing in and out by a secret path among the rocks. 30 Yet was he faine to fight for it, ere he could get it: though indeede *Antigonus* his Souldiers were rather ouer-come by their owne feare, than by any force of the assailants; as mistrusting lest the *Achaïans* were more in number, than in truth they were, and hauing lost the advantages of the place already, vpon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any enemy.

In these kinde of night-seruices, ambushments, surprises, and practices, *Aratus* was very cunning, aduenturous, and valiant: in open field, and plaine battaile, hee was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he minished argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approved) might looke pale and tremble, when he beganne battaile; and whether the vertue of Fortitude were diuersified, by the sundry natures of men, and in a manner confined, vnto seuerall sorts of action. In resolving which doubts it may be said; that all vertue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a natural inclination standeth in neede of little practice; whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, vse, good successe, and other helpe, yet hardly shall grow absolute in generall. Such was *Aratus* in matter of Warre. In sincere affection to his Countrey he was vnproueable, and so acknowledged: as his following actions will testifie.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and ioyned vnto the Common-wealth of *Achaïa*, the *Megarians* revolted soon after from *Antigonus*, and entred into the same Corporation. So did the *Troazentians*, and the *Epidauriens*: whereby this new erected State grew so powerfull, that it aduentured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*; and *Argos* and *Megalopolis*, from Tyrants that held them. The enterprise vpon *Athens* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* wasted the Ile of *Salamis*, to shew his strength, and

and sent home the *Athenian* prisoners, without ranſome, to allure the Citie by shew of loue; yet the *Athenians* stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now growne honest slaues to the *Macedonians*. Vpon *Argos* the aduenture was carried more strongly. The *Achaïans* came sometimes to the gates of the Citie, but the people stirred not: once they entred it, and might haue wonne it, if the Citizens would haue lent any helpe to the recouerie of their owne freedom; sundrie times, and with diuers euent, they fought with the Tyrants, (who rose vpon one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and slue one of them in battaile; but all sufficed not: vntill at length *Arifomachus* the Tyrant was so terrified, perswaded, and hired, by 10 *Aratus*, that he consented to resigne his estate. The like did Xenon the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and Cleonymus that had oppressed the *Phliasians*. Whilst this buſinesse with the *Argines* was on foot, *Lyſidas* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis* was so well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulsion, he gaue libertie to his Citie, and annexed it to the Councell of *Achaïa*: whereby he got such credit, that he was chosen General of their forces (which was a yearly Office, and might not be held two yeeres together by one man) euerie second yeere, for a certaine while, he and *Aratus* succeeding one another by turnes. But those late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lyſidas* and *Arifomachus*, were carried with private passion from care of the generall good; in which courses they opposed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaïa*, as shall appeare 20 in due time.

The *Achaïans* hauing obtayned so much puissance and reputation; that *Ptolemie* King of *Egypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) General of their forces by Sea and Land; made open Warre vpon *Demetrius* the Sonne of *Antigonus Gonatas*, for the libertie of *Athens*. It is strange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrell had lost a battaile the *Athenians* wore Garlands, in signe of ioy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had wonne the victorie. Such were now the *Athenians* become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in generall of the multitude, *Aut humiliter seruit, aut superbe dominatur*; It is either base in seruice, or insolent in command. Neuerthelesse when 30 *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by monie, which he could not by force; and corrupting the Captaine of the *Macedonian* Garrison, purchased libertie to the *Athenians*, who thenceforth held good correspondence with the *Achaïans*, louing them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could doe: but in to their Corporation they entred not, forning it belike, in regard of their owne out-worne glorie.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaïa* daily increased within *Peloponnesus*, by iustice and honestie; so did the *Ætolians*, in the viter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponnesus* it selfe, waxe very powerfull, by ſturdineſſe of bodie, and rude courage in fight, without helpe of any other vertue. They had stoutly defended themselves 40 against *Antipater* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to doe and suffer much, partly by the natural strength and fastnesse of their Countrey; but especially by the benefit of the time, which called away these famous Captaines to other buſinesse, as hath bene related. They had molested *Cassander*, in fauour of *Antigonus*; and were themselves as much plagued by him, & by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but a stout Nation, that tooke his part. Afterwards they had to doe with *Demetrius*, the sonne of the first *Antigonus*, and more or lesse, with all the Kings of *Macedon* succeeding him. They likewise held often Warre with the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epiriots*, and many Cities in *Peloponnesus*: so that they were hardened with perpetual traualle; seldom putting off their Armour. But their hardnesse ill deferred the name of valour, seeing they had no regard of honestie or friendship; measuring all things by their owne insolent wil, and thinking all people base-minded, that were not as fierce and outrageous as themselves.

These *Ætolians* had lately made great spoiles in *Peloponnesus*, and occupied a good part of the countrey. They had invaded the friends of the *Achaïans* taken and sacked

fallene; where although they were soundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their desire of gaine made them greedie of a new voyage thither, as to a Countrey wherein some-what was to be gotten. But they were forced to looke another way, by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus Gonatas*: who pressed them so hardly, that they were driuen to seeke helpe of the *Achaens*, which they obtained. The warre which the *Achaens* made vpon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponnesus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of Greece, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly vnto the *Ætolians*, at whose instance it was set on foot: for thereby were the *Macedonian* forces diuerted from them. Neither was this good turne vnacknowledged; though very basely the *Ætolians*, giuing thanks in words, deuiled how to requite the benefit with some great mischief. They saw that the *Achaens* were desirous, to bring all *Peloponnesus* into their Alliance and Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacedemonians* were very ielous. Wherefore these *Ætolians* laboured earnestly, to let the *Lacedemonians* and *Achaens* together by the eares: hoping that if this might come to passe, they themselves should be called into helpe (it killed not on what side) and so get no small share, both in bootie and Territorie. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their deuice vnto *Antigonus*, offering to make him partaker of their gaine, whom they knew to be offended with the many losses, that his Kingdome had sustained by the *Achaens*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to giue the *Lacedemonians* cause to take armes. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late: and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had been meddling with the *Archadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedemon*; and thereby had prouoked the *Lacedæmonians* to looke about them, seeing that all *Peloponnesus*, excepting themselves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians*, their friends (who also were attempted) was already become *Achaean*.

The Citie of *Sparta* was in ill case about these times, and subiect to the injuries of any stronger Neighbour. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakened it; The *Ætolians* entering *Laconia* with an Armie, had carried away fittie thousand slaves; and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxurie reigned among them, the poore was oppressed by the rich, & the generositie of spirit, that had sometime beene their generall vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more than seuen hundred naturall Citizens; of whom not above one hundred had lands: all the rest were needie people and desirous of innouation. Hereupon followed intestine sedition; which endangered the Citie most of all. *Agis* a good King, who sought to reforme the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict obseruation of *Lycurgus* his laws. To which purpose he caused them to passe an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and equal diuision of lands. All the younger, and the poorer sort were glad of this: but the rich men opposed it. These had recourse vnto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who took their part: being himselfe a dissolute man, as one trained vp in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the Citie, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his friends and Counsaillors in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their owne priuate commoditie. They were haitie to take away all debts, and cancell bonds, for they themselves were deeply indebted; but the diuision of lands they afterwards hindered, because their owne possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in *Sparta*, which the men increased by their foule oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and restored to his Kingdome, and the two aduerser Kings driuen to take Sanctuary; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was dismissed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawne into prison, and there by his enemies condemned and strangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand-mother. The like to this was neuer knowne in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this cruelty proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magistrates that should haue giuen Patronage to the lawes, vsing their power, and more power than to them belonged, against

against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the Citie, as the lawes required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; and serued to establish the impotent rule of a few tyrannicall oppressors. In which case *Aratus* might well hope, to adioyne *Lacedemon* to the *Achaean* Common-wealth: though it were great iniustice to take such aduantages, & attempt by force, that which would haue redounded to the generall good of *Peloponnesus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it selfe, if it could haue bene wrought by perswasion.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of *Sparta*, and reuenged the death of *Agis*, did also require the iniunct attempts of the *Achaens*, euen in their owne kind: obtruding vpon them by force, an vnion of all *Peloponnesus*; though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedemonians* and their King, should haue bene the principall; nor they and their *Prætor*. *Leonidas* hauing thus caused *Agis* to be slaine, tooke his wife that was very rich and beautifull, and gaue her in mariage (perforce) to his owne sonne *Cleomenes*. This yong Prince full greatly enamoured on his wife, and sought to winne her affection, as well as he had her person. He discouered much with her about the purpose of her former husband *Agis*, and by pitying his misfortune, began to entertaine a desire of accomplishing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So comming him selfe to be King, whilst he was very yong, hee gladly embraced all occasions of warre: for that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which *Agis*, by proceeding formally, in so corrupt an estate of the Citie, had attempted to his owne ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gaue him in charge, to take and fortifie *Albænum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they and the *Megaleopolitans* pretended title, he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but fought to take by surprize *Tegæa* and *Orchomenus*, Cities then confederate with the *Lacedemonians*: wherein, his intelligence failing, he lost the labour of a painfull nights traile, and discouered his enmitie to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing sorrie. By these degrees the warre began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had discouered the *Ætolian* practice, and therefore would haue staied the quarrell from proceeding so farre. But *Lysitides* and *Arifomachus* would needes fight, and he could doe none other than be ruled by them; especially seeing *Cleomenes* was so vrgent. *Arifomachus* was at that time General of the *Achaens*, (He & *Lysitides* being of great account, since they had abandoned their tyrannie) who sent vnto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his assistance in a iourne to be made into *Laconia*. No dissuasions of *Aratus* would serue: therefore he came in person, and tooke part of a businesse, little pleasing him in the present, and lesse in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durst not fight; but opposed himselfe against *Arifomachus*, who desired to giue battaile. Yet had the *Achaens* twentie thousand foot, & one thousand horse in their Armie: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thousand in all. This gaue reputation to the *Lacedæmonian*, and raised an ill report vpon *Aratus*, which *Lysitides* helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardize. Neuthelesse the *Achaens* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but chose him their General the yere, following, against *Lysitides* his accuser that sued for the place. Being General himselfe, it behoued him to confute, with deedes, the slanderous wordes of *Lysitides*. Therefore he purposed to set vpon the *Eleans*: but was met withall on the way, nere vnto the Mount *Lycaeus*, by *Cleomenes*, who vanquished him in a great battaile, and drave him to hide himselfe all night for feare, so that he was thought to haue bene slaine. This misaduenture *Aratus* recompensed by a trick of his owne more naturall occupation: performing with his broken Armie, that which could hardly haue been expected, had he bin victorious. For whilst there was no suspition of any great matter that he could vndertake, he secretly wrought with some of the *Maninæans*, who did let him into their Citie. The *Maninæans* had once before ioyned themselves with the *Achaens*; but shortly vpon feare, or some other passion, they gaue themselves to

to the *Ætolians*; and from the *Ælians*, presently after this victorie, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their leuitie they were not punished, but freely admitted now againe into the *Achaean* societie. As this good successe repaired the credit of *Aratus*; so another battaile almost ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountered neere vnto *Megalopolis*; where the *Achaens* had somewhat the better at the first, but their General durst not follow his aduantage. Therupon *Lysidas*, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the horse, brake vpon the *Lacedemonians*, whom hee routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too farre into places of hard passage, he was slaine by them, and his followers driuen backe vpon their owne Companions; in such sort, that finally all the Armie was disordered, and put to flight. This was a great losse, and incensed the *Achaens* against *Aratus*; yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* tooke patiently, and followed the warre neuertheless, wherein though *Cleomenes* wanne some Townes, and *Aratus* got the better in one small fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achaens* being wearie, and the *Spartan* King intenuie to another buisnesse.

Cleomenes hauing led into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painfull journeys, forsooke the *Achaean* warre on a sudden, and came vnspected home to *Sparta*, where hee slue the *Ephori*, and restored by force the ancient discipline of *Lycorgus*. Then gaue hee an accompt of his doings; and shewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had inroched vpon the power of Kings; and many disorders had growne in the Citie; he justified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal diuision of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. Hee also supplied the defect of Citizens, by choosing new, out of such as were friends to the State, and valiant men: so that henceforth his Countrie might not altogether stand in neede of mercinarie helpe, as it lately had done, to saue it selfe from the *Ætolians*, *Thyrians*, and other enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the *Spartans* well satisfied; and *Cleomenes* himselfe ready in the field, ere his enemies could take aduantage of these his domestick troubles.

The *Achaens* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long, ere *Cleomenes* durst issue forth of the Citie, for feare of some rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had waited all the Countrie of *Megalopolis*; had ranged ouer all *Arcadia* at his pleasure; and was admitted into *Manitina*; and readie to take other places, euen of *Achaia*. These newes displeased them not a little; but they must patiently endure to heare worse. For when *Cleomenes* had shaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authoritie, hee proceeded more roundly in his worke; being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedemonians* resumed their ancient courage; and he himselfe had the heart to demand the Principalltie of Greece. He did not therefore henceforth contend, about the possession of a few Townes: but aduentured to winne or lose all. The *Ætolians*, in fauour of this attempt, declared themselves on his side: and whereas he had gotten *Manitina*, *Teges*, and other places, to which they had some title, they willingly renounced all their interest vnto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Countrie, and saw that *Antigonus* with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begonne. Therefore hee desired how to provide against the worst, and either to repaire all, or (if it could not bee) to saue all from utter ruine. The office of Generall when it was next put vpon him, hee refused; fearing to bee so farre prest, as to hazzard in one battaile all the force of his Countrie, to which as hee had neuer any affection, nor perance courage, so was his manner of warfare otherwise. For he commonly attempted by surpris, and defended vpon the aduantage of place, after the manner

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of the *Irish*, and of all other Nations, ouer-charged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forsake the care of the weale publike, though in aiming at the generall good, it seemes that priuate passion drew him into an ill course. He saw, that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazzard of battaile; that *Manitina* had not only opened her gates vnto *Cleomenes*, but slaine the *Achaean* Garrison that lay therein; that other Townes had yielded vnto him, without compulsion; and that *Aristomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and since Generall of the *Achaens*, was now revolted vnto the enemy, following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolemie* was too farre off to helpe; and the neceressie of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be vsfull, if this King would (as *Polybius* saith) like others, be friend or enemy, as should best agree with his owne profit. To make triall hercof, *Aratus* practised with some of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt vnto his purpose; and instructed them how to deale both with *Antigonus*, and the *Achaens*.

The Citie of *Megalopolis* had bene well affected to the *Macedonians*, euer since the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it vnto him by some especiall benefits. At this time it lay neere vnto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore deserved succour; yet could not well be relieved by the *Achaens*, with their owne proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadors should bee sent vnto the generall Councell of *Achaia*, requesting leaue and good allowance, to trie the fauour of *Antigonus* in their necessitie. This was granted, for lack of what else to answer; and the same Embassadors dispatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their owne errand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their Citie had of long time borne vnto him and his Predecessours; of their present neede; and how it would agree with his honour to giue them aide. But when they deliuered the more generall matter, wherein *Aratus* had giuen them instruction; shewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his owne great losse or danger, if the one and the other were not in time preuented; how *Aratus* himselfe did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achaens* vnder the Patronage of *Macedon*; then beganne *Antigonus* to lend a more attentue care to their discourse. He embraced the motion; and to giue it the more life, he wrote vnto the *Megalopolitans*, that his helpe should not be wanting, so farre forth, as it might stand with the *Achaens* good liking. Particularly he commended himselfe, by these Messengers, to *Aratus*; assuring them, that he thought himselfe highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceived, not to haue bene grounded vpon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but only vpon a iust and worthy loue to his owne Nation. With this answer they returne to *Megalopolis*; and are presently sent away to the Councell of *Achaia*; there to make some speedy conclusion, as the necessitie of the time required.

The *Achaens* were glad to heare, that *Antigonus* was so inclinable to their desire; and therefore were ready to entertaine his fauour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gaue his consent; and praised the wisdom of his Countymen, that so well discerned the best and likeliest meanes of their common fauour: adding neuertheless, that it were not amisse, first of all to trie their owne abilitie; which if it failed, then should they doe well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus hee shewed himselfe moderate, in that which himselfe of all others did most with: to the end, that hee might not afterward sustaine the common reprehension, if any thing fell out amisse; since it might appeare, that he had not bene Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that

leisurably, the generall consent. Neuertheless in true estimation, this finess of *Aratus* might haue bene vsed, with his greater commendation, in a contrarie course. For it had bene more honourable, to make an end of the Warre, by yielding vnto *Cleomenes* that power which they gaue vnto *Antigonus*; since thereby he should both haue freed his

Countrie

Countrie from all further trouble; and withall should haue restored vnto the vniuersall state of *Greece*, that honorable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found (which is great pittie) that Vertue hauing risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it selfe, (as it were) in the seat of Principallitie, by length of time, and successe of many actions; can ill endure the hasty growth of any others reputation, wherewith it sees it selfe likely to bee ouer-topped. Other cause to despise the *Lacedemonians* there was none; than that they lately had bin in dangerous case: neither could any reason be found, why *Aratus* should prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had hood in doubt of the one, when he thought himselfe more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was iustly plagued, when he saw his owne honors reuerfed by the insolent *Macedonians*; and in stead of liuing as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was defended of a long race of Kings, the posteritie of *Hercules* was faine to doe sacrifice vnto *Antigonus*, as vnto a God, and was finally poisoned by *Philip*, whose Nobilitie was but of siue descents, and whom perhaps he might haue seene his fellowes, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the loue of *Ptolomie* was lost: who forthwith tooke part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not supply him with such liberalitie, as hee had vied to the *Achaens*; being warned, as may seeme, by their example, to be more warie both in trusting & disburfing. *Cleomenes* himselfe, whilest this businesse with *Antigonus* was aloft, passed through *Arcadia* with an Armie, & laboured by all means to draw the *Achaens* to battaile. At the Citie of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were assembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded, to make triall, whether perhaps they might amend their estate, without seeking helpe of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, and there fought with them; where hee had so great a victorie, that the enemy was no longer able to keepe the open field. The calamitie was such, that *Aratus* himselfe durst not take vpon him to be their Generall, when his turne came in the next election. Wherefore the *Achaens* were compelled to sue for peace; which was granted vpon this easie condition: That they should not arrogate vnto themselves the command of *Peloponnesus*, but suffer the *Lacedemonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in Warre. Hereunto if they would condescend, he promised vnto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, and all his prisoners ransom-free: also that they should enjoy their owne Lawes and Liberties without molestation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleasing to the *Achaens*: who desired him to come vnto the Citie of *Lerna*, where a Parliament should be held, for the conclusion of the Warre.

Now seemed the affaires of *Greece* likely to be settled in better order, than they had euer bene since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Warres, yea or since the *Persian* Inuasion: when God, who had otherwise disposed of these matters, hindred all, with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* dranke in a great heat, and thereupon fell extreme sick, and so could not be present at *Lerna*, but caused the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Neuertheless he sent home the chiefe of his prisoners, to shew that he meant none other than good faith. By this faire dealing he confirmed the *Achaens* in their desire of his friendship: who assembled againe at *Argos*, there to establish the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent against it; and fought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Countymen afraid of resolving. When all would not serue turne, he betooke himselfe to his cunning, and sent word to *Cleomenes*, that hee should doe well to leaue his Armie behinde him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiuing Hostages for safetie of his person. *Cleomenes* was already farre on his way, when he met with this aduertisement: and tooke it ill part, that he should be thus deluded. For it had bene an easie matter, to haue told him so much at the first, and not haue made him come so farre with an Armie, which afterwards he must dismisse. Yet that which chiefly seemes to haue troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners; who fought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deale only with themselves and their Messengers; or if he would ad-

venture

venture himselfe into the Citie, then to deprive him of all Royall shew, that might breed respect of him in the Multitude. This was that indeede which *Aratus* feared, and for which he sought to hinder his coming thither in person: lest the people, hearing the promises of *Cleomenes* ratified by his owne mouth, should presently be wonne with his gentle words, & finish the bargain without more ado. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote vnto the whole Councell, bitterly complaining against these juggling tricks: and *Aratus* was not farre behinde with him, in as bitter an Oration. So betwene feare of the one, and ruereence of the other, the Assembly knew not how to proceede, but abruptly brake vp, leauing all as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes* tooke his aduantage of their present weaknesse, and renewed the Warre. Many Citiees yielded vnto him willingly; many hee forced; and partly by force, partly by terrour, he wanne *Argos*, which neuer King of *Sparta* before him could doe. In this case *Aratus* sent his owne sonne to *Antigonus*, entreating him to deferre no time, but come presently to relieue the distressed *Achaens*. *Antigonus* gaue as good words as could be wished, sauing that he vtterly refused to doe any thing, vntill he might first haue *Acrocorinthus* put into his hand. This demand was somewhat like vnto that of the Hunter, who promised to helpe the Horle against his enemy the Stag; but with condition, that the Horle should suffer himselfe to be faddled & bridled. *Aratus* was herewithall contented, but wanted all honest colour to doe it: seeing the *Corinthians* had no way deserued, to be thus giuen away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occasion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiving what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So hee withdrew himselfe out of their Citie, and sent word to *Antigonus*, that the Castle should bee ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ranne to *Cleomenes*; who lost no time, but made haste with them to *Corinth*, where he fought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to saue it from *Antigonus*, by surrounding it with Trenches, that none might issue nor enter without his leaue. Whilest this was in doing, he tooke speciall order, that *Aratus* his house and goods, within the Towne, should be safely kept for the Owner; to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agrecment, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Syrians*, to *Peloponnesus*: promising that if he would harken to these persuasions, then would he giue him double the same pension, which hee had bene wont to receiue of King *Ptolomie*. As for the Castle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured soueraignie of the Countrie; he desired that it might not be committed vnto his owne disposition, but be ioyntly kept by the *Lacedemonians* and *Achaens*. All this entreatie serued to no purpose. For *Aratus*, receiuing vnto the motion, sent his owne sonne as an Hostage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Achaens*, to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* vnderstood, he seized vpon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the

Countrie of *Sicyon*, wherof this his Aduersarie was native.

Antigonus in the meane time drew neere to the *Issmus*; hauing passed with his Armie through *Eubaea*, because the *Aetolians* held the streights of *Thermopylae* against him. This they did, either in fauour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatnesse, wherunto the *Macedonians* might attaine by the good successe of this iourne. At his coming thither he found the *Lacedemonians* ready to forbid his entrance: and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazzard battaile, but rather to wearie him thence with hunger, against which hee came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able so to doe: hee secretly got into the *Corinthian* Haue; but was violently driuen out againe, with great losse of men; finally hee resolved to turne aside, and seeke a passage ouer the gulf of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexitie newes from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*,

gonus, and no lesse troubled his Enemies; The *Achaens* were gotten into that Citie; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driuen out of the Citadell, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in neede of present helpe. *Argos* had alwaies bin enemie to *Sparta*, and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* tooke it, he forbare to chase out those whom he most suspected; partly, at the entreatie of friends; and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperitie. They were glad indeede of *Cleomenes* his victories, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all debtors to be discharged from their creditours, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: in other places, where it would have bene tyrannicall, he did it not. Thereupon, such as were disappointed of their vniust hopes, beganne to turne good Common-wealths-men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because hee would not doe the like abroad. So they tooke their time; inuited the *Achaens*; assailed his Garrison; cut in peeces the Rescue that he sent; and compelled him at length, to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and looke vnto the enemies that were behind his backe. For when he vnderstood, by continuall messages, that his men which held the Citadell at *Argos*, were almost lost: hee beganne to feare, lest his labouring guarding the entry should grow fruitlesse; the *Achaens* in the meane while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore hee forsooke his custodie of the *isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: which if he could faue, he meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so farre he prevailed at his comming to *Argos*; that both *Argues* and *Achaens* were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the streets: when the horse-men of *Antigonus* were discovered a farre off, halting to relieue the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himselfe (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as soone as the *Spartan* had turned his backe) following apace with the bodie of his Armie. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to doe, than to make a safer retreat. This he did; and got him home into *Laconia*: looting in short space all, or most of that which he had bene long in getting.

Antigonus having shewed himselfe at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Areadia*; where he wanne such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, he tooke his way to *Ægium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achaens*: to whom he declared the cause of his comming, and spake braue wordes, that filled them with hope. The *Achaens* were not behinde him; but made him Captaine Generall ouer them and their Confederates; and further entred into covenant with him, That they should not deale with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while, & somewhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon*, his owne Towne (for Winter was come on) where he not only feasted him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane honours, as sacrifices and the like, to be done vnto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: which had made (forsooth) a very wise bargain, if in stead of *Cleomenes* that would haue bene a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poore; and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the burthen vpon the *Achaens*. This was hardly taken: yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himselfe ouer-carefully respected; when the statues of those Tyrants, which he had throwne downe in *Argos*, were againe erected by *Antigonus*; or when the statues, which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all throwne downe by the same King, and one only left vnto himselfe at his earnest entreatie. It might therefore appeare, that this God was also spitefull. Neuerthelasse in taking reuenge vpon those that offended him, *Aratus* did satisfie his owne passion by the aide of these *Macedonians*. For with extreme torments he did put *Arismachus* to death, who had bene once Tyrant of *Argos*; afterwards Generall of the *Achaens*; and from them reuoluing vnto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like sort handled

handled hee (though not as yet) the *Mantineans* for their ingratitude and crueltie shewed to the *Achaens*. For hee slue all the principal Citizens, and sold the rest, men, women, and children, all for bond-slaves: diuiding the spoile; to two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achaens*. The Towne it selfe was giuen by *Antigonus* to the *Argues*: who peopled it with a Colonie of their owne; and *Aratus* hauing charge of this businesse, caused it to be new-named *Antigonia*. Surely of this crueltie there can be no better excuse; than euen the flatterie, which *Aratus* was driuen to vse to *Antigonus*: forasmuch as it was token of seruilitie, whereinto they had vrged and brought him; whom hee, as in reuenge thereof, did thus requite.

But leauing to speake of this change, which the comming in of the *Macedonian* wrought, in the Ciuill state of the *Achaens*; Let vs returne into his warre against the *Luedemonian*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wanne *Tegæa*, *Mantineæ*, *Orchomeno*, *Heræa*, and *Telphusa*: *Mantineæ* hee dispeopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* hee placed a Garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest hee restored to the *Achaens*: with whom hee wintered at *Ægium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this yeare; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his owne Territory. The reason why hee stirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantineæ*, and to those other Townes that hee wanne, was this: Hee had few Souldiers, and not monie enough to wage more. *Ptolemy* the *Ægyptian* promised much, but would performe nothing, vntill he might haue *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his children in pledge. These were sent into *Ægypt*; yet the aide came not. For *Ptolemy* was slow; as dealing in the businesse of *Greece*, rather for his mindes sake, than vpon any apprehension of necessity. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himselfe, as well as his owne abilitie would serue. Hee manumised all the *Heiotes*, which were the *Luedemonian* slaves: taking monie for their libertie, and arming two thousand of them, after the *Macedonian* fashion. Having thus increased his forces, hee came on the sudden to *Megalopolis*; thar lay secure, as hauing defended it selfe in more dangerous times, and hauing now *Antigonus* neere at hand in *Ægium*. The Towne hee wanne: but after he was entred, all that were fit to beare armes, rose hastily against him; & though they could not driue him out, yet saued the multitude, to whom they gaue a Port free for their escape. Hee lent after the Citizens, offering their Towne and goods to them againe, if they would be of his partie. But they brauely refused his offer: wherefore hee sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great bootie that hee found therein. These newes astonished the *Achaens* at *Ægium*: who thereupon brake vp their Parliament. *Antigonus* sent hastily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering places: but they were so long in comming, that *Cleomenes* was safely gone home. Therefore hee returned them back to their lodgings, and went himselfe to *Argos*, there to passe the rest of this vnlucky winter, somewhat further from the eyes of the greued *Achaens*. When he had laine awhile at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates, with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argues* perceiving that their Countie would be spoiled, if *Antigonus* did not issue into the field; were very earnest with him to goe forth and fight. But hee was wiser then to be moued with their clamours; and suffered them to see their villages burnt; to bid him resigne his Office of Protector vnto some that were more valiant; and to satisfie their passions with foolish wordes; rather than he would be ouer-come in fight, and thereby lose more honour than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire, in weakning the reputation of his enemie: though he thereby added neither followers, nor other strength, vnto *Lacedæmon*.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for warre, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troupes; meaning to requite these brauado's of his enemie, with the conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes* on the other side, laboured to keepe the warre from his owne gates; and therefore entred vpon the Countie of *Argos*, where hee made

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such hauocke, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended inuasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was faine to endure, in coasting the *Spartan* King; that ranging ouer the Countrey of the *Argives*, *Phliasians*, and *Orchomenians*, draue a Garillon of his out of *Oligyria*; and did sacrifice, as it were, before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Iuno*, that was shut vp; sending vnto him in scorn, to borrow the keyes. These were light things; yet serued to dishearten the *Achaean* side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore hee concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazzard; by setting vp his rest, without more delay, vpon *Sparta* it selfe. He had in his Armie eight and twentie thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, collected out of sundrie Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Ilyrians*, *Gauls*, *Epirots*, *Boeotians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Acheans*, and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts, twentie thousand, with which he lay at *Selasia*: fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seeke entrance. *Antigonus* comming to *Selasia*, found his enemy so strongly incamped, vpon and between the hills of *Eua* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before hee could aduance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blowes, which he greatly desired, without the bazzard of his whole armie, in assailing their well-defenced Campe. But at length (as it happens, when men are wearie both of their hopes and feares) both Kings being resolu'd to make an end one way or other, *Antigonus* attempted with his *Ilyrians*, to force that part which lay on the hill *Eua*. but his *Ilyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achaean* foot, that the *Spartan* horse, & light-armed foot, incamped in the streight vallie between those hills, issuing forth, fell vpon their skirts; and not onely disordered them, but were like to haue endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himselfe had stood in that part of the battaille, he would haue made great vse of such a faire beginning. But *Eucidas*, his brother, a more valiant than skilfull Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this aduantage, nor tooke such benefit as the ground afforded, whereon he lay. *Philopamen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proued a famous Captaine, serued then on horse, as a private yong man, among the *Acheans*. He seeing that all was like to goe to rout, if their *Ilyrians* were driuen to fall backe vpon the Army following them; perswaded the Capitaines of the *Achaean* horse, to break vpon the *Spartan* Mercinaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth and want of charge, partly, for that *Antigonus* had giuen order, that they should keepe their places, vntill they receiued a signe from him, which was not as yet. *Philopamen* perceiuing them to be more orderly, than well aduised; entreated some of his owne Countreymen to follow him; gaue a charge vpon the *Spartans*; and forced them not onely to leaue the *Ilyrians*, but seeke how to saue themselves. Being so farre aduanced, he found the place which the *Ilyrians* had attempted, like enough to bee wonne, & through the vnskilfulnesse of him that held it. Wherefore hee alighted, and perswaded the men at armes his Companions to doe the like: the folly of *Eucidas* being manifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to binder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plaine, where they might fight vpon euen termes. So he recovered the Hill top; where though he was foreburt, yet yee made good the place that he had gotten, vntill the whole Armie came vp to him; by which the *Lacedaemonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This ouerthrow, and death of *Eucidas*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: who fighting brauely on the other side, vpon *Olympus*, against *Antigonus* himselfe, was like to haue bene furrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawne himselfe with an extraordinary speed. In this battaille ended the glorie of *Lacedaemon*, which, as a light readie to go out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, then in many ages past.

Cleomenes

Cleomenes fled vnto *Sparta*: where he had no desire to stay, finding onely two hundred left, of fixe thousand *Spartans* that he had led vnto this battaille, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So hee perswaded his people to yeelde themselves vnto *Antigonus*; and promising to doe all that should at any time lie in his owne power, for their good, he hasted away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before prouided, against all that might happen) and imbarqued himselfe for *Egypt*. Hee was louingly entertained by *Ptolemie Evergetes*; who vnderooke to restore him to his Kingdome; and (perhaps) meant no lesse, as being much delighted with his gallant behaviour and qualities. In the meane season hee had a pension allowed him, of foure and twentie talents, yearly. But this *Ptolemie* died; and his sonne *Ptolemie Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious yong Prince, wholly gouerned by lewd Women, and base Men, vnmindfull of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was desirous to returne into *Greece*, whether the troubles in *Peloponnesus* did seeme to inuite him; *Ptolemie*, and his Minions, would neither giue him aide; nor yet dared to dismisse him (as he desired) to trie his owne friends in *Greece*, because he was too well acquainted with the weakenesse of *Egypt*: nor well knew how to detain him against his will. At length they deuised matter against him, and made him prisoner. The last act of him was; that with thirtie of his Countreymen, he vnderooke a desperate enterprize: breaking out of the prison, and prouoking the *Alexandrins* to rebell and seeke their libertie. In which attempt hee slue foure enemies of his that he met; and hauing walked vp and downe the *Ibrets*, without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalfe) he, and his Companions, agreed together to bee ministers of their owne death. Vpon his dead bodie *Ptolemie* was bold to shew his indignation; and slue his Mother and Children, that had bene sent thither as Hostages, together with the wiues of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending vpon the old Queene. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*; a generous Prince, but Sonne of *Leonidas*, who had caused *Agis*, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to such a bloudie ende, as now befell his owne Wife, Sonne, and Grand-children.

After the Victorie at *Selasia*, *Antigonus* without resistance entred *Sparta*: wherinto neuer the force of any Enemy, before him, could make way. Hee kindly entreated the Citizens, and left them to their owne Lawes and Gouernment: tarrying there no longer, than two or three dayes; after which he hastened out of *Peloponnesus*, and neuer returned. The cause of his speedy departure was, an advertisement that he receiued out of *Macedon*; how the *Ilyrians* ouer-ran, and destroyed the Countrey. Had these newes come a little sooner; or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few dayes longer, or at least-wile tarried a few dayes after the fight, in *Sparta*: the Kingdome of *Lacedaemon* would haue stood, and perhaps haue extended it selfe ouer all *Greece*. But God had otherwise determined.

Antigonus fought a great battaille with the *Ilyrians*, and ouer-came them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by ouer-frayning his voice; wherewith he brake a veine that bled inwardly, and in short space finished his life, who was troubled before with a consumption of the lungs. His Kingdome descended vnto *Philip*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: as also about the same time it was, that *Antiochus*, furnamed (I know not why) *the Great*; and *Ptolemie Philopater*; beganne to raigne in *Asia*, and *Egypt*; Boyes all. Of these, *Ptolemie*, though old enough to loue Harlots, when he first was King, yet continued a Boy, all the seuentene yeeres of his raigne. The vnripe age of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, bred such intestine inconuenience to their Kingdomes, as is vsual in the minoritie of Princes: but their elder yeares brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; vpon which

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which occasion, when it comes, we shall more seasonably speake of them, and of their Kingdomes, more at large.

¶ VII.

How the Illyrians infested the coast of Greece; and how they were subdued by the Romans.



Hillest things thus passed in Greece; and whilst the *Carthaginians* were busie in their conquest of *Spain*: the *Romans* had found themselves worke among the *Sardinians* and *Corseans*, that were easily subdued at first, and easily vanquished againe, when they rebelled. They made also warre with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour with little paine. With the *Gauls* they had much ado, that lasted not long; being rather, as *Liue* saith, a tumult then a warre. So that by all these light exercises, their valour was hardly kept from rust. How they got the Islands in the *Mediterranean Sea*; it hath bene shewed before: of their dealings with the *Illyrians* and *Gauls*, it is not meet to be utterly silent.

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Country now called *Slauonia*: a troublesome Nation, so impatient of rest, and continually making warre for gaine, without either regard of friend or foe. They were invited by *Demetrius* King of *Macedon*, to helpe the *Mydonians*, his friends, that were besieged by the *Ætolians*, for that they refused to be of their society. Before the *Illyrian* succours came, the *Mydonians* were so far spent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the booty: the old Prætor, or chiefe Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his Office, clayming to haue the honour of the victory, and the diuision of the spoile to be referred vnto him; for that he had in a manner brought the siege to an end, and wonne the Towne: others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a pretie strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in later ages, who thought vpon diuiding the prey, before they had wonne the victories, which anon they lost, at *Positiers* and at *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus: That the old, and the new Prætor, should be ioyntly intitled in the victorie, and haue equall authoritie in distribution of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived, and landed, ere any was aware of them; they fell vpon the *Ætolians*; & though good resistance was made, yet got the victorie, partly by force of their owne multitude, partly by helpe of the *Mydonians*, that were not idle in their owne businesse, but hourly fallied out of the Towne. Many of the *Ætolians* were slaine, more were taken, their Campe and all their baggage was lost: the *Illyrians* tooke the spoile, and went their way; the *Mydonians* erected a *Trophie*, inscribing the names, both of their old and new Magistrate (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The successe of this voyage, highly pleased *Agon* King of the *Illyrians*: not only in regard of the monie, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance, or of the booty that was gotten; but for that hauing vanquished the stoutest of the *Greeks*, hee found it not vneasie, to enrich himselfe by setting vpon the lesse warlike. For ioy of this he feasted, and dranke so immoderately, that he fell into a *pleurisie*, which in few daies ended his life. His Kingdom, together with his great hopes, he left vnto *Tenta*, his wife.

Tenta gaue her people free libertie, to rob all Natson at Sea, making no difference betweene friend and foe; as if shee had bene sole Mistress of the salt Waters. Shee armed a fleet, and sent it into *Greece*: willing hee Captaines, to make warre,

Warre where they found advantage, without any further respect. These fell with the westerne coast of *Peloponnesus*; where they invaded the *Eleans*, and *Messenians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, & stayed at the Citie of *Phenice*, to take in victualles and other necessaries. There lay in *Phenice* eight hundred *Gauls*; that hauing bene Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, first *Agigentum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but sayling to do either, they neuertheless resolved, and were for their misdeeds disarmed, and sent to Sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by these *Epirots*, and trusted to lie in Garrison within their Towne. The *Gauls* were soone growne acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phenice*, which deserued none other, in trusting them. Al *Epirus* was presently in armes, and halsted to driue out these vnwelcome guests. But whilst the *Epirots* lay before the Towne, there came newes into their Campe, of another *Illyrian* Armie, that was marching thitherward by Land, vnder one *Sceurdilidas*; whom *Queene Tenta* had sent to helpe his fellowes. Vpon this aduertisement, a part of them is sent away towards *Antigonis*, to make good that Towne, and the freights adioyning, by which these new commers mult enter into their Countie; another part of them remaines at *Phenice*, to continue the siege. Neither the one, nor the other, sped well in their businesse. For *Sceurdilidas* found meanes to ioyne with his fellowes; and they that were besieged within *Phenice*, sallied out of the towne, and gaue such an ouerthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them despaire of sauing their Countie, without great and speedie helpe from abroad. Wherefore Embassadors were sent to the *Ætolians* and *Ætolians*: craving their helpe, with very pitifull termes of entreatie. They obtained their suit; neither was it long, before an Armie, sent by these two Nations, was readie in *Epirus*, to present battaile vnto *Sceurdilidas*. But *Sceurdilidas* was called home, by letters from *Tenta* the Queene, that signified a rebellion of some *Illyrians* against her: so that he had no minde to put his forces to hazard, but offered composition; which was accepted. The agreement was, That the *Epirots* might ransom some their Towne, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the *Illyrians* should quietly depart, with all their booty and slaues. Hauing made this profitable and honourable bargain; the *Illyrians* returned into their own Countie by Land, sending their booty away by Sea.

At their comming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this voyage. For in fulfilling the commandment of their Queene, they had taken many *Italian* Marchants, whilst they lay at *Phenice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made vnto the *Roman* Senate, were so frequent, that Embassadors were sent to require of *Tenta*, that she should abstaine from doing such iniuries. These Embassadors found her very iolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that shee had, in short space, tamed her Rebels, and brought al to good order, saue only the towne of *Issa*, which her forces held streightly besieged. Swelling with this prosperitie, shee could hardly afford a good looke to the vnmanly *Romans*; that found fault with her doings; and calling them by a true name, *Pyrracie*, required amends. Yet when their speech was ended, the vouchsafed to tell them, That iniurie in publike shee would doe them none: as for priuate matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings to forbid their Subjects to get commoditie, how they best could, by Sea. But (said the yonger of the two Embassadors) we *Romans* haue a manner, and a very laudable one, to take reuenge in publike, of those priuate wrongs that are borne out by publike authoritie: therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to reforme your Kingly manners, and learne better of vs. These words the Queene tooke so impatiently, that no reuenge could satisfie her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without al regard of the common Law of Nations, shee caused him to be slaine: as if that had bene the way, to set her heart at rest; which was indeede the meane, to disquiet and afflict it euer after.

The *Romans*, prouoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea,

Sea, confisting of two hundred faile, commanded by *C. Philinus*; the other by Land, led by *A. Pophumus*. They trouble not themselves any more, with requiring satisfaction: for this iniurie is of such nature, as must be requited with mortall warre. It is indeede contrarie to all humane Law, to vse violence towards Embassadours: the reason and ground whereof, seemes to bee this; that since without mediation, there would neuer be an end of warre and destruction, therefore it was equally receiued by all Nations, as a lesion taught by Nature, that Embassidors should passe freely, and in safetie, betwene enemies. Neuertheless, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King, or State, lay hold vpon Embassadours sent by their enemies, not vnto themselves, but vnto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrell; then it is as lawfull, to vse violence to those Embassadours (thus employed, to makethe warre more terrible) as it is to kill the men of warre, and subiects, of an enemy. And so might the *Athenians* haue answered it, when they slew the *Lacedemonian* Embassadours, that were sent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a warre vpon the *Athenians*. Neither are those Embassadours, which practise against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any Law whatsoever. For whereas the true Office of an Embassadour residing, is the maintenance of amitie; if it be not lawfull for one Prince, to practise against the life of another, much lesse may an Embassadour doe it without incurring justly the same danger of punishment, with other Traitors; in which case, his place giues him no priuiledge at all. But we will leaue this dispute to the *Ciuitians*; and goe on with the reuenges taken by the *Romans*, for the slaughter of their Embassadour *Corinacianus*.

The *Illyrian* Queene was secure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to stirre against her. She was indeede in an error; that hath vndone many of all sorts greater and lesse than she, both before and since: *Having more regard vnto fame, than vnto the substance of things*. The *Greekes* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Aetolians* and *Epirots* had the name of the most warlike people in *Greece*; these had theesse easily vanquished; and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* the should be little troubled. Had the considered, that her whole Armie, which wrought such wonders in *Greece*, was not much greater, than of ten thousand men; and that neuertheless, it prevailed as much, by oddes of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; theesse would haue continued to vse her aduantage, against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that the should not haue needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mightie than her selfe. But she was a woman, and did what she listed. Shee sent forth a greater fleet than before, vnder *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like ample commission to take all that could bee gotten. This fleet diuided it selfe; and one part of it fell with

a *Dyrrachium*, the other, with *Coreya*. *Dyrrachium* was almost surprized by the *Illyrians*; yet was it rescued by the stout Citizens. In *Coreya* the *Illyrians* landed; wasted the Isle, and besieged the Towne. Hereupon the *Aetolians* and *Acheans* were called in to helpe: who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea; losing, besides others of lesse note, *Marcus Caryneis*, the first Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* succeeded. The Towne of *Coreya*, dismayed with it is overthrow, opened the gates vnto *Demetrius Pharius*; who tooke possession of it, with an *Illyrian* Garrison: sending the rest of his forces to besiege *Dyrrachium*. In the meane season, *Tents* was angry with her Captaine *Demetrius*: I know not why; but so, as he resolved to trie any other course, rather than to trust her.

The *Romans* were euen ready to put to Sea, though vncertaine which way to take, when aduertisement was brought to *C. Fulvius* the Consull, of *Demetrius* his fake and discontent. Likely it was, that such an occasion might greatly helpe to aduantage the businesse in hand. Wherefore the Consull sailed thither; where hee found the Towne of *Coreya* so well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only receiued him willingly, but deliuered into his power the *Illyrian* Garrison, and submitted it selfe vnto the *Roman* protection.

After

After this good beginning, the Consull sailed alongst the coast, to *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he vsed thenceforth as his counsailler and guide. To *Apollonia* came also *Pophumus*, the other Consull, with the Land-Armie, numbered at twentie thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they halten towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had besieged; but vpon newes of the *Roman* Armie, they disperse themselves. From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthenia*; beat the *Illyrians* by Sea, take twentie of their ships; and enforce the Queene *Tenta* to forsake the coast, and to couer her selfe in *Rifon*, farr within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* halte them home ward, and leaue the best 10 places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part staies behinde, and persecutes the warre, in such sort, that *Tenta* was forced to begge peace: which shee obtained vpon miserable conditions; to wit, That shee should quit the better part of *Illyria*, & pay tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth, neuer send any of her ships of warre, towards the coasts of *Greece*, beyond the Iland of *Lissa*; except it were some one or two vessels, vnarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this *Illyrian* warre, the *Romans* sent Embassadours into diuers parts of *Greece*, signifying their loue to the Countrey, and how, for good will thereto, they had made warre with good successe vpon *Tenta*, and her people. They hoped, be- 20 like, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage; which if it hapned, they were wise enough to play their owne games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadours were only rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Illyrian* pastimes. This was an idle courtiesie, but well meant by the vaine *Greekes*, and therefore well taken by the *Romans*: who by this *Illyrian* Expedition got nothing in *Greece*, saue a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

¶ VIII.

Of the warre betwene the *Romans* and *Gauls*, somewhat before the coming of *Hannibal* into *Italic*.

He *Gauls* that dwelt in *Lumbardie*, were the next, against whom the *Romans* tooke Armes. These were a populous Nation, and often molled *Rome*; sometimes with their owne forces, and sometimes with the assistance of those that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good; when they tooke *Rome*, and burnt it: though the issue of that warre proued not answerable to the beginning, if we may giue credit vnto *Roman* Historians. In following times, their successe was variable, and commonly bad. Many overthrowes they receiued; and if they got any victorie, it yielded them no profit, but was soone extorted out of their hands. They were indeede more fierce, than well aduised: lightly stirred vp to warre, and lightly giuing out. At the first 40 brunt, they were said to be more than men; but when that was past, lesse than women. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience; and knew how to handle them: yet gane alwaies carefull heede to their approach, were it only bruted. For the danger of them was sudden, and vncertaine; by reason of their neighbourhood, and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts vpon *Rome*, were called warres, but tumults; *Gallies* & tumults of the *Gauls*; and rightly. For they gaue many alarms to *Italic*, and vied to rise with great Armies: but 50 after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion serued to disperse them. Having receiued an overthrow; they would rest ten, or twelue yeeres, sometimes twentie or thirtie: till they were stirred vp againe, by younger heads, vnacquainted with the danger. Whilst they rested; the state of *Rome*, that against thesse made only defensiu warre, had leasure to grow, by sitting vpon

upon others. Herein God provided well for that Monarchie, which hee intended to raise: that the *Gauls* neuer fell upon *Italie*, with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous warre. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilst *Pyrrius* was traualing in the same enterprise; or in either of the two former *Punick* warres: it may be doubted what would have become of this imperious Cite. But it seemes that the *Gauls* had no better intelligence in the affaires of *Italie*, than strangers had in *Gaul*. At least, they knew not how to vie their times: and were therefore like to smart, whensoever the enemies, whom they had much prouoked, and little hurt, should finde leisure to visit them at their owne home: which was now after the first *Punick* Warre. Once before this, the *Romans* had beene bold, to set upon the *Gauls* in their owne Countrey; and that was three yeeres before the coming of *Pyrrius* into *Italie*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gauls*, invading *Helvetia*, and besieging *Arretium*, had wonne a great battaile and slaine *L. Cassilius* with the most of his Armie. *Manlius Curius* the new Consull, sent Embassadors to them, to treat about ranfome of prisoners. But these Embassadors they slue. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it so well, that they expelled these *Senones* out of their Countrey, and sent a Colonie of their owne to inhabit it. This caused the *Boij*, another people of *Gaul*, to feare the like measure: who thereupon tooke armes, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their side. But the *Romans* overthrew them in two great battailes; and thereby made them sue for peace, which lasted vntill this end of the *Illyrian* warre.

It vexed the *Gauls*, to see a *Roman* Colonie planted in their Countrey; who had beene accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by diuining over their Neighbours force. Wherefore they laboured with the *Transalpinos* (so the *Romans* called those in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to vs they are neerer; like as they called *Cisalpinos*, or by-liber the *Alpes*, those who dwell betwene them and the Mountaines) to draw them to their party: reasonably presuming, that as their disunion had caused their losse, so their vnion might recompence it, with large amends. But the businesse was so foolishly carried, that the *Cisalpinos* and *Transalpinos*, fell together by the eares, putting the *Romans* only to a tumult, without further trouble of warre. Soone after, they were vrged by a greater indignitie, to goe more substantially to worke. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome*, propoed a Decree which was ratified by the people; That, besides one Colonie already planted in the territorie of the *Senones*, as many more should be caried thither, as would serue to people the whole Countrey betwene *Ancona* and *Ariminum*: exterminating vterly those *Gauls*. Such an offer, were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Guiana* it selfe, would not ouer-joy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of *Rome* took this in for good part, notwithstanding all danger joyned with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had cuer after their good will.

This dreadfull President extremely displeased the *Boij*: who being Neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like displantation. And because all the rest of the *Gauls* had reason to resolue, that themselves also should be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Insubrians*, which inhabited the Duchie of *Milan*, joynd with the *Boij*, & upon a common purpose entertained the *Gessates*, Nations about *Rhoda-nus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in these times. The *Gessates* hauing received a great Imprest, come to the field vnder the conduct of their Kings, *Concolitanus* & *Amer-sus*: who with the *Boij* and *Insurbians*, compound an Armie of fiftie thousand foot, and twentie thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that euer invaded the *Roman* Territorie; to whom, the *Seno-galli*, that had beene beaten out of their possessions, gaue a great increase of strength. On the contrary side, the *Venetians*, and the *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*: as better beleuing in their prosperitie and rising fortune. For feare of whose incursions therefore, the *Gauls* were forced to leaue a good part of their Armie, on the frontier of *Milan*: With the rest of their forces they entred into *Tuscane*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger,

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send *Amilius* to *Rimini*, to stop their passage; and in the place of *C.* *Attilius* their other Consull, who then was in *Sardinia*, they employ one of their Prators, for the defence of *Tuscane*.

Being at this time greatly troubled, with the consideration of this powerfull Armie, which the *Gauls* had assembled, they caused a view to bee taken, as well of all their owne forces, as of those of their Allies: who were no lesse willing than themselves, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their owne destruction could not bee prevented otherwise, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserue to be recorded: because they set out the power of the *Romans* in those dayes. With the Consulls they sent forth to the warre foure Legions of their owne: euery Legion consisting of fife thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand horse. There were also appointed for Supplies (if any misadventure came to these) of the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* fiftie thousand foot, & foure thousand horse; which Armie was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Embrici* and *Sardinians*, which inhabited the *Apennines*, there were twentie thousand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomanni*, other twentie thousand: which latter Armies were directed, to invade the *Boij*, that forcing them to defend their owne Territories, the general Armie of the *Gauls* should be thereby greatly diminished. There were besides these, to bee ready against all vnexpected chances of warre, thirtie thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, garrisoned in *Rome* it selfe, of their owne people; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand horse.ouer and about these great troupes; in the Roll of the *Latines*, that was sent vnto the Senate, there were numbered fourecore thousand foot, and fife thousand horse; in that of the *Sammites*, seuentie thousand foot, and of horse seuen thousand, in that of the *Lapyges*, and *Messapyges*, fiftie thousand foot, and sixteen thousand horse; the *Lucans* sent a list of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *Atarpi*, *Marrucini*, *Ferentani*, and the *Veſtini*, of twentie thousand foot, and four thousand horse. The *Romans* had also two Legions in *Sicily*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thousand foure hundred foot, and foure hundred horse. So as of the *Romans* and *Campanians* jointly, reckoning men armed, and fit to beare armes, there were registred two hundred and fiftie thousand foot; and of horse, three and twentie thousand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fiftie thousand foot and about six thousand horse. Calling vpon the whole forces of all the Provinces in *Italie*, both of the *Romans* and their Confederates, it amounted to seuen hundred thousand foot, and seuentie thousand horse. But the number is somewhat misse cast by *Polybius*; not with a purpose to enrich himselfe by the dead paies: for where he reckons nine hundred horse too many, he falls short nine thousand two hundred of the foot.

How great fouer this Muster was it seemes to haue beene like vnto that, which *Lodouick Sforza* made, when *Leuer* the welth invaded *Milan*: at what time, the better to encourage himselfe, and his subjects, hee tooke a Roll of all persons able to beare armes, within the Duchie, though indeed hee were neuer able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certaine it is, that the battalles of *Trebia*, *Trasymene*, and *Canna*, did not consume any such proportion, as was answerable to this large accompt. Yet were the *Romans* faine to arme their slues, euen for want of other Souldiers, after their overthrow at *Canna*. Wherefore the manuaile is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified, with report of such a multitude. For all heads are not fit for helmets: though the *Roman* Citizens were, in general, as good fighting men, as elsewhere might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter-preparations, the *Gauls* keepe on their way: and entering into *Tuscane*, destroy and put to fire and sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to finde the *Romans*, rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence failes them. For the

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e. There were diuers nations of the *Boij*, as in *Germania*, by *Germania*, in *South* of *France*, and in *Aquitaine*; but these *Boij* were of the *French* race, & dwelt at this time about the mouth of the Rauer of *Pe*.

f. *Cenomanni*, are the people about *Bergom*, on the North-side of the River *Po* in *Italie*. There were also of these *Cenomanni* in *France*, and inhabited the Countie of *Alain*.

g. *Tapyges* and *Messapyges* seeme to be one Nation, who are also called *Peuce-tians*, *Peuce-tians*, and *Peuce-tians*. The Countie is now *Apulia*, containing the Northernmost head-land of *Calabria*. h. A people of the kingdom of *Naples*. i. *Polybius* calls them a people of *Italia*. k. A people of *Campania*, called to this day *Frentani*, in *Italy*.

Roman Armie, sent into *Tuscane*, hauing taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had mislead of them, came againe fast after them, to arrest them in their iourne. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head: and in the same evening discovered the *Roman Armie*, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparant necessitie, that fight they must. Wherefore they helped themselves with a stratagem: that shewed no great fineness of wit, but such, as well befitted those that had none other occupation than warre; and stood them in good stead at the present. In the dead of the night, they cause their foot to march away, but not farre: leaving their horse in guard; to whom they giue order, to come off at the first light of day, with such a speede, as might rather argue a running away, than a retrait, as if they had not dared to abide battaile. The *Romans*, interpreting this their battie departure, as the *Gauls* desired they should, follow them in disorder. The *Gauls* returne; charge them; and kill fixe thousand vpon the place; the rest take a peece of ground of aduantage, and defend themselves, till *L. Aemilius*, being at *Arminum*, comes to their succour. Vpon the coming of the Consull, the *Gauls* consult, whether they should giue the *Romans* battaile, or forbear. In which dispute, *Anerocephus*, one of their Kings, perswades them, rather to returne into their owne Countre; where, after they had disposed of the great spoiles and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the warre, being without carriage, pester, or other impediment. This aduice 20 they all embrace; for seeing they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoiles of their enemies; they thought it wisdome, to hazzard neither it, nor themselves, any further.

This indeede had bene a good resolution, if they had taken it, before the enemy had bene in fight. But as well in the warres of these latter ages, as in former times, it hath euer bene found extreme dangerous, to make a retrait in the Head of an enemies Armie. For although they that retire, doe often turne head; yet in alwaies going on from the pursuing enemy, they finde within a few miles, either streight, hedge, ditch, or place of disaduantage, which they are inforced to passe in disorder. In such cases, the Souldier knows it, as well as the Captaine, that he which forsakes 30 the field, perceiues, and feares some aduantage of the Enemies. Feare, which is the betrayer of those succours that Reason offereth, when it hath once possessed the heart of man, it casteth thence both courage and vnderstanding. They that make the retrait, are alwaies in feare to be abandoned; they that leade the way, feare to be engaged: and so the hindmost treads on his heeles that is foremost, and consequently, all disband, runne, and perish, if those that fauour the retrait, be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable overthrow, that the French received in *Naples*, in the yeere 1503. vpon a retrait made by the *Marques of Sal*, doth testifie no lesse. For although a great troupe of French horse, sustained the pursuing enemy a long time, and gaue the foot leisure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the Spanish foot over-tooke, and defeated them vtterly. During the warres betweene the *Imperialls*, and the French, *Boisland* and *Mont* were lost at *Brignolles*, who in a brauerie would needes see the enemy, before they left the field. So was *Straff* overthrowne, by the *Marques of Marignan*, because he could not be perswaded, to dislodge the night before the *Marques* his arriuall. Therefore did the French King Francis the first, wisely: when without respect of point of honour, he dislodged from before *Landersey*, by night; as many other, the most aduised Captaines, (not finding themselves in case to giue battaile) haue done. *Je ne trouue point* (saith the Marshall *Montuc*) *au fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'une retrait; i'inde nothing in the arte of warre so difficult, as to make a safe retrait*. A sure Rule it is, that there is lesse dishonor to dislodge in the darke, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof *M. de la Noue* giues this iudgement, of a daies retrait, made in France, presently before the battaile of *Moncontour*. For (saith he) staying vpon our reputation, in shew not to dislodge by night; we lost our reputation indeede, by dislodging by day: 50

whereby

whereby we were forced to fight vpon our disaduantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that worthy Gentleman, *Count Lodowick of Nassau*, brother to the late famous Prince of Orange, make the retrait at *Moncontour* with so great resolution, as hee faued the one halfe of the Protestant Armie, then broken and disbanded, of which my selfe was an eye-witnesse; and was one of them that had cause to thanke him for it.

Now the *Gauls*, embracing the safe aduice (as they take it) of one of their Kings, turne their backs to the enemy, & their faces homeward. *Aemilius* followes them, as neere as he can, without ingaging himselfe, attending his aduantage. In the meane while, *C. Atilius* the other Consull, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Pisa*; so 10 as the *Gauls*, inclosed betweene two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Reare, and Front. To sustaine *Aemilius*, they appoint the *Gessates*, and the *Milanais*; in the Front, they range the *Piemontais*, and the rest of the *Gauls* inhabiting vpon the Riuer of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* describeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gauls* fell; and so did *Atilius* the Consull: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gauls*, *Comolitanus* and *Anerocephus*, with fortie thousand of their Vassalls.

After this fatall overthrow, the *Gauls* lost courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italie*. For they were invaded the yeere following this overthrow, by the 20 new Consulls, *Valuius*, and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to vse their victorie: they gaue not ten, twentie, or thirtie yeeres time, to the *Gauls*, to repaire their forces, as the *Gauls* had done to them. These new Consulls beat the *Bois*; but by reason of the great raines that fell, and the great pestilence that rained, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the second yeere, *Varinus*, and *Flaminius*, invade the *Milanais*; and preuaile very farre, being strongly assisted by the *Cenomanni* and the *Penetians*. Neuertheless these Consulls were reuoked out of their Prouince, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to religne their Office: because the *Augures*, or Soothsayers, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all sorts of their diuination, the *Romans* were extremely superstitious) had not 30 only foreshewed little good, when they were chosen, but had also nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiuing letters of this reuocation, from the Senate, and being otherwise aduertised of the contents, was not hastic to open them: but first gaue battaile vnto the enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their Countre; then perused the letters; and returning home obtained a triumph, fore against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that hee sided in faction with the Commonalty, though a man of great Nobilitie.

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for diuiding the Countre of the *Senones* among the people of *Rome*. He was the first, or one of the first, 40 that vnderstanding the Majestie of *Rome* to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by way of Delegation, or grand Commission; did not stand highly vpon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, & taught them to know and vse their power, over him selfe, and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the surer side, and found imitators, that rose by the same arte; which in processe of time, grew the only or chiefe way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Colleague, being deposed; *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were chosen Consulls, for the rest of that yeere. The *Gauls* about this time desired peace, and were like to haue obtained it: though the new Consulls 50 were against it, as fearing to want worke. But when thirtie thousand of the *Gessates*, following their King *Britomarus*, were come ouer the *Alpes*, and joyned with the *Isabrians*: all other discourse, than of present warre, was at an end. So the Consulls hasted into their Prouince, where they besieged *Aceris*, a towne not farre from *Genoua* (so farre had the *Romans* pierced already) in the Duchie of *Milan*. To diuert them

them from this siege, *Britomarus* late downe before *Clasidium*, a Towne in the same Tract, with great part of his forces leauing the rest, with the *Insubrians*, to attend vpon the Consulls at *Acerra*, and to looke to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not suffice, to make the *Romans* breake vp their siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, & fixe hundred foot lightly armed; thought to deale well enough with those at *Clasidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the Consulls comming; and met him vpon the way: so suddenly, that the *Romans* had no leasure to rest themselves after their iourne, but were compelled instantly to fight; Hercin *Britomarus* had done well; if he had not forthwith, in a rash brauerie, lost his game at a cast. He had aduantage enough in number, both of horse and foot: but he thought so well of his owne personall valour, that he rode out single before his Armie, prouoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no lesse daring, than the barbarous King: whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute, he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him. He slue and disarmed *Britomarus*, in presence of both Armies: whereby his owne men tooke such courage, and his enemies were so dismayed, that without much trouble of fight, the *Romans* obtained a great victorie.

This was the third and last time, that euer any *Roman* Generall slue the Generall of the enemies, with his owne hand. To this kinde of victorie, belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof only *Romulus*, *Cossus*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: yet I dare say, that the two *Scipio's*, and diuers other *Roman* Captaines, especially *Cesar*, were better men of warre than any of these three; though they neuer offered vp to *IVPITER*, *Opima spolia*, The Armour of a Generall slaine by themselves, when they were Generalls, nor perhaps affected so to doe.

After this victorie, *Acerra* was yeelded to the *Romans*; and *Milan* soone after: with all that belonged to the *Cisalpine*, or *Gauler*, that dwelt in *Lumbarde*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had for so many yeeres vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the Citie it selfe, brought to nothing in a short time, their pleasant and fertile Territorie posselt by the *Romans*; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting *Italic*, so many as would not subject their neckes to the *Roman* yoke, either forced to abandon their Countries, or to hide themselves in the cold and barren Mountaines, like Out-lawes and Theues. And thus did the *Romans* spend the three and twentie yeeres, following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at such leasure, that they closed vp the Temple of *Ianus*: which they neuer did before, (it standing alwaies open, when they had any warre) saue once, in the raigne of *Numa*; nor in long time after, vntill the raigne of *Augustus*. But this their present happinesse was not to last long:

a dangerous warre, and perhaps the greatest that had euer beene,
was to come vnto their gates; which being well ended,
they might boldly vndertake, to extend their

Monarchie as farre, as their ambition
could reach.

CHAP.

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CHAP. III.

Of the second Punick Warre.

§. I.

10 The warres of HANNIBAL in Spaine. Quarrells between the Romans and Carthaginians.
HANNIBAL besiegeth and taketh Saguntum, whilst the Romans are busied with the Ilyrians. Warre proclaimed betwene Rome and Carthage.



20 HANNIBAL, the sonne of *Amilcar*, was about fixe and twentie yeeres old, when hee was chosen Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spaine*. Hee was elected by the Armie, as soone as *Asdrubal* was dead: and the election was ratified by the state at *Carthage*; where with *Hanno* and his Complices were nothing pleased. This was now the third of the *Barchine* family (so called of *Amilcar*, whose surname was *Barchas*) that had command in chief, ouer the men of warre. Which honour would perhaps haue beene lesse enuied, by these domestick enemies; if the Allies and Friends of the *Barchine* house, had not also borne the whole sway in gouernment, and beene the only men regarded, both by the Senate and the people. This generally good will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deserts of *Amilcar*, in sauing his Countrie from imminent ruine, enlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it with treasures and great reuenues; so was it retained by the same good artes, among his friends and followers. *Hanno* therefore, and his Partisans, being neither able to taxe the vertue of their enemies, that was vnproueable; nor to performe the like seruices vnto the Common-weale; had nothing left, whereby to value themselves, excepting the generall reprehension of Warre, and cautelous aduice of not prouoking the *Romans*. This they seasoned otherwhiles with detraction; saying, that the *Barchine* faction went about to oppress the libertie of the Citie. But their malicious words were vnregarded; and if it were factious, to beare ill will to *Rome*, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no lesse *Barchine*, than *Hannibal* himselfe. For it was long since apparent, that the oath of the *Romans*, to the articles of peace, afforded no securitie to *Carthage*; were thee neuer so quiet, and officious; vnlesse hee would yeeld to become their Subiect. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than vntill the *Romans* could find some good aduantage, to renew the Warre: it was rather desired by the *Carthaginians*, that whilst their owne state was in good case, the warre should beginne; than that in some vnhappy time of famine or pestilence, or after some great losse of Armie or Fleet, they should be driuen to yeeld vnto the impudent demands of their enemies; & to giue away basely their lands and treasures, as they had lately done; or miserably fight, vpon termes of disaduantage.

This disposition of his Countymen, *Hannibal* well vnderstood. Neither was he ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time deuided of this businesse) that in making warre with the *Romans*, it was no small aduantage to get the start of them. If once he could bring an Armie into *Italic*, without molestation; there was good hope, that he should finde friends and assistance, euen of those people, that helped to increafe the *Roman* armies in forreigne wars. But this could neuer be effected,

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sted, if the matter were openly disputed at *Carthage*. For it was to be doubted, that the *Carthaginians*, how glad soever they would be, to hear that he had set the war on foot, would neuertheless bee slow and timorous as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which it should happen; then were the *Romans*, like to be made acquainted, not only with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as must be discussed off, in procuring allowance to his designe. This might suffice to disorder the whole Project. Wherefore, he resolved to lay siege vnto *Saguntum*; which might seeme not greatly to concerne the *Romans*; and would highly please the *Carthaginians*, that had fresh in mind the indignitie of that *Spanish* Townes alliance with their false friends. So should hee assaile both the patience of his enemies, and the disposition of his owne Citizens.

Having thus concluded, he neuertheless went faire and orderly to worke: and beginning with those that lay next in his way, approached vnto *Saguntum* by degrees. This he did (saith *Liuie*) to give some colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the warre against *Saguntum*, but had been drawne thither by course of businesse. Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without regard of such formalities, it was needfull to finish the conquest of the rest, before hee did any thing that should prouoke the *Romans*. First therefore he entred vpon the Territories of the *Oleades*; and hauing besieged *Althaea* (*Liuie* calleth it *Carteia*) their chiefe Citie, he became, in a few dayes, Master, not only thereof, but of all the other townes of their Countie. This Nation which he first vnderooke, being subdued, and the winter at hand; he reft his Armie in *New Carthage*, or *Carthagenas*, and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the spoiles he had gotten in his late conquest.

In the Spring following, he pursued the warre against the *Paceci*: and without any great difficultie, wanne first *Salmantica*, now called *Salamanca*; and after it, *Arbucala*, by assault: though not without a long siege, and great difficultie. But in his returne, he was put to the height, both of his courage, and of his Martiall iudgement. For all such of the *Paceci*, as were able to beare armes, being made desperate by the spoile of their Countie, with those of *Salamanca*, and of the *Oleades*, that had escaped in the late ouerthrow, joining themselves with the *Tolians*; compounded an Armie of an hundred thousand able men: and stayed *Hannibal* on the banks of the River *Tagus*, which runneth to the Sea by *Lisbourn* in *Portugale*. These foure nations, hauing had experience of *Hannibals* invincible courage, and that he neuer saw enemy, vpon whom he durst not giue charge; were thoroughly resolved, that his natural valour would at this time no lesse neglect the cold aduice of discretion, than at other times it had seemed to doe, when the like great occasion perswaded him to vse it. But he that makes himselfe a bodie of Cryfall, that all men may looke through him, and discern all the parts of his disposition; makes himselfe (withall) an Asse: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or driue him. Wise men, though they haue single hearts in al that is iust and vertuous; yet they are like coffers with double bottomes: which when others looke into, being opened, they see not all that they hold, on the sudden, and at once. It is true, that this subtil *Carthaginian*, when he serued vnder *Asdrubal*, was, of al the men of marke in the Armie, the most aduenturous. But that which may become a Capitaine, or inferiour Commander, doth not alwaies become a Chiefe; though it hath sometime succeeded well with such great ones, as haue bene found more fortunate, than wise. At this time, our great Man of warre knew as well how to disseme his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himselfe from the River side, as if fearful to foord it; thereby to draw ouer that great multitude, from their banks of aduantage. The *Spaniards*, apprehending this in such sort, as *Hannibal* desired that they should; thrust themselves in furie and disorder, into the swift streame, with a purpose to charge the *Carthaginians*, abandoning (as they thought for feare) the defences on the contrarie side. But when *Hannibal*

* A people (saith *Stephanus*) neere the River of *Edro*. Euen in the old description of *Spain*, in *Ortelius*, they are found neere *Tagus*; and by *Suidas*, not far from *New Carthage*.
a A people of *Castile* the old.
b *Arbucala*, or *Albucala*, an inland Citie of the *Paceci* in *Argon*.

saw them in their way, and well-neare ouer; he turned backe his Elephants to entertaine them at their landing: and thrust his Horse-men, both aboue and beneath them, into the River. These carrying a kind of *Lance de gy*, sharpe at both ends, which they held in the middelt of the stasse; had such an aduantage ouer the foot, that were in the River, vnder their frokes, clattered together, and vnable to moue or shift their bodies, as on firme ground: that they flew all those, (in a manner) without resistance, which were already entred into the water; and pursued the rest, that fled like men amazed, with so great a laughter, as from that day forward, there was not any *Spaniard*, on that side the River of *Iberis*, (the *Saguntines* excepted) that had the daring to lift vp their hands against the *Carthaginians*.

The *Saguntines*, perceiving the danger towards them; cryed before they were hurt. They sent Embassadors to *Rome*, and bemoaned themselves, as likely to suffer that, which afterwards they suffered indeede; only because of their alliance and friendship with this honorable Citie, which the *Carthaginians* hated. This tale moued the Senate: but much more a report, that *Saguntum* was already besieged. Hereupon some cry out, that warre should be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as also that the two Consuls should be sent with Armies, the one into *Spain*, the other into *Africk*. But others went more *Roman-like* to worke; and carried it. So it was only concluded; that Embassadors should be sent into *Spain*, to view the state of their Confederates: which were indeede none other, than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended warre against *Rome*, it was likely, that he would giue them, ere it were long, a more plausible occasion to take armes against him: if he had no such purpose; yet would it bee in their power, to determine what they liked themselves, vpon the report of these Embassadors; and this their grauitie, in being not too rash at first, would serue to countenance their following Decree. Of these Embassadors *Liuie* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*; but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*; where also they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius*, an Historian of sinceritie lesse questionable, tels, that they found him at *Carthagenas*; and had conference with him, though such as left them doubtfull. This is more agreeable to the rest of *Hannibals* his whole course. And surely we might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* should afterwards admit a more peremptorie Embassage (as *Liuie* confesseth) and fall to disputation about the covenants of peace; if they had rejected that which was sent vpon none other pretence, than prevention of warre.

Whilest the Embassadors passed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not onely his forces, but some *Roman* pretences, against *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or people that should do as the *Mamertines* in *Sicili* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his helpe against the *Saguntines*. This were the *Turdetani*; a Nation adjoining to *Saguntum*, and hauing many quarrells with them: (as happens commonly among Neighbourhoods) of which, *Hannibal* himselfe had hatched some. Finding therefore such an occasion, whatsoever it was, as made him able to say, that the *Saguntines* had first prouoked him, ere he meddled with them; he made no more ado, but sate downe with his whole power before their Towne. He was now more secure, than he had formerly been, of his owne Citizens: for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Embassadors, with any trembling reuerence, as of late years they had bene wont. Neuertheless, hee was glad of any hand some colour, to shadow his actions, not only because the warre, which he so much desired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his course, as an open enemy, before he could set foot in *Italy*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrarie desire. They were glad of the quarrell: as hoping, that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, should thereby in short space become their own. Yet were they not halie to threaten, before they were ready to strike; but meant to temporize, vntill they had an Armie in readiness to be sent into *Spain*, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the seat of the Warre.

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In the meane while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made King over a great part of *Illyria*, rebelled against them: either for that he found himselfe over-
 10 straightly tyed vp by them, with hard conditions; or rather because he was of an vnthankfull disposition. The commotion of the *Gauls*, and afterward, the fame of the *Carthaginian* warre, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to haue defended and aided, in all perills, even with the hazard of his whole estate, which he had receiued of their gift. But hee was a Traitor to his owne Queene; and therefore dealt according to his kinde, with those that had rewarded him for being such. First, he built ships, and spoiled the Isles of *Greece*: against the covenants to which he was bound. Then he aduentured further and seized
 20 vpon some places, that the *Romans* kept in their owne hands. If he had begun sooner, or rather if he had staied somewhat longer, he might haue sped better. For the busines with the *Gauls*, was ended; with *Hannibal*, not thoroughly begun: when he declared himselfe, by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquished. The *Roman* Consul, *Æmilius*, was sent against him: who in seuen daies wan the strong Towne of *Dimalum*; and thereby brought such terror vpon the Countrey round about, that Embassadors were sent from all places, to yeeld themselves, without putting him to further paines. Only the Citie of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to resist: which it might haue done long, if the hot-headed Rebel had not been too foolish.
 30 *Æmilius* landed a great part of his Armie, in the Isle of *Pharus*, by night; and bestowed them in covert; presenting himselfe the next morning, with twenty ships before the Towne, and offering to force the Haven. *Demetrius* with all his power issued out against the Consul, and was soone intercluded from the Town, by those that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a creeke, where he had shipping ready for him, and embarked himselfe: leaving all his estate vnto them, of whose liberaltie he first had it.

This businesse, though it were soone dispatched, yet preuented it not the siege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* late downe, ere *Æmilius* was landed in *Illyria*. In the beginning of the siege, the *Carthaginians*, were much discouraged, by reason of the braue sallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their Generall receiued a dangerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lie many daies vnable to moue. Neuerthelesse he was not vnmindfull of his worke in the meane while; but gaue order to raise certaine moueable Towers, that might equal those which were built on the walls of the Citie; and to prepare to batter the cuitaines, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soone wrought their effect. A great & large breach was made, by the fall of diuers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot assault was giuen: but it was so well sustained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not only beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the Town, which vpon the first furie they had won; but they were pursued euen to their own trenches and camp. Neuerthelesse the *Carthaginian* Armie, wherein were about an hundred and fiftie thousand men, did so wearie the townsmen with continual tra-
 40 uaille, that at length it got within the walls; and was only hindered from taking full possession of the Citie, by some counter-works of the *Saguntines*, that were also ready to be won. In this extremitie, there was one *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, that conueyed himselfe out of the Towne, to treat with *Hannibal* for some accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered, were so leuere, & without all compasse of honour, as *Alcon* durst not returne to propound them to his countreymen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had, gold, silver, plate, and other riches within the Citie: yea, the Citie it selfe to be abandoned by the Citizens; promising, that he would assigne some other place for their habitation: not allowing them, to carrie out with
 50 them any other thing, wherewith to sustaine themselves, than the clothes on their backs; or other armes to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they farre better haue submitted themselves vnto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might haue enioyed their liues, & saved the honor of their wiues and daughters)

daughters) than to haue rested at the discretion of the Conquerour, as soone after they did: by whom their wiues and daughters were deflowred before their faces; and all put to sword, that were about foureteene yeares of age. For it was a poore comfort, which a great number of them tooke; when not daring to fight, and sell their blood at the dearest rate, they shut themselves vp like most wretched creatures in their owne houses, and therein burnt themselves with all that they had to dying vnrueged. The treasures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept, therewith to pay his Armie: the slaues, and other bootie, hee diuided among his Souldiers; reseruing some things of choice, as implying this commination, to
 10 friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them vnto the Warre.

These tidings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*; who had good cause to be angry at their owne slownesse, in forbearing to send helpe vnto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight moneths, looking still for succour in vaine. Wherefore they determined to repaire their honour, by taking sharpe reuenge. To this end they sent Embassadors againe to *Carthage*: demanding onely, whether it were by generall consent and allowance of the *Carthaginians*, that *Hannibal* had made warre vpon *Saguntum*; which if they granted (as it seemed they would) then to giue them defiance. Hercunto
 20 answere was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect: That this their second Embassage, how soeuer qualified with mild words, was indeede more insolent than the former. For in that, they only required iustice against *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Common-wealth of *Carthage*, was virged to please guiltie, or not guiltie: But (said the *Carthaginian* speaker) whether the Generall of our Armie in *Spain*, in besieging *Saguntum*, haue only followed his owne counsaile; or whether he did it, by direction from vs: it is not the question which the *Romans* ought to ask vs. That which is indeed worthy examination or dispute, is; whether it were lawfull, or unlawfull, for *Hannibal* to doe as he hath done. For it belongs to vs, to
 30 call our owne Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their faults and errours; to you, to challenge vs, if wee haue done any thing contrary to our late League and Contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Luliatius* the Consul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement, betwene you and *Asdrubal*, wherein you will say, that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by name; it is you that haue taught vs, how to answer that particular. For whatsoever you found in the Treatie betwene vs and *Luliatius*, to your owne disadvantage, you cast it vpon your Consuls presumption; as promising those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of *Rome*. If then it be lawfull for the *Romans*, to disauow the actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctuall and precise warrant; the
 40 same libertie may we also assume, and hold our selues no way bound in honour, to performe those bargaines, which *Asdrubal* hath made for vs, without our commandement and consent.

This was an impertinent answer, and little better than a meere cauill. For *Luliatius* the Consul, in his Treatie of peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expressly referred the allowance thereof to the people of *Rome*. It had bene therefore much better, to haue dealt plainly; and to haue alleged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Isle of *Sardinia*, and withall of twelue hundred talents: which perjury the state of *Carthage*, being now growne able, would reuenge with open
 50 warre. As for the *Saguntines*, it little skilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into confederacie, and forthwith inserted their names into the Treatie of peace with *Asdrubal*: seeing that the Treatie with *Asdrubal*, and all other businesse betwene *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better then *Roman* injuries; as implying this commination, Doe
 Nnnn 3 wbat.

whatsoever we require, else will we make warre, without regard of our oath, which wee haue already broken.

But this the *Carthaginians* did not alleage, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since *Luue* himselfe doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did inflame the spirit of *Amilcar* with desire of reuenge: we may reasonably thinke, that the mention of this iniurie was omitted, not so much vpon forgetfulness, as for that it was not thought conuenient, by ripping vp such ancient matter of quarrell, to shew that the warre, now towards, had long bene thought vpon, and like to be made with extraordinary force; in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moued the *Roman* Embassadors, to deliuer vnto them in plaine termes the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, which they had long determined against them as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*; those were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering vp the skirt of his Gowne, as if somewhat had beene laide in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I haue here (quoth he) in my Gown-skirt both Peace and Warre: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to embrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Euen which of them you your selfe haue a fancy to offer vs. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the Warre, and share it among you. Which all the Assembly willingly accepted.

This was plaine dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had resolved to make warre, it was merely triuolous. For all these disputes of breach of peace, haue euer beene maintayned by the partie vnwilling, or vnable to sustaine the warre. The rustie sword, and the empty purse, doe alwaies plead performance of covenants. There haue bene few Kings or States in the World, that haue otherwise understood the obligation of a Treatie, than with the condition of their owne aduantage; and commonly (seeing peace betwene ambitious Princes and States, is but a kinde of breathing) the best aduised haue rather begonne with the sword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the *Arragonois* with the *French* in *Naples*; *Henrie* the second, of *France*, with the *Imperialls*, when he wrote to *Brissie*, to surpris as many places as he could, ere the warre brake out; *Don Iohn*, with the *Netherlandis*; and *Philip*, the second, of *Spaine*, with the *English*, when in the great Imbarge he tooke all our ships and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of injuries receiued from these enemies, had another private and hereditarie desire, that violently carried him against the *Romans*. His father *Amilcar*, at what time he did sacrifice, being ready to take his Iourney into *Spaine*, had solemnly bound him by oath, to pursue them with immortall hatred, and to worke them all possible mischief, as soone as he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine yeres old, when his father caused him to lay his hand vpon the Altar, and make this vow: so that it was no maruail, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this sort, as it were by Legacie, it cannot be denied. Yet for mine owne part, I doe not much doubt, but that some of those Kings, with whom we are now in peace, haue receiued the like charge from their Predecessors, that as soone as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves enemies to the people of *England*.

§. II.

HANNIBAL takes order for the defence of *Spaine* and *Africa*.
His Iourne into *Italie*.



Arre being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolved, not to put vp his sword, which hee had drawne against the *Saguntines*, vntill hee had therewith opened his passage vnto the gates of *Rome*. So began the second *Punicke Warre*; second to none, that euer the Senate and people of *Rome* sustained. *Hannibal* wintered at *Carthagen*; where hee licensed his *Spanish* Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves againe the Spring. In the meane while he gaue instructions to his brother *Asdrubal*, for the gouernement of *Spaine* in his absence. Hee also tooke order, to send a great many troupes of *Spaniards* into *Africa*, to equall the numbers of *Africans* formerly drawne thence into *Spaine*; to the end, that so the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, hee transported into *Africa* thirteene thousand, eight hundred, and fiftie foot, and twelue hundred horse; also eight hundred slingers of the *Baleares*. Besides these, he selected foure thousand foot, a young men, and of qualitie, out of the best Cities of *Spaine*; which he appointed to be garrisoned in *Carthage* it selfe, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serue for hostages: for among those foure thousand, the best of the *Spanish* Citizens, and those that swayed most in their feuerall States, had their Sonnes or Kinsmen. Hee also left with his brother, to guard the coast and Ports, fiftie and seuen Gallies; whereof thirteene were presently armed, and appointed for the warre. Of *Africans*, and other Nations strangers, he left with him aboue twelue thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides one and twentie Elephants.

Having in this sort taken order for the defence of *Spaine* and *Africa*; he sent Discoverers before him, to view the passages of the *Pyrenean* Mountaines, and of the *Alpes*. He also sent Embassadors to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, & to the *Gauls*, to obtaine a quiet passage: that he might bring his Armie entire into *Italie*, and not be compelled to diminish his forces, by any warre in the way, till hee came to encounter the *Romans*. His Embassadors, & discoverers, being returned with good satisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he past ouer the River of *Iberus*, with an Armie consisting of fourescore and ten thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse. All those parts of *Spaine*, into which he had not entred before, hee now subdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemy of his house, who late still at *Carthage*) to gouerne *Spaine* on the East side of *Iberus*; to whom he left an Armie of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of *Spaine*, some of his *Spanish* Souldiers returned home, without asking leave: which that others might not also doe, or attempt, hee courteously dismissed many more, that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to passe, that the Iourne seemed the lesse tedious vnto those that accompanied him, as being not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his armie, consisting now but of fiftie thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, hee past the *Pyrenes*, and entred into *Gauls*. Hee found the *Gauls* that bordered vpon *Spaine*, ready in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Countrey: but wonne them, with gentle speech, and rich presents that he bestowed vpon their Leaders, to fauour his Expedition. So without any molestation, hee came to the banke of *Rhodanus*; where dwelt, on each side of the River, a people called *Yules*. These were vnacquainted with the cause of his coming; and therefore sought to keepe him from passing ouer the water. But he was greatly assisted by some of those *Gauls*, that inhabited on the West side of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by those of *Vuaretz*, and *Lionnois*. For although many of them had transported themselves and their goods, into the Countrey of *Daulphine*, thinking to defend the further banke against him: yet such as remained, being desirous to free their Countrey of so many ill guests,

were better pleased to haue their Countreimen beaten, which had abandoned them, than to haue their owne flore of corne and cattail waisted, by the long stay of so great an Armie, as lay vpon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boates; informed him of another more easie passage, higher vp the Riuier; and lent him guides. When the vessels for transportation of his Armie were in readinesse; he sent Hanno, the sonne of Bomilcar, vp the Riuier: himselfe in the meane while making countenance to enter the Pooder below. The end of this labour was: that Hanno charging the *Gauls* vnawares vpon their owne side, and Hannibal, at the same time, passing the Riuier in their faces, the further banke was wonne, though with some difficultie; and the enemies dispersed. Yet was hee greatly troubled in conveying ouer his Elephants; who maruailously feared the water. He was therefore driuen to make rafles of trees, and couer them with earth and turf; whereof hee fastened one to each banke, that might serue as a bridge, to and from another of the same fort, but loose, vpon which the beafts were towed ouer.

Having past this first brunt, and ouer come both the rage of the Riuier, and of those that defended it, he was visited by the Princes of the *Gauls Cisalpine*, that inhabited *Piemont* and *Milan*, who lately had revolted from the *Romans*. These informed him of the passages of the *Alpes*, that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; & from the selfe he receiued guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithstanding; hee found himselfe extremely incumbered by the *Sauians*; and lost, both of his carriages, and of his *Carthaginians*, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainly assailed by them, before he could recover the plaine Countries on the other side. And whereas this iourne ouer the Mountaines cost him fiftene dayes traualle, he was euery day, more or lesse, not only charged by those Mountainers, but withall, extremely beaten with grieuous weathre and snow: it being in the beginning of Winter, when he beganne, and ouer-came this passage. But the faire and fertile Plaines, which were now ready to receiue them; with the assistance and conduct of the *Cisalpine Gauls*, who by their proper forces had so often invaded the *Roman* Territories; gaue them great comfort, and encouragement to goe on: hauing nothing else of difficultie remaining, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to ouer-come, by their proper valour and resolution; namely the *Roman* Armie; and resistance.

§. III.

How the Romans in vaine solicited the Spaniards and Gauls to take their part.
The rebellion of the Cisalpine Gauls against the Romans.

THe countries of *Spaine* and *Gaul*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched thus farre, had beene solicited before, by the same *Roman* Embassadors, who had denouced the warre at *Carthage*. These, as they were instructed by the Senate, tooke *Spaine* in their way homeward from *Carthage*, with a purpose to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least, to diswaide them from contracting any friendship with the *Carthaginians*. The first which they attempted, were the *Volcians*, a people in *Spaine*; from whom, in open assembly, they receiued by one that spake for the rest, this vncomfortable answer. With what face (saith he) can yee *Romans* perswade vs to vallow your Alliance, or to preferre it before the friendship of the *Carthaginians*; seeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wise, than so? For they, relying on your faith and promised assistance, haue beene vtterly rooted out, and destroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they

they might else haue held their assured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of *Spaine* haue found them. Yee may therefore be gone, with this resolution from vs, That for our parts (and so I thinke, I may answer for the rest of our Countreimen) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindestie at our hands: who are resolved, neuer to make accompt of their protection, nor amitie. From the *Volcians*, the Embassadors tooke their way towards the *Gauls*; vling their best arguments to perswade them, not to suffer the *Carthaginians* to passe into *Italie*, through their Territories: and withall greatly glorifying themselves, their strength, and large Dominion. But the *Gauls* laugh't them to scorn, and had hardly the patience, to heare them speake. For shall we (said one of their Princes) by resisting Hannibals passage into *Italie*, entertaine a war which is not meant to be made against vs? Shall we hold the warre among our selues, and in our owne Territories, by force, which marcheth with a speedy pace from vs, towards our ancient enemies? Haue the *Romans* deserved so well of vs, and the *Carthaginians* so ill, that wee should set fire on our owne houses, to saue theirs from burning? No, wee know it well, that the *Romans* haue already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territories and inheritance; and constrained others, as free as themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians*, our enemies; who haue no way as yet offended vs, nor we them.

With this vnpleasing answer the Embassadors returned home: carrying no good newes, of friends likely to helpe them; but rather some assurance from the people of *Mysilia*, which were Confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gauls* were determined to take part with their enemy. Of this inclination, the *Cisalpine Gauls* gaue hastie proofe. For when the newes was brought into *Italie*, that the *Carthaginians* had passed *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*; this alone sufficed to stirre vp the *Boii*, and *Insubrians*, against the *Romans*. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new *Roman* Colonies, at *Cremena*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore vpon the *Carthaginian* succour, which they supposed to be now at hand; they laid aside all regard of those hostages, which they had giuen to the *Romans*, and fell vpon the new Colonies. The Townes it seemed that they could not winne; for Hannibal shortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Country) to flee to *Modena*: where they besieged them. The siege of *Modena* had continued some small time; when the *Gauls*, hauing little skill in assaulting Cities, waxed wearie, and seemed desirous to haue peace, and to come to some good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might therein lay hand vpon the *Roman* Deputies, thereby to redeeme their hostages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the *Romans* sent out Embassadors to treat with them, and to conclude a peace; whom they detained. *Manlius* the

40 Praetor, who lay in these quarters with an Armie, hearing this outrage, marched in all haste to the reliefe of the besieged. But the *Gauls*, hauing laid a strong ambush in a wood ioyning to the way, fell vpon the Praetor so opportunely, as he was vtterly ouerthrowne, and all his followers left dead in the place; a few excepted, that recovered by fast running a little village, but defensible, vpon the Riuier of *Po*. When this was heard at *Rome*, *C. Atilius*, another of the Praetors, was hastily sent, to relieve the besieged, with one Legion, and five thousand of the *Roman* associates: which forces were taken out of the Consuls Armie, and supplied by a new leuie.

As the *Gauls* were too rash and hattie: so were the *Romans* too slow, and indeede too ill-advised, in the beginning of this warre. They were not perswaded, that

50 *Carthage*, which had almost feruently endured so many indignities, in time of the late peace; would be so braue and courageous on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of *Italie* it selfe. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls, to make warre in *Spaine*, the other in *Africk*: resting secure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* tooke his way toward *Africk*, with an hundred & threethreecore *Quinquereemes*, or Gallies,

lies, of five to an Oare; which preparation may seeme to threaten euen the Citie of Carthage, to which it shall not come neere. P. Cornelius Scipio, the other Consul, made all possible haste, by the way of Genoa, into Prouence; and vled such diligence, hauing the winde also fauourable, as in five dayes he recovered Masilia. There hee was aduertised, of Hannibal his hauing passed the Riuer of Rhodanus; whom hee thought to haue found bulle yet awhile in Spaine. Hannibal had also newes of the Consuls arriual: whereof he was neither glad, nor sorry; as not meaning to haue to doe with him. Each of them sent forth Scouts, to discover the others number and doings: Hannibal, about five hundred Numidians; Scipio, three hundred of his better appointed Roman foot. These met and fought, and the Numidians were beaten: yet could not the Romans greatly bragge, hauing slaine only two hundred, and lost of their owne, one hundred and fortie. But when Scipio drew neere, to haue met with the Carthaginians, he found, that they were gone three dayes before; and that (as hee then found assuredly true) with an intent to looke vpon the walls of Rome. This interrupted his intended voyage into Spaine. Neuertheless hee sent away thither his brother Cn. Cornelius Scipio, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Armie, to trie what might bee done against Asdrubal and the other Carthaginian Lieutenants in that Countrie. He himselfe, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea to Pisa; and so passing through Tuscanie into Lunbardie, drew together the broken troupes of Marcius and Atilius, that lately had bene beaten by the Gaules: with which forces he made head against the enemy, thinking to finde him ouer-laboured, with trauaile of his painefull iourne.

§. III.

Scipio the Roman Consul over-come by Hannibal at Ticinum. Both of the Roman Consuls beaten by Hannibal, in a great battaile at Trebia.

Hue moneths Hannibal had spent in his tedious iourne from Carthage; what great muster he could make, when hee had passed the Alpes, it is not easily found. Somer reckon his foot at an hundred thousand, and his horse at twenty thousand; others report them to haue bene only twenty thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse. Hannibal himselfe, in his Monument which he raised, in the Temple of Iuno Lacinia, agreeth with the latter summe. Yet the Gaules, Ligurians, and others that joyned with him, are likely to haue mightily increased his Armie, in short space. But when he marched Eastward from the banks of Rhodanus, he had with him eight and thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; of which, all saue those remembered by himselfe in the Inscription of his Altar in Iuno's Temple, are like to haue perished, by diseases, enemies, Riuers, and Mountaines; which mischiefs had deuoured, each, their severall shares.

Hauing newly passed the Alpes, and scarce refreshed his wearied Armie in the Countrie of Piemont, he sought to winne the friendship of the Taurini, who lay next in his way. But the Taurini held warre at that time with the Insubrians, which were his good friends; and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his amitie. Wherefore he assaulted their Towne; and wannet by force in three dayes. Their spoile serued well to hearten his Armie; and their calamitie, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the Gaules, without more ado, fell vnto his side: many for feare, many for good-will, according to their former inclination. This disposition ranne through the whole Countrie: which joyned, or was all in a readinesse to joyne, with the Carthaginians; when the newes of Scipio the Consul his arriual, made some to be more aduised, than the rest. The name of the Romans was terrible in those quarters; what

was in the Carthaginians, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the Roman Consul was already gotten through the most defensible passages, ere any speech had been heard of his approach: many fate still, for very feare, who else would haue concluded a League with these new-come friends; and some, for greater feare, offered their seruice against the Carthaginians, whom neuertheless they wished well to speede.

This wavering affection of the Prouince, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals haften to the trial of a battaile. Their meeting was at Ticinum, now called Pavia; where each of them wondered at the others great expedition: Hannibal thinking it strange, that the Consul, whom he had left behind him on the other side of the Alpes, could meet him in the face, before hee had well warmed himselfe in the Plaines, Scipio admiring the strange aduerture of passing those Mountaines, and the great spirit of his Enemy. Neither were the Senate at Rome little amazed, at Hannibals successe, and sudden arriual. Wherefore they dispatched a Messenger in all haste vnto Sempronius, the other Consul, that was then in Sicilia, giuing him to vnderstand hereof: and letting him further know, that whereas he had bene directed to make the warre in Africa, it was now their pleasure that hee should forbear to prosecute any such attempt, but that hee should returne the Armie vnder his charge, with all possible speede, to saue Italie it selfe. According to this order, Sempronius sent off his Fleet from Liubium, with direction to land the Armie at Ariminum, a Port Towne not farre from Rauenna: quite another way from Carthage, whither he was making haste. In the meane while, Scipio and Hannibal were come so neere, that fight they must ere they could part asunder. Hereupon, both of them prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by the best arguments they had: vnto which Hannibal added the Rhetorick of a present example, that he shewed vpon certaine prisoners of the Savoyans, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into Italie. For these, hauing bene no lesse miserably fettered and chained, than sparingly fed; and withall so often scourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their desire, than to be deliuered from their miseries by any kind of present death, were brought into the middle of the Armie: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companions, till the one of them were slaine, with condition being the Victor, to recieue his libertie, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did Hannibal cause lots to be cast, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chieftaines of the Gaules were wont to vse in single combats. Euery one of these vnhappy men wished, that his owne lot might speede, whereby it should at least be his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victorie. That couple, whose good hap it was to be chosen, fought resolutely: as rather desiring, than fearing death; and hauing none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all these poore creatures were willing, vpon whatsoever vncertain termes, to ridde themselves out of slaueerie. The same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellows which beheld them, wrought also vpon the Carthaginians, for whom the spectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the victorie had gotten his libertie, together with an horse and armour: but euen him also, who being slaine in fight, had escaped that miserable condition, vnto which his Companions were returned. Their Generall perceiving what impression this dumbe shew had wrought in them, beganne to admonish them of their owne condition, speaking to this effect: That he had laid before them an example of their owne estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the same fortune, that these slaues had done: all to liue victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which these prisoners esteemed farre more grieuous) to liue in a perpetuall slaueerie: That none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promise to himselfe any hope of life by flight; since the Mountaines, the Ri-

uers,

a These dwell about Turin, a goodly City, now subiect vnto the Duke of Savoy which from them tooke the name of Augustaurinorum.

uers, the great distance from their owne Countries, and the pursuit of mercileffe Enemies, must needs retrench all such impotent imaginations. He therefore praised them to remember, that they, who had euen now praised the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, would make it their owne case; seeing there was neuer any in the world, appointed with such a resolution, that had euer been broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrary, he told them, that the *Romans*, who were to fight vpon their owne soile, and in view of their owne Townes; who knew as many waies to saue themselves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertaime such a resolution as theirs: seeing the same necessity, (to which nothing seemes impossible) did no way presse them, or constraime them. In this sort did *Hannibal*, with one substantiall argument, *That there was no meane betwene Victorie and Death*, encourage his Companions. For (saith a great Captaine of France) *la commodite de la retraite aduance la suite; The commoditie of a retreat, doth greatly aduance a flat running away.*

Scipio, on the other side, after that he had giuen order for the laying of a bridge ouer the Riuer of *Ticinus*, did not neglect to vse the best arguments and reasons hee could, to encourage the Armie he led: putting them in minde of the great conquests and victories of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had preuailed; and ouer how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Armie commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late warre they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to consider, that at this time it was not only so diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a troupe of *Brigants* and *Thebes*, than an Armie like to encounter the *Romans*; but so weather-beaten, and fluried, as neither the men, nor horses, had strength or courage to sustaine the first charge that should be giuen vpon them. Nay (said he) yee your selues may make iudgement what daring they haue now remaining, after so many traualles and miseries; seeing when they were in their best strength, after they had past the *Rhone*, their horse-men were not only beaten by ours, and driuen backe to the very Trenches of their Campe, but *Hannibal* himselfe, fearing our approach, ranne head-long towards the *Alpes*: thinking it a lesse dishonour, to die there by frost, famine, and precipitation, than by the sharpe swords of the *Romans*, which had so often cut downe his people, both in *Africa*, and in *Siell*.

It was not long after this, ere the two Generalls met: each being farre aduanced before the grosse of his Armie, with his Horse; and the *Roman* hauing also with him some light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they discouered the approach one of the other, *Scipio* sent before him his horsemen of the *Gauls*, to beginne the fight, and bestowing his Darters in the void ground betweene their troupes, to assist them: himselfe with his *Roman* men at armes, following softly in good order. The *Gauls* (whether desirous to trie the metall of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get fauour of the *Romans*) behaued themselves courageously, and were as courageously opposed. Yet their foot that should haue aided them, shrank at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Dart; for feare, of being troden downe by the enemies horse. This notwithstanding, the *Gauls* maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they received; as presuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Consul vnmindfull to relieue them: their hardiess deseruing his aide; and the halfe flight of those that should haue stood by them, admonishing him that it was needfull. Wherefore hee aduanced himselfe so farre, that hee receiued a dangerous wound; and had beene left in the place, if his sonne (afterward surnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others giue the honour of this rescue, to a *Ligurian* slave. Whilest the *Romans* were busied in helping their Consul; an vnexpected storme came drining at their backs, and made them looke about how to helpe themselves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* light-horse, to giue vpon the *Romans* in flanke, and to com-

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pass them about, whilest he with his men at armes sustained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in peeces the scattered foot, that ranne away at the first encounter; and then falling on the backs of those, whose lookes were fastened vpon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this inuersion, the *Romans* were shuffled together, and rowed: so that they all betooke them to their speede, and left vnto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* saw his horse thus beaten, and the rest of his Armie thereby greatly discouraged; hee thought it a point of wildome, hauing lost so many of his Fleet vpon the first puffe of winde, to take Port with the rest, before the extremest of the tempest ouer-tooke him. For he saw by the lowering morning what manner of day it was like to proue. Therefore his battaile of foot being yet vnbroken, hee in a manner stole the retreat; and recovered the bridge ouer *Ticinus*, which hee had formerly built. But notwithstanding all the haste that he made, he left fixe hundred of his Reare behinde him: who were the last that should haue passed, and staid to breake the bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of warre, *Si certamen quandoq; dabim vi deat: tacitam miles arripit fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda*: which must be vnderstood in this sort; *If a General of an Armie, by some vnprofitable beginnings doubt the successe; or find his Armie fearefull or wauering; it is more profitable to steale a safe retreat, than to abide the vncertaine enent of battaile.*

It was two daies after, ere *Hannibal* could passe the Riuer; *Scipio* the whilest refreshing his men, and calling himselfe of his wound in *Placentia*. Euen soone as *Hannibal* presented his Armie before the Towne, offering battaile to the *Romans*, who durst not accept it, nor issue forth of their campe; the *Gauls*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for feare, gathered out of his feare, courage to forsake him. They thought that now the long-desired time was come, in which better Chieftaines and Souldiers, than *Anserius*, *Britomarus*, and the *Gessates*, were come to helpe them; if they had the hearts to helpe themselves. Wherefore the same night they fell vpon the *Roman* campe; wounded and slue many; especially of those guards that kept watch at the gates; with whose heads in their hands, they fled ouer to the *Carthaginians*, and presented their seruice. *Hannibal* receiued them exceeding courteously, and dismist them to their owne places: as men likely to be of more vse to him, in perswading the rest of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other seruice at the present.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Consul stole a retreat, as hee had done before; but not with the like ease and securitie. *Hannibal* had a good eye vpon him; and ere he could get farre, sent the *Numidians* after him: following himselfe with all his Armie. That night the *Romans* had receiued a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedie of spoile, had not staid to ransack their campe; and thereby giuen time to all, saue some few in Reare, that were slaine or taken, to passe the Riuer of *Trebia*, and saue themselves. *Scipio*, being both vnable to traualle by reason of his wound, and withall finding it expedient to attend the coming of his fellow-Consul; incamped himselfe strongly vpon the banks of *Trebia*. Necessary required that he should so doe; yet this diminished his reputation. For every day, more & more of the *Gauls* sel to the *Carthaginian* side; among whome came in the *Boii*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commissioners, which they had taken in the late Insurrection. They had hitherto kept them as Pledges, to redeeme their owne Hostages: but now they deliuer them vp to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whose helpe they conceived better hope of recovering their owne men and lands. In the meane while, *Hannibal*, being in great scarcity of vittuals, attempted the taking of *Clefidium*, a Towne wherein the *Romans* had laid up all their store and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brundisian*, whom the *Romans* had trusted with keeping it, sold it for a litle monie.

The newes of these disasters, brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and People, rather

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ther with a desire of haffie reuenge, than any great sorrow for their losse receiued; seeing that, in a manner, all their foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire. They therefore halted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arrived, towards *Ariminum*, where the Armie, by him sent out of *Sicili*, awaited his coming. He therefore halted hither; and from thence hee marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him vpon the banks of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being joynd in one, the Consuls deuised about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* receiuing from *Scipio* the relation of what had passed since *Hannibal*: arriual; the fortune of the late fight; and by what error or misadventure the *Romans* were therein foiled: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the reuolt and treason 10 of the *Gauls*.

Sempronius, hauing receiued from *Scipio* the state of the affaires in those parts; sought by all meanes to trie his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recouered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himselfe the sole glorie of the victorie, which he had already, in his imagination, certainly obtained. He also feared the election of the new Consuls: his owne time being well-nere expired. But *Scipio* perswaded the contrary; objecting the vnskillfulness of the new-come Soldiers: and withall gaue him good reason, to assure him that the *Gauls*, naturally vnconstant, were vpon termes of abandoning the partie of the *Carthaginians*; those of them inhabiting betwene the Riuers of *Trebia*, and *Po*, being already reuolted. 20 *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haste to finde out the dishonour, which he might otherwise easily haue auoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal*: who feared nothing so much as delay and losse of time. For the strength of his Armie, consisting in strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gauls*; he no lesse feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other: who being farre from their owne home, had many passions mouing them to turne their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out so, that about the same time, the *Gauls* inhabiting nere vnto *Trebia*, complained of injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessaries, as hee supposed that 30 they might haue done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to set them at libertie, he had vndertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to bee his owne Caruer; and tooke from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they flie to the *Romans* for helpe: and, to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they refused to ioyne with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: he suspected their falshood, and was assured of their mutability. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the honor of *Rome*, to prelerue the Confederates from suffering iniurie: and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the *Gauls*. Therefore he sent out a thousand horse: which coming vnlooked for vpon *Hannibal* his forragers, and finding them heauy laden cut many of them in pieces, and chased the rest euen into their owne campe. This indignitie made the *Carthaginians* fallie out against them: who caused them to retire faster then they came. *Sempronius* was readie to back his owne men; and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length, all the *Roman* Armie was drawne forth; and a battaile readie to bee fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refused it.

This victorie (for so the Consul would haue it called) made the *Romans* in generall desirous to try the maine chance in open field: all the perswasions of *Scipio* to the contrary notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was aduertised by the *Gauls*, his spies, that were in the *Roman* Campe. Therefore he bethought himselfe how to helpe forward the victorie, by adding some stratagem to his forces: Hee found in the hollow of a water-course, ouer-growne with high reede, a fit trench

trench to couer an ambush. Thereto he call his brother *Asago*, with a thousand choice horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Armie, after they had well warmed and well fed themselves in their campe, he led into the field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning, he had sent ouer *Trebia* some companies of *Numbian* light-horse: to braue the enemy, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunity to fight: and therefore not onely issued out of his campe, but foorded the Riuier of *Trebia*, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arme-holes: which, together with the want of foode, did so enicble and coole their courages, as they 10 wanted force to handle the armes they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their owne Nation, as of the *Latines*: hauing of the one, sixteene, of the other, twentie thousand. The masse of these they ranged in a grosse Battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thousand horse; thrusting their light-armed, and Darters, in loose troupes in the head thereof, in the nature of a Vanguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot, were in a manner equall to their enemies; in horse, they had by farre the better, both in number and goodnesse. When therefore the *Roman* horse, ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the *Numbians*; when their foot were charged both in front and flanke, by the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Elephants*; when finally the whole Armie was vnawares prest in the Rear, by *Asago* and his two 20 thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush: then fell the *Romans*, by heapes, vnder the enemies swords; and being beaten downe, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the Riuier, by the horse-men that pursued them, there escaped no more of fixe and thirtie thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errors *Sempronius* committed, of which euery one deserved to be recompenced with the losse that followed. The first was, that hee fought with *Hannibal* in a Champaine, being by farre inferiour in horse, and withall thereby subiect to the *African* Elephants, which in inclosed or vn-euen grounds, and woodlands, would haue bene of no vse. His second error was, that he made no discouerie of the place vpon which he fought; whereby he was grossly ouer-reacht, and 30 insnared, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that hee drencht his foot-men with emptie stomachs, in the Riuier of *Trebia*, euen in a most cold and frostie day, whereby in effect they lost the vse of their limbs. For as one saith well; There is nothing more inconvenient and perillous, than to present an Armie tyred with trauaile, to an enemy fresh and fed; since where the strength of bodie faileth, the generositie of minde is but as an vnprofitable vapour.

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Armie, was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*; who either perceiued him not, because of the shewes; or 40 would not perceiue him, because they were ouer-weared. *Sempronius* escaped with extreme danger; flying through the Countie that was ouer-runne by the enemies horse. Hee was attended by more, than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by fewer, than could haue made resistance, if the enemy had met with him. Neuertheless he got away, and came to *Rome*, where hee did his office in choosing new Consuls for the yeere following: and then returned into his Prouince, with a fresh supply against *Hannibal*.

2. V.

*The departure of HANNIBAL from the Cisalpine Gaules into Hetruria.**FLAMINIUS the Roman Consul slain; and his Armie destroyed by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of Trasymene.*

THe Winter growing on apace, was very sharpe, and vsfit for seruice : to the great contentment of the *Romans*, who being not able to keepe 10 the field, lay warme in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to rest very quiet : but vexed them with continuall alarmes ; assailing diuers places ; taking some ; beating the *Gaules* their adherents ; and winning the *Lygurijs* to his partie, who presented him, in token of their faithfull loue, with two *Roman* *Questors* or *Treasurers*, two Colonels, and fise Gentlemen the Sonnes of *Senatours*, which they had intercepted. These, and in generall all such prisoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in streight places, loden with yrons, and miserably fed : those of their followers he not onely well entreated, but sent them to their Countries without ranfome ; with this protection, That he therefore vndertooke the Warre in *Italie* to free them from the 20 oppression of the *Romans*. By these means he hoped, and not in vaine, to draw many of them to his partie and assistance. But the *Gaules* were not capable of such persuasions. They stood in feare, lest he should make their Countrie the seat of the Warre, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieved than reason willed them, at his feeding vpon them, and wasting their Territorie. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life ; others admonished him of the danger ; and these that gaue him the aduice, were readie soone after to practise against him ; but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to vse Perwigs of haire, and false beards of diuers colors, to the end that he might not be described, nor known, to those that should vndertake to make him away. Faine hee would haue passed 30 the *Apennines*, vpon the first appearance of Spring ; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarrie among the *Gaules*, till he had scene more Swallows than one. At length, when the yeare was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take his leaue of these giddie Companions, and bring the warre neerer to the gates of *Rome*. So away hee went, hauing his Armie greatly increased with *Ligurians* and *Gaules* ; more seruiceable friends abroad, than in their owne Countrie. That the passage of the *Apennine* Mountaines was troublesome, I hold it needlesse to make any doubt. Yet since the *Roman* Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way : the great vexation which fell vpon *Hannibal*, when hee was trauielling through and ouer them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the 40 extremities of Winter, that makes all wayes foule, than to any intolerable difficulty in that iourne. Neuertheless to auoid the length of way, together with the resistance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to haue beene erected vpon the ordinarie passages towards *Rome* : he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to traualle through the Fennes and rotten grounds of *Tuscanie*. In those Marishes and bogges, he lost all his Elephants, saue one, together with the vse of one of his eyes ; by the moistnesse of the aire, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deepe mire and water. In bricfe, after hee had with much adoe recovered the firme and fertile Plaines, he lodged about *Arretium* : where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the 50 *Roman* Consuls.

C. Flaminius, and *Cn. Seruilius* had of late bene chosen Consuls for this yeere : *Seruilius*, a tractable man, and wholly gouerned by aduice of the Senate ; *Flaminius*, an

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an hot-headed popular Orator ; who hauing once bene robbed (as he thought) of his Consulship, by a deuce of the *Senators*, was afraid to be serued to againe, vnlesse he quickly finished the warre. This jealous Consul thought it not bett for him to be at *Rome*, when he entred into his Office, lest his adueraries, by saying some religious impediment, should detain him within the Citie, or find other businesse for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour, that hee hoped to get in the Warre. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the Towne ; and meant to take possession of his Office, when the day came, at *Arretium*. The *Fathers* (so the *Senators* were called) highly displeased with this, reuoked him by *Embassadors* : but he neglected their injunction, and hasting to meet with the *Carthaginians*, tooke his way to *Arretium*, where he shortly found them.

The fierie disposition of this Consul, promised vnto *Hannibal* great assurance of victorie. Therefore he prouoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman* : hoping thereby to draw him vnto fight, ere *Seruilius* came with the rest of the Armie. All the Countrie betwene *Fegula* and *Arretium* he put to fire and sword, euen vnder the Consuls nose ; which was enough to make him stirre, that would not haue sitten still, though *Hannibal* had bene quiet. It is true, that a great Captaine of France hath said ; *Pays gaste c'este pas perdu ; A wasted Countrie is not thereby lost*. But by this waste of the Countrie, *Flaminius* thought his owne honour 20 to be much impaired ; and therefore aduanced towards the Enemy. Many aduised him (which had indeede bene best) to haue patience awhile, and stay for his Colleague. But of this he could not abide to heare : saying, that he came not to defend *Arretium*, whilst the *Carthaginians* went, burning downe all *Italie* before them, to the gates of *Rome*. Therefore he tooke horse ; and commanded the Armie to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Ensignes stucke so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked vp by the Ensigne-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, *Tullie* makes a jeat : saying, that the cowardly knaue did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) hauing hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) disagreeable hereto : for he commanded, that it should be digged vp, if feare had made the hands too weak to lift it : asking with- 30 all ; whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this jealousie both hee, and the Senate that gaue him cause, are likely to repent.

All the Territorie of *Cortona*, as farre as to the Lake of *Trasymene*, was on a light fire, which whilst the Consul thought to quench with his enemies bloud, he pursued *Hannibal* so vnadvisedly, that he fell, with his whole Armie, into an ambush cunningly laid for him, betwene the Mountaines of *Cortona*, and the Lake. There was he charged vnawares, on all sides, (saue only where that great Lake of *Perusia* permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flee from them) knowing 40 not which way to turne, or make resistance. So was hee slain in the place, accompanied with fiftene thousand dead carcases of his Countymen. About fixe thousand of his men, that had the Vantgard, tooke courage as for the most part happens, out of desperation ; and breaking through the enemies, that stood in their way, recovered the tops of the Mountaines. If these had returned, and giuen charge vpon the *Carthaginians* backs, it was thought that they might haue greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their feare, which kindled by necessitie, had wrought the effects of hardinesse ; was well allwaged, when they ceased to despair, of saving their liues by flight. They stood still, in a could sweat, vpon the Hill-top ; hearing vnder them a terrible noise, but not dis- 50 couering how things went, because of the great fogge that held all the morning. When it grew toward noone, the aire was cleared, and they might plainly discern the lamentable slaughter of their fellows. But they said not to lament it : for it was high time, they thought, to be gone, ere they were descried, and attached by

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the enemies horse. This they should have thought vpon sooner; since they had no minde to returne vnto the fight. For desiered they were, and *Maharbal* sent after them; who ouer-tooke them by night in a Village, which hee surrounded with his horse: and so they yeilded the next day, rendring their armes, vpon his promise of their liues and liberties. This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirme; saying, that it was made by *Maharbal*, without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authoritie to make it good. Herein hee taught them (yet little to his owne honour) what it was to keepe no faith: and fitted them with a trick of their owne. For if it were lawfull vnto the *Romans*, to alter couenants, or adde vnto them what they listed; if the *Carthaginians* must be faine to pay certaine hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, besides their first bargain; as also to renounce their interest in *Sardinia*, and bee limited in their *Spanish* Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the *Romans*, whose present advantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can *Hannibal* bee as *Roman*, as themselves; and make them know, that peridioussesse gaineth no more in prosperitie, than it looseth in the change of fortune. Fiftene thousand *Italian* Prisoners, or thereabout, hee had in his hands: of which all that were not *Romans*, hee set free without rancome; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* tyrannie, that he had undertaken this warre. But the *Romans* hee kept in straight prison, and in fetters; making them learne to eate hard meate. This was a good way, to breede in the people of *Italie*, if not a loue of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this warre had not concerned the generall safetie, but only the preserving of her owne neck from the yoke of slaerie, which her ouer-strong enemies would thrust vpon her in reuenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by successe of many ages, is not lost in one or two batailles. Wherefore more is to bee done, ere the *Carthaginian* can get any *Italian* Partisans.

Presently after the battaile of *Thrasymene*, *C. Centronius*, with foure thousand *Roman* horse, drew neere vnto the Campe of *Hannibal*. Hee was sent from *Ariminum*, by *Serullius* the other Consul, to increate the strength of *Flaminius*: but coming too late, hee increased only the misadventure. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this companie; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great ouerthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almost halfe of them, draue the rest vnto an high piece of ground, whence they came downe, and simply yeilded to mercie, the next day. *Serullius* himselfe was in the meane while skirmishing with the *Gauls*; against whom hee had wrought no matter of importance, when the newes was brought him, of his Collegues ouerthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him hasten backe to the defence of *Rome*.

In these passages, it is easie to discern the fruits of popularie loue, which perswaded the *Romans* to the yeerely change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certaine it is, that all men are farre better taught by their owne errors, than by the examples of their fore-goers. *Flaminius* had heard, in what a trap *Sempronius* had bin taken vp but the yeere before, by this subtle *Carthaginian*; yet lusted hee himselfe to be caught loone after in the same manner. Hee had also belike forgotten, how *Sempronius*, fearing to be preuented by a new Consul, and ambitious of the sole honour of beating *Hannibal* in battaile, without helpe of his companion *Scipio*, had beene rewarded with shame and losse: else would hee not, contrarie to all good aduice, haue beene so hasty to fight, before the arriuall of *Serullius*. If *Sempronius* had beene continued in his charge, it is probable that he would haue taken his companion with him the second time, and haue searched all suspected places, proper to haue shadowed an ambush: both which this new Consul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his Government of *France* ten yeeres, *Cesar* brought that mightie Nation, together with the *Helmetians* and many of the *Germans*, vnder the *Roman* yoke; into which parts had there beene euery yeere a new Lieutenantant, the

world

would hardly, if euer, haue beene subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the World can doe, to informe it selfe, within one yeeres compasse, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Riuer, and of all good helpes, whereby to prosecute a warre to the best effect. Our Princes haue commonly lett their Deputies in *Ireland* three yeeres; whence, by reason of the shortnesse of that their time, many of them haue returned as wife, as they went out; others haue profited more, and yet when they beganne but to know the first rudiments of Warre, and Government, sitting the Countrie, they haue beene called home, and new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great preiudice both of this and that Estate. But it hath euer beene the course of the World, rather to follow old errors, than to examine them: and of Princes and Gouvernours, to vp-hold their slothfull ignorance, by the old examples and policie of other ages and peoples; though neither likenesse of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, haue perswaded the imitation.

§ VI.

How *Q. Fabius* the *Roman Dictator*, sought to consume the force of *Hannibal*; by lingering warre. *Minutius*, the Master of the Horse, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and successfull attempting, aduenturing rashly vpon *Hannibal*; and is like to perish with his Armie, but rescued by *Fabius*.

Greatly were the *Romans* amazed, at this their ill successe, and at the danger apparent; which threatened them in more terrible manner, than euer did warre, since *Rome* it selfe was taken. They were good Souldiers; and so little accustomed to receiue an ouerthrow; that when *Pyrrius* had beaten them, once and againe, in open field, all *Italie* was strangely affected with his successe, and held him in admiration, as one that could worke wonders. But *Pyrrius* his quarrell was not grounded vpon hate: hee only fought honour, and fought (as it were) vpon a brauerie: demeaning himselfe like a courteous enemy. This *Carthaginian* detested the whole *Roman* name; against which hee burned with desire of reuenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thrasymene*, witnessed his purpose, and his abilitie. Which to withstand, they fled vnto a remedie that had long bene out of vse, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Consuls, and scarcely subject vnto controul of the whole Citie. Wherefore this Officer was seldom chosen, but vpon some extremitie, and for no longer time than fixe moneths. He was to be named by one of the Consuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were so, that the Consul (if hee stood vpon his prerogative) might name whom he pleased. At this time, the one Consul being dead, and the other too farre off; the People tooke vpon them, as hauing supreme authoritie, to giue the Dignitie by their election, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the best reputed man of warre in the Citie, *Quorum saluum, novum consilium expetit; Contrariis ventis, contrarie consules*. *Q. Fabius* chose *M. Minutius* Consul Master of the horse: which Officer was customarily, as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more vpon him.

The first act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of somewhat amisse in matter of religion: a good beginning, and commendable; had the Religion bene also good. But if it were true (as *Livie* reports it) that the bookes of *Sybil* were consulted, and gave direction in this businesse of deuotion; then must we beleue, that those bookes of *Sybil*, preferred in *Rome*, were dictated by an euill spirit. For it was ordained, that some Vow, made in the beginning of this warre to *Mars*, should be made anew, and amplified; as hauing not been rightly made before: also that great Plaies should be vowed vnto *Iupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with other such trumperie. This

which

vehementie of superstition, proceeds alwaies from vehementie of feare. And surely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly dis tempered with passion: whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they saw their sonnes returne alive from *Thrasymene*, may serue to beare witness: though it bee more properly an example of motherly loue. The walls and towers of the Citie were now repaired and fortified: the bridges vpon Riuer were broken downe, and all care taken, for defence of *Rome* it selfe. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly set forth against *Hannibal*; word was brought, that the *Carthaginian* fleet had intercepted all the supply, that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in *Spain*. Against these *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Serulius* the Consul to put to Sea; and taking vp all the ships about *Rome*, and *Offia*, to pursue them: whilst he, with the Legions, attended vpon *Hannibal*. Foure Legions he had leued in halfe: and from *Ariminum* he receiued the Armie, which *Serulius* the Consul had conducted thither.

With these forth-with he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what advantage the *Namidian* horse had ouer the *Romans*, he alwaies lodged himselfe on high grounds, and of hard access. *Hannibal* in the meane while, pursuing his victorie, had ranged ouer all the Countrey, and used all manner of crueltie towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he did put to the sword, all that were able to beare armes. Passing by *Spoleum* and *Ancona*, he incamped vpon the *Adriatick* shores; refreshed his diseased, and ouer-trauailed Companies; armed his *Africans* after the manner of the *Romans*; and made his dispatches for *Carthage*, presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the spoiles that hee had gotten. Having refreshed his Armie; fed his horses; cured his wounded Souldiers; and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horse heeles of the scratches, by walking their paterines in old wine: he followed the coast of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia*, a Northerne Province of the Kingdome of *Naples*; spoiling the *Marrucini*, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he ouer-ranne, he had not taken any one Citie: only he had assailed *Spoleum*, a Colonie of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended, presently gaue it ouer.

The malice of a great Armie is broken, and the force of it spent, in a great siege. This the *Protestant* Armie found true at *Poitiers*, a little before the battaile of *Moncontour*; and their victorious enemies, anon after, at *S. Iean à Angeley*. But *Hannibal* was more wise. He would not engage himselfe in any such enterprize, as should detain him, and giue the *Romans* leaue to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once hee was absolute Master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he presented *Fabius* with battaile, as soone as he saw him; and provoked him with all manner of brauado's. But *Fabius* would not bite. Hee well knew the differences, betwene Souldiers bred vp, euer since they were Boyes, in warre and in bloud, trayned and hardened in *Spain*, made proud and aduenturous by many victories there, and of late by some notable acts against the *Romans*; and such, as had no other scene the enemy, than bin vanquished by him. Therefore he attended the *Carthaginian* so neere, as he kept him from straggling too farre; and preserved the countrey from vtter spoile. He injured his men by litle and litle, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees; and hee brought them first to looke on the Lyon a farre off, that in the end they might sit on his taile.

Now *Minutius* had a contrarie disposition, and was as fierce as *Flamininus*; taxing *Fabius* with cowardise and feare. But all stirred not this well-advised Commander. For wise men are no more moued with such noise, than with winde bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiscretion, and danger; than to pursue misfortune: It waiteth it selfe sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the invading Armie that desires battaile: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the invading, and the

the victorious. *Fabius* therefore suffered *Hannibal* to crosse the *Apennines*, and to fall vpon the most rich and pleasant Territories of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be perswaded, to aduenture the *Roman* Armie in battaile: but being farre too weak in horse, he alwaies kept the Hills and fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw he could by no means draw this warie Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on; and that the towns stood firme for the *Romans*, whose Legions were in sight, though a farre off; he resolved to rest his Armie, that was laden with spoile, in some plentiful and assured place, till the following Spring. But ere this can be done, he must passe along by the Dictators campe, that hung ouer his head vpon the Hills of *Callicula*, and *Caslinum*: for other way there was none, by which hee might issue out of that goodly Garden-countrey, which hee had already walked, into places more abundant of prouision for his wintering. It was by meere error of his guide, that he first entred within these streights. For he would haue bin directed vnto *Caslinum*, whence he might both assay the faire Citie of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promises vnder hand, and hinder the *Romans* from comming neere it to preuent him. But his guide mis-vnderstood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him awry another way, from *Caslinum* to *Casilinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he should not easily escape. Now beganne the wisdom of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap, & wonne the victorie, without blowes.

But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himselfe, by a slight inuention, yet seruing the turne as well as a better. In driving the countrey, hee had gotten about two thousand Kine; whose hornes he dressed with drie faggots, and setting fire to them in the darke night, caused them to be driuen vp the Hills. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those, that knew it to be the worke of a terrible enemy. What it should meane, *Fabius* could not tell: but thought it a deuice to circumuent him; and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hill-tops, were horribly afraid, when some of these fierce Monsters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore hastily away, thinking that the enemies were behind their backs, and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no lesse afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Armie, recovered sure ground, without molestation: where he stayed till the next morning; and then brought off his light footmen, with some slaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in skirnish: After this, *Hannibal* made semblance of taking his iourne towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coasted him in the wonted manner; keeping still on high grounds, between him and the Citie, whilst the *Carthaginian* waited all the Plaines. The *Carthaginian* tooke *Geryon*, an old ruinous Towne in *Apulia*, forsaken by the Inhabitants; which he turned into Barnes and Store-houses for winter, and incamped vnder the broken walls. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time past idly, till the Dictator was called away to *Rome*; about some businesse of Religion, and left the Armie in charge with *Minutius*, the Master of the horse.

Minutius was glad of this good occasion to shew his owne sufficiencie. Hee was fully perswaded, that his *Romans*, in plaine field, would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had beene foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtiltie & ambush, which he thought himselfe wise enough to preuent. All the Armie was of his opinion; and that so earnestly, as he was preferred by iudgement of the Souldiers, in worthinesse to command, before the cold and warie *Fabius*. In this iollitie of conceit, hee determined to fight. Yet had hee bene peremptorily forbidden so to doe, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extreme perill of death. But the honour of the victorie, which hee held vndoubtedly his owne; the loue of the Armie; and the friends that hee had at home beating Office in *Rome*, were enough to faue him from the Dictators rods and axes, tooke he the matter neuer so bairnously. *Hannibal* on the other side was no lesse glad, that he should play with a more aduenturous gamester. Therefore hee drew neere: and to prouoke the *Romans*, sent forth a third part of his Armie to waste the Countrey,

Countrie. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him; but it seemed, that hee now despised those whom hee had so often vanquished. There was a peece of high ground betwene the two camps; which because it would be commodious to him that could occupie it, the *Carthaginians* seized vpon by night with two thousand of their light armed. But *Minutius*, by plaine force, wanne it from them the next day; and entrenching himselfe thereupon, became their nearer neighbour.

The maine businesse of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not onely for his men, but for his horses, which hee knew to bee the chiefe of his strength; that he might keepe them in good heart all the next Summer: if besides this he could giue the *Romans* another blow, it would increase his reputation, encourage his owne men, terrifie his enemies, and giue him leaue to forrage the Countrie at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many dayes issue forth of his campe, the *Carthaginian* sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harueft. This aduantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and tooke. For he led forth his Armie, and setting it in order presented battaile to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, euen at his owne Trenches. His horse, and all his light Armature, diuided into many companies, hee sent abroad against the forragers; who being disperfed ouer all the fields, and loaden with bootie, could make no resistance. This angered *Hannibal*, that was not able to helpe them; but worke did it anger him, when the *Romans* tooke heart to assaile his Trenches. They perceiued that it was meere weakenesse, which held him within his campe, & therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the businesse, *Asdrubal* came from *Geryon* with foure thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the *Roman* horfe. This emboldened *Hannibal* to issue forth against the *Romans*; to whom neuerthelesse hee did not such hurt, as hee had receiued.

For this peece of seruice *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Armie, & more highly by the People at *Rome*; to whom hee sent the newes, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the *Roman* Armie had recovered 30 spirit, so farre forth that it dared to set vpon *Hannibal* in his owne campe; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Euery man therefore praised the Master of the horfe, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as farre out of liking with *Fabius*, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that hee had not done any thing wisely, in all his Dictatorship: sauing that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeede in no other thing hee had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so joyfull of a little good luck, as angry with the breach of discipline; and fearefull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. Hee said that hee knew his owne place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the Master of the horfe to doe so likewise, and make him giue account of what he had done, if hee were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good successe, issuing from bad counsaile, was more to be feared, than calamitie; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence; the other taught men to be warie. Against these Sermons euery one cryed out; especially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to speake, and doe what he list, without feare of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said he) that this our only Man, chosen to be General, and Lord of the Towne, in our greatest necessitie, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all *Italie* to bee wasted before his eyes, to the vtter shame of our State; vnlesse he also hinder others, from doing better than himselfe can, or dares? It were good to consider what hee means by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* hee hath not chosen any new Consul all this 40 while; *Servilius* is sent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and Hee, haue as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had intendede forborne to spoile some grounds of *Fabius*, that so hee might bring him into enuie & suspicion) & the Dictator giuing him leaue to spoile all others, without impeachment.

peachment. Surely his drift is euen this: He would haue the warre to last long, that he himselfe might be long in Office, and haue the sole Government both of our Citie, and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonaltie of *Rome*, which gaue him this authoritie, should againe take it from him, and conferre it vpon one more worthy. But left, in mouing the people hereto, I should seeme to doe him iniurie; thus farre forth I will regard his honour: I will only propound, That the Master of the Horfe may be joyued in equall authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor lesse necessarie, than was the electing of this Dictator, by the People.

10 Though all men, euen the Senators, were ill perswaded of the course which *Fabius* had taken against *Hannibal*, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficiall at the present; yet was there none so injurious, as to thinke that his generall intent, and care of the Weale publike, was lesse than very honourable. Whereas the refore it was the manner, in passing of any Act, that some man of credit and authority, besides the Propounder, should stand vp, and formally deliuer his approbation; not one of the principall Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disgrace, both vnto a worthy Personage, and (therewithall) vnto that Dignitie, whose great power had freed the State at severall times, from the greatest dangers. Only *C. Terentius Varro*, who the yeere before had bene Prætor, was glad of such an opportunity, to winne the fauour of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonne of a Butcher; afterwards became a shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew, by often brabbings, to take vpon him as a Pleader, dealing in poore mens causes. Thus by little and little he got into Offices, and rose by degrees, being aduanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobilitie fauoured his very basenesse. And now hee thought the time was come, for him to giue an hard push at the Consulship; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or fauouring one another, either durst or would. So hee made an hot inuestiue, not only against *Fabius*, but against all the Nobilitie; saying, that it grieved them to see the people doe well, and take vpon them what belonged vnto them, in matter of Government; that they sought to 30 humble the Commons by pouertie, and to impoverish them by warre; especially by warre at their owne doores, which would soone consume euery poore mans liuing, and finde him other worke to thinke vpon, than matter of State. Therefore hee bade them to be wise: and since they had found one, (this worthy Master of the horfe) that was better affected vnto them and his Countrie, to reward him according to his good deserts; and giue him authoritie, accordingly as was propounded by the Tribune, that so hee might be encouraged and enabled, to proceede as hee had begunne. So the Act passed.

Before this busie day of contention, *Fabius* had dispatched the election of a new Consul, which was *M. Attilius Regulus*, in the roome of *C. Flaminius*; and hauing 40 finished all requisite businesse, went out of Towne, perceiving well, that he should not be able to withstand the Multitude, in hindering the Decree. The newes of *Minutius* his aduancement, was at the campe as soone as *Fabius*: so that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, beganne to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the first, in what sort he thought it best to diuide their authoritie: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them, successiue, for some longer time, should command in chiefe. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the horfe equal to the Dictator; but that hee should neuer be his superiour: He would therefore diuide the Legions with him, by lot, according to the custome. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleased; for that with halfe of the Armie hee could not worke such wonders, as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Neuerthelesse hee meant to doe his best; and so taking his part of the Armie, incamped about a mile and an halfe from the Dictator. Needfull it was (though *Luie* seeme to taxe him for it) that he should so doe. For where two severall Commanders are not subordinate one vnto the other, nor joynd

ned in Commission, but haue each entire & absolute charge of his owne followers there are the forces (though belonging vnto one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies: in which regard, one campe shall not hold them both, without great inconuenience. Polybius neither finds fault with this disfunction; nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was vnwilling to command in chiefe successfullly (as the two Consuls vsed) with *Minutius*, by turns. Hee saith that *Minutius* was very refractarie; and so proud of his aduancement, that continually he opposed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to diuide the forces betwene them, as is said before, or else to haue command ouer all by course. This is likely to bee true. For naturall impatience of subjection, when once they haue broken loose from the rigour of authority, loue nothing more, than to contest with it: as if herein consisted the prooffe and assurance of their libertie.

It behoued the Master of the horse, to make good the opinion which had thus aduanced him. Therefore he was no lesse careful, of getting occasion to fight, than was *Fabius* of auoiding the necessitie. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally desired, could not long be wanting. The Countreylieing betwene them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adjoining, had many, and spacious caues; able, some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places, *Hannibal* bestowed five hundred horse, and five thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discovered. But leit by any misaduenture they should be found out, and buried in their holes, he made offer betimes in the morning, to seize vpon a peece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and thoughts of the *Romans*, from their more needfull care, to businesse little concerning them. Like vnto this was the occasion, which, not long before, had prouoked *Minutius*, to aduventure vpon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like sort as hee got it, hee sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (keing that *Hannibal* seconded his owne troupes with fresh companies) hee followed in person with the Legions. He was soone caught; and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safer retreat. In this dangerous case, whilst the *Romans* defended themselves, loosing many, and those of their best men: *Fabius* drew neere, in very good order, to relieue them. For this old Captaine, perceiving a farre off, into what extremitie his new Colleague had rashly throwne himselfe, and his followers; did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Country, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approve himselfe by hastning to doe good, than by suffering his enemy to feele the reward of doing ill. Vpon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retyred: fearing to be well wetted with a shewre, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hill-tops. *Minutius* forth with submitted himselfe to *Fabius*; by whose benefit hee confessed his life to haue beene faued. So from this time forwards, the Warre proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would haue it; both whilst his Office lasted, which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he deliuered vp his charge vnto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

Servilius the Consul had pursued in vaine a *Carthaginian* fleet, to which he came neuer within kenning. Hee ranne along all the coast of *Italie*; tooke hostages of the *Sardinians* and *Corficans*; passed ouer into *Africk*; and there negligently falling to spoile the Countreie, was shamefully beaten aboard his ships, with the losse of a thousand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, hee returned home by *Sicily*; and (being so required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the campe, with his fellow-Consul, where they tooke charge of the Armie.

§. VII.

§. VII.

The Roman people, desirous to finish the warre quickly, choose a rash and vnworthy Consul. Great forces sent against HANNIBAL. HANNIBAL saith the Romans prouisions in the Castle of Canne. The new Consuls set forth against HANNIBAL.



With little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in *Rome*, heare the great commendations, that were giuen to *Fabius* by the principal Citizens. He had indeed preferred them from receiving a great overthrow: but he had neither finished the warre, nor done any thing in apparence thereto tending. Rather it might seeme, that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the work to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custome; since it was neuer heard before, that any *Roman* Generall had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performance, as if it were honorable to doe nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were readie every man, to discharge the griefe and anger of his own priuate losse, vpon the ill administration of the publike.

This affection of the people, was very helpful to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoued him to strike, whilst the Iron was hot: his owne worth being little or none, and his credit ouer-weake, to make way into that high Dignity. But the Cominaltie were then in such a mood, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a kinsman, *Bibius Horrensius*, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to vse the libertie of his place: in saying what he liked, without all regard of truth, or modestie. This bold Orator stuck not to affirme, that *Hannibal* was drawn into *Italie*, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; that *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to haue beene overthrowne, and was rescued by *Fabius* with the other two: but had al been joyned together, what they might haue done, it was apparent, by the victorie of *Minutius*, when he commanded ouer al as Master of the horse; that without a *Plebeian* Consul, the warre would neuer be brought to an end; that such of the *Plebeians*, as had long since been aduanced to honour by the people, were grown as proud as the old Nobilitie, and contemned the meaner sort, euer since themselves were freed from contempt of the more mightie; that therefore it was needfull to choose a Consul, who should be altogether a *Plebeian*, a meere new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples loue, nor could with more, than to keep it, by well deferring of them. By such persuasions, the Multitude was won, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure, to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honor; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the People, it fel out, or at least was allaged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared, from attending vpon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose: and he againe deposed; either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the *Fathers* desired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to preuaile in choice of the new Consuls. This *Inter-regnum* tooke name and being in *Rome*, at the death of *Romulus*; and was in vse at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. At the *Fathers*, or *Senators*, who at the first were an hundred, parted themselves into *Tens*, or *Decuries*; and gouerned successfullly, by the space of five daies, one *Decurie* after another in order yet so, that the *Lictors*, or *Vigilers*, carrying the *Fasces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only vpon the chiefe of them with these Ensignes of power. This custome was retained, in times of the Consuls; and put in vse, when by death, or any casualtie, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the

old yeare, to substitute new for the yeare following. The advantage of the *Fathers* herein was, that if the Election were not like to goe as they would haue it, there needed no more, than to let slip five daies; & then was all to begin anew: by which interruption, the heat of the Multitude was commonly well alluaged. Vpon such change of those, that were Presidents of the Election; it was also lawfull vnto new Petitioners, to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publickly declare themselves to seeke those Offices. But no device would serue, against the generall fauour borne vnto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed ouer; and the malice of the *Fathers*; against the vertue (as it was believed) of this meane, but worthy man, seemed so manifest, that when the People had vrged the businesse to dispatch, only *Terentius* was chosen Consul: in whose hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Herevpon all the former Petitioners gaue ouer. For whereas men of ordinary mark had stood for the place before; it was now though meet, that, both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this vnexpert, and hot-headed man, one of great sufficiencie, and reputation, should be joynt with him, as both Companion and opposit. So *L. Aemilius Paulus*, he who few yeares since had ouercome the *Illyrians*, and chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdome, was vrged by the Nobility to stand for the place; which he easily obtained, hauing no Competitor. It was not the desire of this honourable man, to trouble himselfe any more in such great businesse of the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good seruice; He, and *M. Linius* that had been his companion in Office, were afterwards inuiously vexed by the People, and called vnto judgement: wherein *Linius* was condemned, and *Aemilius* hardly escaped. But of this iniustice they shall put the *Romans* well in minde each of them in his second Consulship, wherein they shall honorably approue their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the most grieuous losse; the other brauely winning, in the most happie victorie, that euer befall that Common-wealth.

The new Consuls, *Varro* and *Paulus*, omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the warre: wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by telling what wonders he would worke, and that hee would aske no more, than once to haue a fight of *Hannibal*, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day; yet the prouidence and care of *Paulus*, traualled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote vnto the two old Consuls *Seruilus* and *Attilius*, desiring them to abstaine from hazard of the maine chance; but neuertheless, to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when he and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Armie which they were now leuying, they might find the foure old Legions well accustomed to the Enemy, and the Enemy well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate assisted him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the slanders, with which *Terentius* and his Adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised it is vncertaine. Four-score thousand foot, at the least, and sixethousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired, of looking vpon *Hannibal*.

Here, the old King of *Syracuse*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians*, when they were distressed by their owne Mercenaries; so did he now send helpe to *Rome*, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barlie, and other provisions: fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mighty Cities should destroy the other, whereby his owne estate would fall to ruine; that stood vpright, by hauing them somewhat euenly balanced. He gaue them also counsaile, to send forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that meanes they might diuert the warre from home. His gifts, and good aduice were louingly accepted; and instructions were giuen to *Titus Octavius* the Pretor, which was to goe into *Sicily*, that he should accordingly passe ouer into *Africa*, if he found it expedient.

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The great Leuies, which the *Romans* made at this time, doe much more serue to declare their puissance, than any, though larger accompt by Poll, of such as were not easily drawne into the field, and fitted for seruice. For besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into *Sicily*, twentie five thousand, with *L. Posthumus Albinus* another of the Pretors, went against the *Gauls*, to reclaim that Province, which the passage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength, might well embolden them to do as they did. They sent Embassadors to *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, requiring him to deliuer into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*; who hauing been their subiect, and rebel, was fled into his Kingdom. They also sent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was alreadie past. What answer they receiued, it is not knowne: only this is known, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not sent vnto them; and that *Philip* henceforth beganne to haue an eye vpon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* monie; by the shifte that they were driuen soone after to make, it will appeare, that the one halfe of it (how little soeuer) would haue bene welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cauil about forfeiture for non payment of the whole.

Whilst the Citie was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as neere vnto *Hannibal*, as possibly as they could, without incurring the necessitie of a battaile. Many skirmishes they had with him; wherein their success for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only blemished the honour of their other seruices, but was indeed the occasion, to draw on the miserie following. *Hannibal*, for the most part of that time, made his lodge at *Geryon*, where lay all his store for the Winter. The *Romans*, to be neere him lodged about *Cannusium*; and, that they might not be driuen to turne aside for all necessities, to the losse of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Cattle of *Canna*: for the town was razed the yeere before. This place *Hannibal* wanne, and thereby not only furnished himselfe, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull things, vnlesse they would be troubled with farre carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himselfe to abide in that open Countrey, fit for the seruice of his horse: longer then the *Romans*, hauing so many mouthes to feed, could well endure to tarrie; without offering battaile; which he most desired. Of this mishap when *Seruilus* had informed the Senate, letting them vnderstand, how this Peere, taken by *Hannibal*, would serue him to command no small part of the Countrey adjacent; it then seemed needfull, euen vnto the *Fathers* themselves, to aduenture a battaile with the *Carthaginian*, rather than suffer him thus to take roote in the ground of *Italy*. Neuertheless, answer was returned vnto *Seruilus*, that hee should haue patience yet awhile: for that the Consuls would shortly be there, with a power sufficient to doe as things were required.

When all things were readie in the Citie, and the season of the yeere commodious to take the field, the two Consuls, with their armie set forth against *Hannibal*. This was alwaies done with great solemnitie: especially, when soeuer they went forth to warre against any noble or redoubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and solemn Vowes, were made vnto *Iupiter*, and the rest of their gods, for good success and victorie: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honorable traine of the principall men, not only such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the warre, as Voluntaries, for loue, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home, were accompanied on their way, & dismissed with friendly leaue-taking, and good wishes. At this time, all the *Fathers*, and the whole Nobility, waited vpon *Aemilius Paulus*, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honor, or likely to do his countrey remarkable seruice. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troupe no lesse in greatnes, than the other was in dignitie. At the partings *Fabius* the late Dictator, is said to haue exhorted the Consul *Paulus*, with many graue words, to shew his magnanimitie, not

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onely in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outrageous follie of his fellow. Consul. The answer of *Paulus* was, That hee meant not againe to runne into danger of condemnation, by offending the multitude; that he would doe his best for his cuntry: but if he saw his best were likely to be ill taken, he would thinke it lesse rashnesse to aduenture vpon the Enemies sword, than vpon the malice of his owne Citizens.

¶ VIII.

Diffension betweene the two Roman Consuls. Whether it be likely, that HANNIBAL was vpon point of flying out of Italie, when the Romans pressed him to fight. The great battaile of Cannæ.

THese new Generals, arriuing at the Camp, dismissed *M. Atilius* one of the last yeares Consuls, requesting it becaule of his age and weakenes: *Servilius* they retained with them, as their Assistant. The first thing that *Æmilius* thought necessarie, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad successe hitherto, had gathered more caule of feare, than of courage. Hee willed them to consider, not only now, their victories in times past against the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but euen their own great numbers: which were no 20 lesse than all that *Rome* at the present was able to set forth. Hee told them in what danger their COUNTRY stood; how the state and safety thereof rested vpon their hands; vsing some such other common matter of perswasion. But the most effectual part of his Oration was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victorie by plaine force and valour: but that only by deceit and ambush he had stolne the honor, which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thrasymene*. Herewithall he taxed the inconsiderate rashnesse of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one saw not his enemies, vntill he was surrounded by them; the other scarce saw them, when they struck off his head, by reason of the thick mist, through the darknesse whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their snares. Finally, de- 30 claring what advantages they had against the Enemy; and how destitute the Enemy was of those helps, by which he had hitherto preuailed against them; hee exhorted them to play the men, and doe their best. They were easily perswaded: for the contemplation of their owne multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* vertue in matter of armes, gaue them caule to thinke, that vnder a Capitaine so well experienced, and euery way sufficient, as *Æmilius* was knowne to bee, they should easily preuaile against the *Carthaginians*: that came farre short of them in all things else, saue craft; which would not alwaies thrive. But in one thing they mistooke the meaning of their Generall. It was his desire that they should haue heart to fight; 40 not that they should lose the patience of awaiting a conuenient season. But they, hauing preconceiued a victorie, thought all delays to be impediments: and thereby fought to robbe themselves of their best helpe; which was good conduct. They remembered what take they had heard at *Rome*; and were themselves affected with the Vulgar desire, of ending the warre quickly; wherein since *Æmilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them forbear to vse it? Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus also thought the Consul *Terentius*; who was no lesse popular in the Campe, than he had been in the Citie. Expectation is alwaies tedious; and neuer more, than when the Event is of most importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Army, to be freed from the doubtfull passions of Hope and Feare: therefore *Terentius*, who hastned their desire to effect, was likely to winne more thanks, than should his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the *Romans* thinke themselves to haue the better of their Enemies, they fall into an inconuenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Diffension* of

of their chiefe Commanders, *Varro* would fight: *Æmilius* would so too, but said that it was not yet time; why? becaule the enemy must shortly dislodge, and remove hence, into places lesse fit for his horse. But shall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, hauing eaten vp his last yeares provisions, returne into *Campania* to gather a second Haruest? This would (said *Varro*) fauour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haste (said *Paulus*) doth fauour no lesse of *C. Flaminius*. Their decrees were like their words: for they commanded by turnes interchangeably euery day. *Æmilius* lodged fixe miles from *Hannibal*, where the ground was somewhat vneuen. Tither if the *Carthaginians* would take paines to come; hee doubted not to send them away in such haile, as they should not leaue running till they were out of *Italie*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day descended into the Plaines; his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Neuerthelasse he fate downe close by *Hannibal*: who as an vnbidden guest gaue him but a rude wel come and entertainment. The *Carthaginians* in Horle, and light Armature, fol vpon the *Roman* Vant-courers; and put the whole Armie in tumult, whilest it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without losse, for that the *Romans* had among their *Pelites*, some troupes weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Æmilius*, who could not hand somly withdraw the Army out of that leuel ground; incamped vpon the Riuer *Aufidus*; sending a third part of his forces ouer the wa- 20 ter, to lie vpon the Easterne banke, where they entrenched themselves. Hee neuer was more vnwilling to fight, than at this present: becaule the ground serued wholly for the aduantage of his enemy; with whom he meant to deale, when occasion should draw him to more equal termes. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himselfe; expecting when *Hannibal* should dislodge, and remove toward *Geryon*, *Cannæ*, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of necessities: whereof an Armie foraging the country, was not likely to carrie about with it sufficient quantitie, for any long time.

Here it would not be passed ouer with silence, That *Luie* differeth much in his Relation from *Polybius*: telling many strange tales, of the miserie into which *Hannibal* had been driuen; and of base courses that he deuised to take, if the *Romans* could haue retained their patience a little longer. He had (saith *Luie*) but ten daies provision of meat. He had not monie to pay his Souldiers. They were an vnruely Rabble, gathered out of severall Nations, so that he knew not how to keepe them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Prouant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the *Spaniards* were readie to forsake him, and runne ouer to the *Roman* side. Yea *Hannibal* himselfe was once vpon the point, to haue stolne away into *Gaul* with all his horse, and left his foot vnto their miserable destinies. At length for lacke of all other counsaile, he resolved to get him as farre as he could from the *Romans*, into the Southermost parts of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his vnfaithfull Souldiers might finde the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early haruest. But whilest he was about to put this deuice in execution, the *Romans* pressed him so hard, that they euen forced him vnto that, which hee most desired; euen to fight a battaile vpon open *Champaigne* ground: wherein hee was victorious: It was not vncommendable in *Luie*, to speake the best of his owne Citizens; and; where they did ill, to say, That, without their owne great folly, they had done passing well. Further also he may be excused; as writing onely by report. For thus hee saith; *HANNIBAL de fugâ in Galliam [dicitur] aggrâsse*. *HANNIBAL [it said] to haue bethought himselfe of flying into Gaul: where he makes it no more then a matter of heare-say; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the proccesse it selfe,* it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, coming out of *Gaul*, through the Marishes and Bogs of *Hetruria*, could finde victualles enough, and all things needfull vnto his Armie, the Summer forgoing: what should hinder him to doe the like this yeare; especially seeing he had plaid the careful husband in making a great haruest; since

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he had long bene Master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surprise, no small part of the *Romans* provisions: Sutable hereunto is all the rest. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but corne and cattails; his Souldiers might perhaps haue fallen into mutinie for pay. But he brought gold with him into *Italy*: and had so well increased his stock, since he came into that Countrey, that hee had armed his *African* Souldiers, all *Roman-like*; and laden his followers with spoile: hauing left wherewith to redeeme as many of his owne, as were taken by the Enemy; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not easie to doe the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the generall agreement of Historians: who giue it as a principall commendation vnto *Hannibal*, That hee alwaies kept his Armie free from sedition, though it were composed of sundrie Nations; no lesse different in Manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might he so doe, hauing not only pronounced, That which of his men fouer fought brauely with an Enemy, was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but solemnly protested and sworne, (besides other rewards) to make as many of them, as should deserue and seeke it, free Citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gaul*, was a senselesse deuce. *Hannibal*, being there with his whole Armie, tooke so little pleasure in the Countrey and People, that he made all haste to get him out of it. And what should he now doe there with his horse? or how could hee bee trusted, either there or elsewhere? yea, how could he desire to liue; hauing betrayed all his Army; and relinquished his miserable foot, to the butcherie of their enemies? This tale therefore *Plutarch* omiteth; who in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his directions from *Livy*. But of this and the like it is enough to say, That all Historians loue to extoll their owne countreines; and where a losse cannot be difsembled, nor the honour of the victorie taken from the Enemy, and giuen vnto blind Fortune, there to lay all the blame on some strange misgovernment of their own forces: as if they might easily haue wonne all, but lost all through such folly, as no Enemy can hope to find in them another time.

Now let vs returne backe to the two Armies, where they lie encamped on the River *Ausidus*. *Varrus* was perswaded, that it concerned him in honor, to make good his word vnto the people of *Rome*; and since he had thus long waited in vaine, to get the consent of *Paulus*, now at length to vse his owne authority; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his owne day came. When therefore it was his turne to command; at the first breake of day he beganne to passe the River, without staying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him; and sought, as in former times, to haue dissuaded him, from putting the estate of his Countrey to a needlesse hazard. Against whose wordes and substantiall arguments, *Terentius* could allege none other, than point of Honour. *Hannibal* had presented them battail at their Trenches: should they endure this Brauado? He had sent his *Numidians* ouer the River but euen the day before, who sel vpon the *Romans* that were fetching water to the lesse Campe; and draue them shamefully to runne within their defences, which also they made offer to assaile: must this also be suffered? He would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the *Roman* Souldier; which as yet was liuely, and full of such courage, as promised assured victorie. When *Emilius* perceived, that he could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion; heooke all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand *Roman* foot he caused to be left behind, in the greater campe, opposite vnto the *Carthaginian*; to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might bee compelled, to leaue behind him some answerable number, for defence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucity he was lesse able to spare from the battail, than were the *Romans*) or that these ten thousand, falling vpon the *Carthaginian* Campe, when the fight beganne, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly doe such accidents) terrifie and distract the Enemies in the heate of fight. This done; the two Consuls went ouer the water with their Armie to the lesse Camp, whence

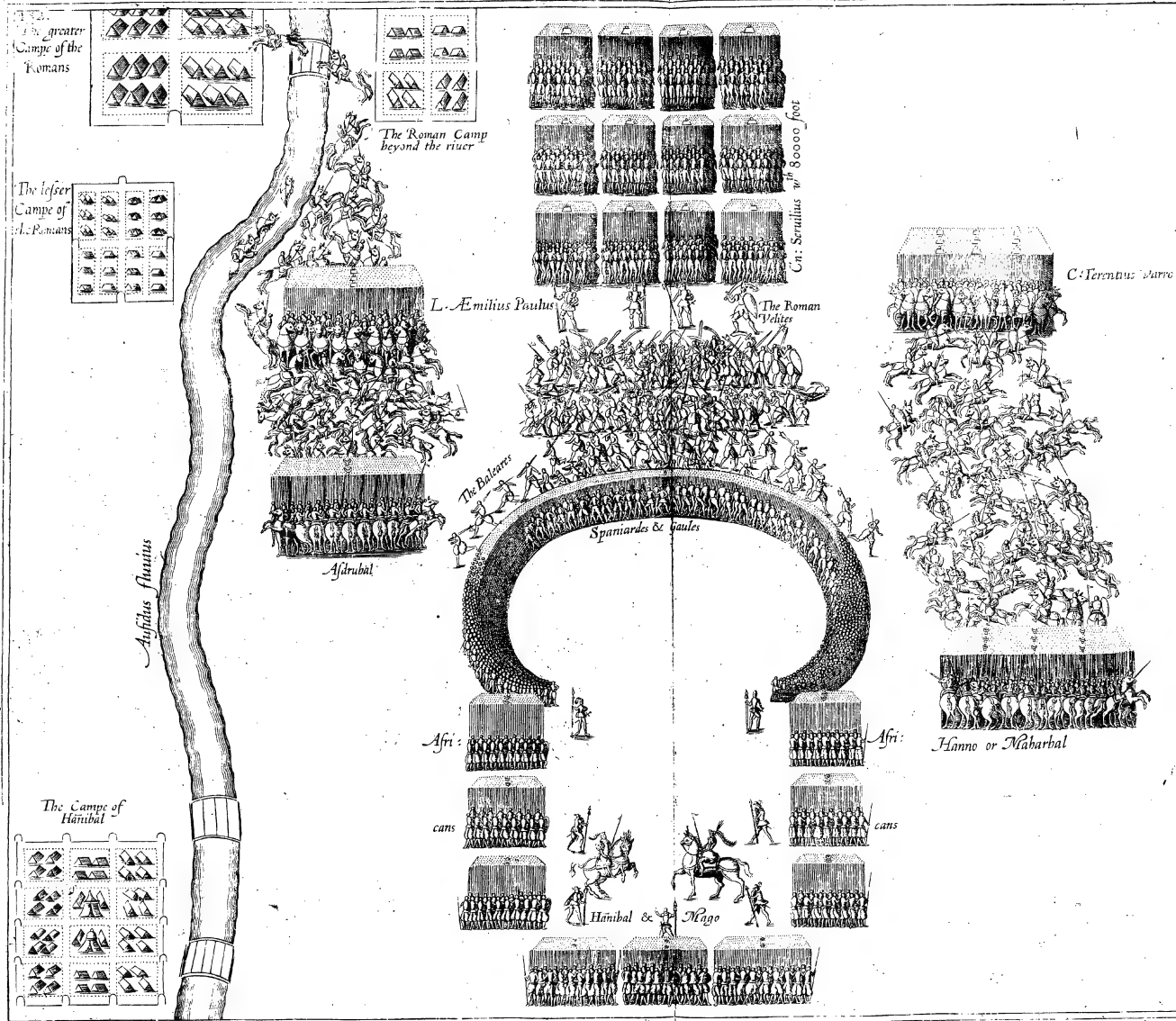
whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battail: the ground on the East part of the River, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Armie. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cause; and, without any delay, passed likewise ouer, somewhat higher vp the streame, which ranne from the South; leauing in his owne campe so many, as he thought would serue to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men, He bade them looke about them, and view the ground well, vpon which they were to fight. They did so. And could you (said he) pray for any greater fortune, than to ioyne battail with the *Romans* vpon such a leuell ground, where the stronger in horse are fere to preuile? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (said he further) ye are first of all to thanke the gods, that haue brought them hither; and then Vs, that haue trained them along, and draue them into necessitie of playing for their liues, where they are fere to loose them. As for these *Romans*, I was faine to encourage you against them, when ye met them first: but now ye may euen encourage your selues, by calling to minde that they are the men, whom ye haue as often beaten as scene. Of one thing only I will put you in minde: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects, as to drue them before you out of *Gaul*; and to winne the open Countrey, and fields of *Italy*; both of which ye haue obtained: now are ye to fight for the Townes themselves, and all the riches within them; which this victorie shall make yours. Therefore play the stout Souldiers: and ere many houres passe, ye shall bee Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had said this, his brother *Mago* came to him, whom hee had sent to view the countenance of the Enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, what newes; and what worke they were likely to haue with these *Romans*? Worke enough (answered *Mago*) for they are a horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus *Hannibal* replied) I tell thee, brother, that among them all, search them neuer so diligently, thou shalt not finde one man, whose name is *Mago*. With that hee fell slaughtering, and so did all that stood about him: which gladdened the souldiers, who thought their Generall would not be so merry, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* about many thousand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no lesse troubled with thinking vpon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether hee meant only to correct the sad moode of his brother with a jest, and shew himselfe merry vnto the Souldiers: this his answer was more manly, than was the relation of his discoverer. But if *Hannibal* himselfe had bene sent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*; he could not haue returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captaine *Gaius*, before the battail of *Agincourt*, made vnto our King *Henrie* the first, saying, that of the *Frenchmen*, there were enow to bee killed, enow to bee taken prisoners; and enow to run away. Euen such words as these, or such pleasant jests as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but serue many times, when battail is at hand, to worke vpon such passions, as must gouerne more of the businesse: especially, where other needfull care is not wanting; without which they are but vaine boates.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himselfe; expressing no lesse perfection of his militarie skill, than was greatnesse in his spirit and vndertakings. For to omit the commodiousnesse of the place, into which hee had long before conceived the meanes to draw his enemies to battail; He marshalled his Armie in such convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where euery one might doe best seruice. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Baleares*, hee sent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman* *Sedites*. These were loose troupes, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a *French* name *Enfans perdus*; but when we vied our owne termes, the *forlorne hope*. The grosse of his Armie following them, he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the spoiles which they

had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, or elsewhere; and well trained in the vse of those weapons, that were of more advantage, than those wherewith they had formerly served; made the two wings, very deepe in File. Betweene these hee ranged his *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, armed, each after their owne Countreie manner; their shields alike; but the *Gaules* vsing long broad swordes, that were forcible in a downe-right stroke; the *Spaniards*, short and well-pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the *Gaules*, naked from their nauell vpwards, as confident in their owne fiercenesse: the *Spaniards*, wearing white cassocks embroidered with purple. This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in qualitie, made a gallant shew; and terrible, because strange. The *Gaules* were strong of body, and furious in giuing charge; but soone wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them haue inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were lesse eager, but more warie; neither alshamed to giue ground, when they were ouer-pressed, nor afraid to returne, and renew the fight, vpon any small encouragement. As the roughnesse of the one, and patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firme temper; so the place which they held in this battaile, added confidence joyntly vnto them both. For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whose name was growne terrible in *Spaine*, by their Conquests; and in *Gaule*, by this their present warre. Since therefore it could not bee feared, that any great calamitie should fall vpon them, whilst the wings on either side stood (ast these Barbarians had no cause to shrink, or forbear to imploy the vtmost of their hardines, as knowing that the Enemy could not presse farre vpon them, without further engaging himselfe than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in horse: by which he was able, if the worst had happened, to make a good retreat. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but not greater, nor so liuely, as doth assured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore caused these *Gaules* and *Spaniards* to aduance, leaving void the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall backe, when they should bee over-hardly pressed. So, casting them into the forme of a Crescent; Hee made them as it were his Vantguard: the two points of this great halfe Moone, that looked toward the empty space from which he had drawne it, being narrow and thinne, as serving only to guide it orderly backe, when neede should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthened & thickned against all impression. The circle hereof seemeth to haue bene so great, that it shadowed the *Africans*, who stood behinde it: though such figures, cut in brasse, as I haue scene of this Battaille, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appear: as also in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Rere, to second the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, when they were driuen to retreat; though it be manifest, that *Hannibal* in person stood betweene the last ranks of his long battalions, & in the head of his Rere, doubtles well accompanied with the choice of his owne Nation. Betweene the left battalions and the *Riuer Aufidus*, were the *Gaules* and *Spaniards* horse, vnder the command of *Asdrubal*. On the right wing, toward the wide Plaines, was *Hannos* (saith *Maher*) with the *Numidian* light-horse, *Hannibal* himselfe, with his brother *Mago*, had the leading of the Rere. The whole summe of *Hannibals* Armie in the field this day, was tenne thousand horse, and fourtie thousand foot; his enemies hauing two to one against him in foot; and Hee, fise to three against them in horse.

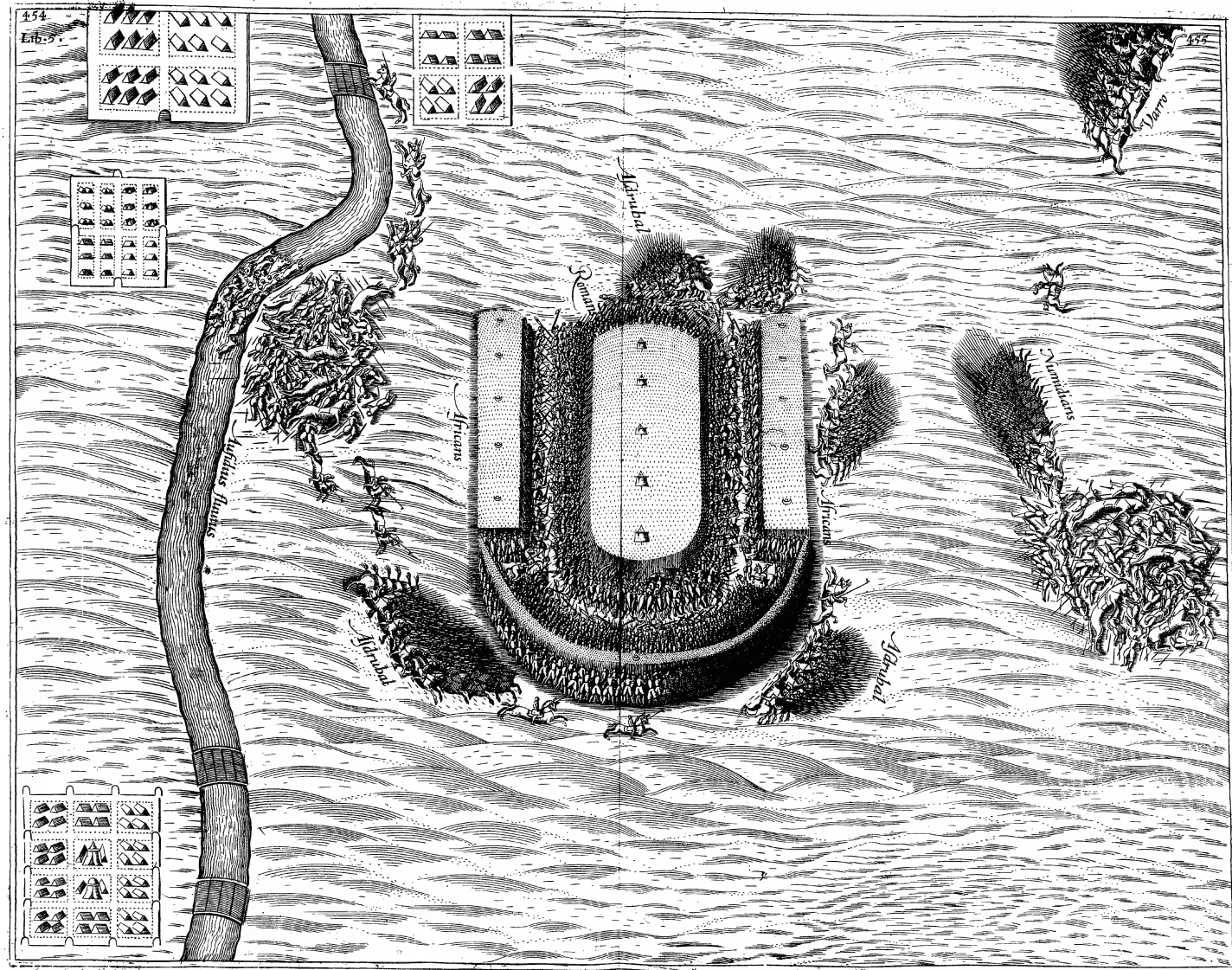
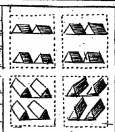
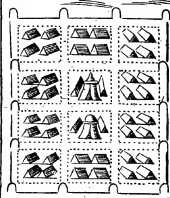
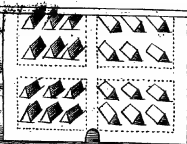
The *Roman* Armie was marshalled in the vsual forme: but somewhat more narrow, and deepe, than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had bene found convenient against the *Carthaginians*, in the former warre. It was indeede no bad way of resistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks thick and short, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Rere, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, vnder shelter whereof the disordered troupes might re-allie themselves. Thus much



it seemed, that *Terentius* had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battailles accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his vnderstanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the field: their aduantage was in Horfe; against which, this manner of embattailing was very vnprofitable, forasmuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than vpon a long flanke. As for *Emilius*; it was not his day of command: He was but an Assistant; and in such cases it happens often, that wise men yeeld for very wearinesse vnto the more contentious. Vpon the right hand, and toward the Riuer, were the *Roman* horse-men, vnder the Consul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* to the
 10 other Consul, with the rest of the horse, which were of the *Latines*, and other Associates: *Cn. Seruilius* the former yeeres Consul, had the leading of the battaile. The Sunne was newly risen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* hauing their faces Northward; the *Romans* toward the South.

After some light skirmish, betweene the *Roman Velites* and *Hannibal* his Darters and slingers of the *Bileares*: *Asdrubal* brake vpon the Consul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountered; not after the manner of seruice on horse-backe, vsed in those times, wheeling about *Alman-like*; but each giuing on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as hauing the Riuer on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; so that there was no way left, but to pierce and breake thorow. Wherefore they not only vsed their Lances and Swords, but rushing violently amongst
 20 the Enemies, grasped one another: and so, their horses running from vnder them, fell many to the ground; where starting vp againe, they beganne to deale blowes like foot-men. In conclusion, the *Roman* horse were ouerborne, and driuen by plaine force to a staggering recoile. This the Consul *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Asdrubal*, with his boisterous *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, was not to bee resisted by these *Roman* Gentlemen, vnequall both in number, and in horsemanship. When the battailes came to joyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found worke enough, and somewhat more than enough, to breake that great Crescent, vpon which they first fell: so
 30 strongly, for the while, did the *Gaules* and *Spanish* foot make resistance. Wherefore the two points of their battaile drew towards the midst; by whose aide, these Opposites were forced to disband, and flie backe to their first place. This they did in great haste and feare: and were with no lesse haste, and follic pursued. Vpon the *Africans*, that stood behinde them, they needed not to fall foules; both for that there was void roome enough; and forasmuch as the Reare, or Hornes of this Moone, pointed into the safe retreat, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to re-enforce them, when time should require. In this hasty retreat, or flight, of the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*; it hapned, as was necessarie, that they who had stood in the limbe or vtter compasse of the halfe Moone, made the innermost or concave surface thereof
 40 (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turne the inside outward: the hornes or points thereof, as yet, vntouched, only turning round, and recoiling very little. So the *Romans*, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an halfe-circle; which they should not haue needed greatly to regard, (for that the sides of it were exceeding thinne & broken; and the bottome of it, none other than a throng of men rowted, and seeming vnable to make resistance) had all the enemies foot butt
 50 cast into this one great body, that was in a manner dissolved. But whilst the Legions, following their supposed victorie, rushed on vpon those that stood before them, and thereby vnwittingly engaged themselves deeply within the principall strength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battalions on either side aduanced so farre, that getting beyond the Reare of them, they inclosed them, in a manner, behinde: and forward they could not passe farre, without removing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the least easie. Hereby it is apparent, That the great Crescent, before spoken of, was of such extent, as couered the *Africans*; who lay behinde it vndiscerned, vntill now. For it is agreed, that
 the *Romans* were thus empaled *vnawares*; and that they behaued themselves, as *Hannibal* men

men that thought vpon no other worke, than what was found them by the *Gauls*. Neither is it credible, that they would haue bene so mad, as to runne head-long, with the whole bulke of their Armie, into the throat of slaughter; had they seene those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and rashnesse of inferiour Captaines: but since the Consul *Paulus*, a man so expert in warre, being vanquished in horse, had put himselfe among the Legions; it cannot bee supposed, that hee and they did wilfully thus engage themselves. *Asdrubal*, hauing broken the troupes of *Roman* horse, that were led by the Consul *Paulus*, followed vpon them along the Riuer side, beating downe and killing, as many as he could, (which were almost all of them) without regard of taking prisoners. The Consul himselfe was either driven vpon his owne Legions, or willingly did cast himselfe among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Neuertheless hee cheered vp his men as well as hee could, both with comfortable wordes, and with the example of his owne stout behauiour: beating downe, and killing many of the enemies with his owne hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the same part of the battaile; and with better successe. For the Consul received a blow from a sling, that did him great hurt: and though a troupe of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to saue him from further harme; yet was he so hardly laid at, that he was compelled, by wounds and weakenesse, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his company alighted, thinking that the Consul had giuen order so to doe: as in many battailes, the *Roman* men at armes had left their horses, to help their foot in disaies. When *Hannibal* (for he was neere at hand) perceiued this, and vnderstood that the Consul had willed his horse-men to dismount, He was very glad of it, and pleasantly said, *I had rather he would haue deliuered them vnto me, bound hand and foot*: meaning, that he had them now almost as safe, as if they were so bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horse of the Associates, in the left wing, was maruailously troubled by *Hanno* (or *Mabarbal*) and the *Numidians*: who beating vp and downe about that great sandy Plaine, raised a foule dust; which a strong Southwinde, blowing there accustomarily, draue into the eyes & mouthes of the *Romans*. These, vsing their aduantage both of number and of lightnesse, wearied the Consul and his followers exceedingly: neither giuing, nor sustaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him an happy day of it. For when the battailes were euen ready to ioyne; five hundred of these *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellows, with their shields cast behinde their backs, (as was the manner of those which yielded) and, throwing downe their armes, rendered themselves. This was good lucke to beginne withall, if there had bene good meaning. *Varro* had not leasure to examine them; but caused them, vnweaponed as they were, to get them behind the Armie, where he bade them rest quietly till all was done. These crafty aduentures did as hee bade them, for a while; till they found opportunitie to put in execution the purpose, for which they had thus yielded. Vnder their Iackets they had short swords and ponyards; besides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field, of such as were flaine, and therewithall flew vpon the hindmost of the *Romans*, whilest all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: so that they did great mischief, and raised yet a greater terrour. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plaine leuell ground, found meanes to lay an ambush at the back of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight & resistance, was giuen by the same hand which gaue the first. *Asdrubal*, hauing in short space broken the *Roman* troupes of horse, and cut in peeces all, saue the Companie of *Æmilus* that rushed into the grosse of his foot, and a very few besides, that recovered some narrow passage, betweene the Riuer and their owne Battalions; did not stay to charge vpon the face of the Legions, but fell back behind the Reare of his owne, and fetching about, came vp to the *Numidians*: with whom hee joyned, and gaue vpon



vpon *Terentius*. This fearefull cloude, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behinde it, on the other side: so did it prognosticate a dismal storme vnto those, vpon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, hauing wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more worke toward, than they could hope to sustaine; thought it the best way, to auoide the danger by present flight. The Consul was no lesse wise than they, in apprehending the greatnesse of his owne perill; nor more desperate, in struiuing to worke impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many shranke from him, to sustaine the impression alone, which he could not haue endured with their assistance. Now hee
 10 found, that it was one thing to talke of *Hannibal* at *Rome*; and another, to encounter him. But of this; or of ought else, excepting hasty flight, his present leisure would not serue him to consider. Close at the heeles of him and his flying troups, followed the light *Numidians*: appointed by *Asdrubal* vnto the pursuit, as fittest for that seruice. *Asdrubal* himselfe, with the *Gauls* and *Spanish* horse, compassing about, fell vpon the backes of the *Romans*; that were ere this hardly distressed, and in a manner surrounded on all parts else. He brake them casily; who before made ill resistance, being inclosed, & laid at on euery side, not knowing which way to turne. Here beganne a pittifull slaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging vp and
 20 downe, they knew not whither or which way, whilst euery one sought to auoide those enemies, whom hee saw neere. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Emilius*, got vp to horse, and saued themselves: which though it is hardly vnderstood how they could doe; yet I will rather beleue it, than suppose that *Liaie* so reporteth, to grace thereby his Historie with this following tale. *C. N. CORNELIUS LENTULVS*, galloping along by a place, where he saw the Consul sitting all bloodied vpon a stone, entreated him to rise and saue himselfe; offering him his assistance and horse. But *PAVLVS* refused it; willing *LENTVLVS* to shift for himselfe, and not to lose time: saying, That it was not his purpose to be brought againe into iudgement by the People, either as an accuser of his Colleague, or as guiltie himselfe of that dayes losse. Further hee willed
 30 *LENTVLVS* to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to *FABIUS*: willing them to fortifie *Rome*, as fast and well as they could; and telling *FABIUS*, that hee liued and died mindfull of his whole some counsaile. These words (peradventure) for some to like purpose, the Consul vttered to *Lentulus*, either when against his will hee was drawne to that Battaille, or when hee beheld the first defeat of his Horse; at what time he put himselfe in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew what hee said a good while before this; when he thought the Consul and his troupe, in little better case than if they had bene bound. The whole Grosse of the *Romans*, was inclosed indeede as within a lacke; whereof the *African* Battalions made the sides; the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottom; and *Asdrubal* with his horse, closed vp the mouth: in which part, they first
 40 of all were shuffled together, and beganne the Rout, wherein all the rest followed. *Emilius* therefore, who could not sit his horse, whilst the battaille yet lasted, and whilst the spaces were somewhat open, by which hee might haue withdrawne himselfe; was now (had hee neuer so well bene mounted) vnabie to flie, hauing in his way so close a throng of his owne miserable followers, and so many heapes of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It sufficeth vnto his honour, That in the Battaille hee fought no lesse valiantly, than hee had warily before, both abstained himselfe, and dissuaded his fellow-Consul, from fighting at all. If, when the day was vtterly lost, it had laine in his power to saue his owne life, vnto the good of his Countrie, neuer more needing it; I should thinke, that he either too much disesteemed himselfe; or being too faintly minded, was wearie of the World, and his vnthankfull Citizens. But if such a resolution were praise-worthy in *Emilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour; then was the *English* vertue of the Lord *John Talbot* Vicount *Lille*, sonne to that famous Earle of *Shrewsburie*, who died in the Battaille of *Chastillon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Emilius* was old, grieuouly, if

it not mortally wounded, and accountable for the overthrow received: *Talbot* was in the flower of his youth, vnbur, eaily able to haue escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune, when he refused to forsake his father, who foreseeing the losse of the battaile, and not meaning to flaine his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble sonne to be gone, and leaue him.

In this terrible overthrow died all the *Roman* foot, saue two or three thousand, who (as *Liue* saith) escaped into the lesser campe; whence, the same night, about fixe hundred of them brake forth, and joyning with such of those in the greater campe, as were willing to trie their fortune, conueyed themselves away ere morning, about foure thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troups, partly disperſed, into *Cannuſum*: the next day, the *Roman* Camps, both lesse and greater, were yeelded vnto *Hannibal* by those that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this escape: only he reports, that the ten thousand, whom *Emilius* had left on the West side of *Aufidus* (as was shewed before) to set vpon the campe of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their desire, which they had well-nere done, the battaile was lost: and *Hannibal*, comming over the water to them, draue them into their owne campe; which they quickly yeelded, hauing lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first fight of *Hannibal*, comming vpon them with his victorious Armie, a great number of these did flie; and thereby escaped, whilest their fellowes, making defence in vaine, retired into their campe, and held the Enemy busied. For about *ten* Legions they were (perhaps not halfe full, but made vp by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that hauing serued at *Canna*, were afterwards extremely disgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their Companions fighting. Of the *Roman* horſe what numbers escaped, it is vncertaine: but very few they were that saued themselves in the first charge, by getting behinde the *Riuer*; and *Terentius* the Consul recovered *Venusia*, with threecore and ten at the most in his companie. That he was so ill attended, it is no maruaile: for *Venusia* lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his neereſt way thither, had bene through the midſt of *Hannibal*'s Armie, if the passage had bene open. Therefore it muſt needs be, that when once he got out of sight, he turned vp ſome by-way; so disappointing the *Numidians* that hunted contr'e. Of such as could not hold pace with the Consul, but took: other waies, and were ſcattered ouer the fields; two thousand, or thereabouts, were gathered vp by the *Numidians*, & made prisoners: the rest were slaine, all saue three hundred; who disperſed themselves in flight, as chance led them, and got into sundry Townes. There died in this great Battaille of *Canna*, besides *L. Emilius Paulus* the Consul; two of the *Roman* Quaestors or Treasurers, and one and twentie Colonells or Tribunes of the Souldiers, fourscore Senators, or such as had borne Office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of especiall make, as hauing bene *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, or *Consuls*: among whom was *Cn. Seruilius* the last yeeres Consul, and *Minutius*, late Master of the horſe. The number of prisoners, taken in this battaile, *Liue* makes no greater than three thousand foot, and three hundred horse: too few to haue defended, for the space of one halfe houre, both the *Roman* camps; which yet the same *Liue* saith, to haue bene our-cowardly yeelded vp. We may therefore doe better, to giue credit vnto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth speaking in the Senate, and saying, That they were no lesse than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were only such as the Enemy spared, when the furie of Execution was past: but to these muſt be added about ſixe thousand more, who yeelded in the greater campe, when their companie were either slaine or fled. So the reckoning falls out right: which the *Romans*, especially the Consul *Varro*, had before caſt vp (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they finde it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died ſome foure thousand *Gauls*, fifteene hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred horse, or thereabouts: a losse

not

not ſensible, in the joy of ſo great a victorie; which if he had purſued, as *Maharbal* aduiſed him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the Warre had presently bene at an end. But he beleeued not ſo farre in his owne proſperitie; and was therefore told, That he knew how to get, not how to loſe, a victorie.

§ IX.

Of things following the battaile at *Canna*.

Without good cauſe doth *Polybius* reprehend thoſe two Hiſtorians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*: who regarding more the pleaſure of them, vnto whose honour they conſecrated their trauailes, than the truth of things, & information of poſteritie, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman* *Quæſtors* and *Fathers conſcript*. No man of found iudgement will condemne this libertie of cenſure, which *Polybius* hath vſed. For, to recompence his iunioritie, (ſuch as it was) he produceth ſo ſubſtantiall arguments, to iuſtifie his owne Relation; and conſuteſt the vantage of thoſe former Authors, out of their owne writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which paines it is to be ſuſpected, that he would not haue taken, had he bene borne in either of theſe two Cities, but haue ſpared ſome part of his diligence, and bene contented, to haue all men thinke better and more honourably than it deſerued, of his owne Countrey. The like diſeaſe it is to be feared, that we ſhall hereafter finde in others; and ſhall haue cauſe to wiſh, that either they were ſome what leſſe *Roman*, or elſe, that ſome Works of their oppoſite Writers were extant, that ſo we might at leaſt heare both ſides ſpeake: being henceforth deſtitute of *Polybius* his helpe, that was a man indifferent. But ſince this cannot be, we muſt be ſometimes bold, to obſerue the coherence of things; and beleue ſo much only to be true, as dependeth vpon good reaſon, or (at leaſt) faire probability. This attentive circumſpection is needfull euen at the preſent: ſuch is the repugnance, or forgetfulneſſe, which we finde in the beſt Narration, of things following the Battaille of *Canna*. For it is ſaid, that foure thousand foot and horſe gathered together about the Consul *Terentius* at *Venusia*; that others, to the number of ten thousand got into *Cannuſum*, chooſing for their Captaines, yong *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Consul *Terentius Varro*, joyning his companie vnto thoſe of *Scipio* at *Cannuſum*, wrote vnto the Senate, that he had now well-nere ten thousand men about him; that theſe letters of the Consul were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly riſen, that had bene taking order for pacifying thoſe tumults in the Citie, which grew vpon the firſt bruit of the overthrow; and yet, that Embaſſadours from *Canna* (after ſome conſultation, whether it were meet to ſend any, or, without further circumſtance, to ſide with *Hannibal*) were ſent vnto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venusia*, a pretie while before he wrote thoſe letters, which ouer-tooke (in a manner) at *Rome* the firſt newes of the overthrow. Among ſuch incoherences, I hold it the beſt way, to omit ſo much as hath not ſome particular connexion with matter enſuing: mutuall dependencie in things of this nature, being no ſmall argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had ſacked the *Roman* campe, and truſſed vp the ſpoiles, forthwith he diſlodged, and marched away into *Sammum*; finding a diſpoſition in the *Hirpines*, and many other people thereabout, to forſake the *Roman* partie, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The firſt Towne that opened the gates vnto him, was *Coffa*, where he laid vp his baggage: and leauing his brother *Mago* to take in other places, He haſted into *Campania*. The generall affection of the Multitude, in all the Cities

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of

of *Italie*, was inclinable vnto him; not only in regard of their grieuous losses, sustained abroad in the fields, which the *Romans* themselves, who could not hinder him from spoiling the Countrey, especially the poorer sort of them, did hardly endure; but in a louing respect vnto that great courtesie (as it seemed) which he vied, vnto such of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now also after his great victorie at *Cannæ*, He had louingly dismissed as many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being so oblitrate, against him that had fought to deliuer them from bondage. Neither spared hee to winne their loue with gifts; pretending, to admire their valour; but seeking in deede, by all waies and means, to make them his, whilst all other motives were concurrent. At this time also hee beganne to deale kindly (though against his nature) with his *Roman* prisoners: telling them, that he bore no mortall hatred vnto their Estate; but being prouoked by iniuries, fought to right himselfe and his countrey; and fought with them, to trie which of the two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage*, should beare soueraigne Rule, not, which of them should be destroyed. So he gaue them leaue to chosse ten of their number, that should be sent home to treat with the *Fathers* about their ranfome: and together with these, he sent *Carthalo* a Nobleman of *Carthage*, and Generall of his Horse, to seeke the disposition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by so much aduersitie, and could stoop vnto desire of peace. But with the *Romans* these artes preuailed not, as shall be shewed in due place. The people of *Italie*, all or most of them, saue the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Latines*, were not only weary of their losses past, but entertained a deceivable hope, of changing their old Societie for a better. Wherefore not only the *Samnites*, *Lucans*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not vntill the former generation vtterly subdued, beganne to re-assume their wonted spirits: but the *Campanians*, a Nation of all other in *Italie* most bound vnto the state of *Rome*, and by many mutuall affinities therewith as slightly conioyned, as were any saue the *Latines*, changed on a sudden their loue into hatred; without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

Campania, is the most goodly and fruitfull Prouince of *Italie*, if not (as some then thought) of all the Earth: and the Citie of *Capua*, answerable vnto the Countrey, whercofit was Head, so great, faire, and wealthie, that it seemed no lesse conuenient a seat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*. But of all qualities, brauerie is the least requisite vnto soueraigne command. The *Campanians* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themselves like layes by their feathers, despised the vnfortunate vertue of the *Romans* their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principall among them, as in other Cities, that bore especiall regard vnto the maiestie of *Rome*, and could not endure to heare of Innouation. But the *Plebeian* faction had lately so preuailed within *Capua*, that all was governed by the pleasure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calenus* an ambitious Noble-man, whose credit grew, and was vp-held by furthering all popular desires: wherof, the conjunction with *Hannibal* was not the least. Some of the *Capuans* had offered their Citie to the *Carthaginian*, shortly after the battaile of *Thrasymene*: wherupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his iourne into *Campania*; the Dictator *Fabius* waiting vpon him. At that time, either the nerenes of the *Roman* Armie, or some other feare of the *Capuans*, hindered them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leisure to treat about any article of new Confederacie: or had leisure serued, yet were the Multitude (whose inconstant loue *Hannibal* had wonne from the *Romans*, by gentle vñage, and free dismissing, of some prisoners in good account among them) vnable to hold any such negotiation, without aduice of the Senate; which mainly impugned it. So they that had promised to yeeld vp their town to *Hannibal*, &c. to meet him on the way, with some of their nobility, that should assure him of all faithfull meaning, were driuen to sit still, in a great perplexitie: as hauing failed to let in this their new friend, yet sufficiently discovered themselves,

felues, to draw vpon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this case were no small number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more incensed against their Senate; on whom they cast all the blame, easily pardoning their owne cowardize. The People holding so tender a regard of libertie, that euen the lawfull Gouerment of Magistrates grieued them, with an imaginarie opprellion; had now good cause to feare lest the Senators would become their Lords indeed, and by helpe of the *Romans*, bring them vnder a more freight subiection, than euer they had endured. This feare, being readie to breake into some outrage, *Pacuvius* made vse of, to serue his owne ambition. He discoursed vnto the Senate, as they sate in Councell; about these motions troubling the Citie: and said, That he himselfe had both married a *Roman* Ladie, and giuen his Daughter in marriage to a *Roman*: but, that the danger of forsaking the *Roman* partie was not now the greatest: for that the People were violently bent euen to murder all the Senate, and afterward to joyn themselves with *Hannibal*; who should countenance the fact, and saue them harmlesse. This he spake, as a man well known to be beloued himselfe by the People, and proue vnto their desires. Hauing thoroughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging ouer them: He promised neuertheless to deliuer them all, and to set things in quiet, if they would freely put themselves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other assurance that they should demand, for their faithfull meaning. They all agreed. Then shutting vp the Court, and placing a Guard of his owne followers about it, that none might enter, nor issue forth, without his leaue; He called the People to assembly: and speaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to heare, he told them, that these wicked Gouerours were surprisid by his policie, and all fast, readie to abide what sentence they would lay vpon them. Only thus much he aduised them, as a thing which necessitie required, That they should chosse a new Senate, before they satisfied their anger vpon the old. So rehearsing vnto them the names of one or two Senators, hee asked what their iudgement was of those. All cried out, that they were worthy of death. Chosse then (said he) first of all some new ones into their places. Hereat the Multitude, vnprovided for such an election, was silent; vntill at last, some one or other aduentioned to name whom he thought fit. The men so nominated, were vtterly disliked by the whole Assembly; either for some knowne fault, baseness, and insufficiencie; or else euen because they were vnknowne, and therefore helde vnworthie. This difficultie in the new Election appearing more and more, whilst more were to be chosen; (the fittest men to be substituted, hauing bene named among the first, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* entreated, and easily preuailed with the people, that the present Senate might for this time be spared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doublelesse) they would make, hauing thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not only the People, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and esteemed him their Patron; but the Senators also were gouerned by him, to whom they acknowledged themselves indebted, for sauing all their liues. Neither did the Senate faile after this, by all obsequiousnesse, to court the People; giuing the reines vnto their lawlesse Will, who else were likely to cast them downe: All the Citie being thus of one minde; only feare of the *Romans* kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battaille at *Cannæ*, this impediment was removed: and few there were, that would open their mouthes to speake against the Rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principall Gentlemen of the *Campanians*, did then serue the *Romans* in the Isle of *Sicily*: the Parents and Kinsmen of these preuailed so farre, that Embassadors were sent vnto *Terentius* the Consul; to see his present case, and what it could minister of Hope or Feare. These, wheresoeuer they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in spirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the seruice of their State; and desired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented vnto them the greatnesse of the *Roman* misfortune: saying, that all was lost, and that the *Campanians* must now,

not helpe the *Romans*, who had nothing left wherewith to helpe themselves, but make warre in their defence against the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romans* had sometimes done for the *Campanians* against the *Samnites*. Hereunto hee is said to have added a foolish Inuention, against *Hannibal* & his *Carthaginians*: telling, How he had taught them to make bridges of slaughtered carcases, and to feede vpon mans flesh; with such other stuffe, as onely bewaied his owne feare. As for the *Campanians* themselves, He put them in minde of their present strength: they hauing thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse; with monie, and all prouisions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed them, prouder then they came, and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before, they were somewhat timorous, in aduenturing to seeke their owne libertie. Hauing reported this at *Capua*: the same Embassadors were dispatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they easily made Alliance, vpon these conditions; That no Citizen of theirs should be subiect vnto any *Carthaginian* Magistracie, in what case soeuer, whether in Warre or Peace; and, That *Hannibal* should deliuer vnto the *Campanians* three hundred *Roman* prisoners, such as they themselves would chooſe, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicily*.

Against all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius* an honourable Citizen opposed himselfe earnestly: vying, in vaine, many persuasions, to the willfull and head-strong Multitude; whom he put in minde of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wishing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were sending Embassadors to *Hannibal*: and this also did he, when the new Alliance was concluded, but most earnestly, when a *Carthaginian* Garrison was entering the Towne: at which time he gaue aduice, either to keepe it out, or to fall vpon it and to cut it in pieces, that, by such a notable piece of seruice, they might make amends vnto the *Romans*, whom they had forsaken.

Aduertisement hereof was giuen to *Hannibal*: who lying about *Naples* not farre off, sent for *Magius* to come speake with him in the campe. This *Magius* refused: alleging that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subiection vnto any *Carthaginian*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon halsted himselfe towards *Capua*: forbearing to attempt any further vpon *Naples*; which he thought to haue taken in his way by *Scalado*, but found the walls too high, and was not well provided, to lay siege vnto it. At *Capua* hee was entertained with great solemnitie and pompe: all the people issuing forth of the Towne, to behold that great Commander, which had wonne so many noble victories. Hauing taken his pleasure in the sight of that goodly Citie, and passed ouer his first Entertainements; He came into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the *Roman* yoke; promising, that ere long all *Italie*, and *Rome* it selfe, should bee drinen to acknowledge *Capua* as chiefe, and recieue Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly tooke part with the *Romans* their enemies; Hee prayed them, that they would not thinke him a *Campanian*, but a Traitor to the State; and vſe him accordingly, giuing sentence out of hand vpon him, as he deserved. This was granted: and *Magius* deliuered vnto *Hannibal*; who vnwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his first comming, by putting so great a man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his libertie, if he kept him aliue, thought it best to send him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* settled his friendship with the *Campanians*; among whom, only this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to speake against him; being assailed by *Perolla* the sonne of *Pacuvius*. This *Perolla* would haue murdered *Hannibal*, whilest hee was at supper, the first night of his comming; had not his Fathers authoritie kept him from making any such attempt. All the Towne (besides) were so earnest in the loue of their new Societie, that they are said to haue murdered all the *Romans*, vpon whom at the present they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to haue smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

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The same course of fortune, with those of *Capua*, ranne some other Townes thereabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-Citie. *Nola*, *Nucerina*, *Naples*, *Casertine*, and *Acerria*, were the Citie next adioyning, that stood out for the *Romans*. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to finde them weakly manned, as they were indeede, though stoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled Townes; but were faine to leaue all places, except a few of the most suspected, vnto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. *Rome* it selfe was in extreme feare of *Hannibals* comming, at the first report of the ouerthrow at *Cannae*; and the griefe of that losse was so general, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the prouision against apparent danger. It was hard to iudge, whether the losse already receiued, or the feare of destruction presently threatening, were the more terrible. All the Senators found worke enough, to stint the noise and lamentable bewailings, whereof the streets were full. Courriers were sent forth, to bring assured tidings how all went: whereof when letters from the Consul *Varro* had thoroughly informed them, they were so amazed, that they ranne into barbarous superstition; and taking direction (as was said) from their fatal bookes, buried aliue two men and women *Gauls* and *Greekes*, in their Oxe-market. If the bookes of *Sibyl* gaue them such instructions; we may iustly thinke, that *Sibyl* her selfe was instructed by the Deuill. Yet it is not improbable, that extremity of feare caused them to harken to wicked Sooth-sayers; whose detestable counsailes they afterwards, for their owne honour, (as alſamed of such Authors) imputed to the bookes of *Sibyl*. An Embassadour was sent to *Delphi*, to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire with what prayers and supplications they might pacifie the gods, and obtaine an end of these calamities. This is enough to discouer the greatnesse of their feare; though not seruing to giue remedie. At the same time came letters out of *Sicily*, from the Prætor *Othacilius*; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to passe ouer into *Africa*. In these were contained newes, of one *Carthaginian* fleet, that waited the Kingdome of *Hieron* their good friend and confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the Iles *Agateis*, which was in readinesse to set vpon *Lilybeum*, and the rest of the *Roman* Prouince, if the Prætor stirred aliue to the rescue of *Hieron*.

In the midst of these extremities, it was thought needfull to call home *Terentius* the Consul, that he might name a Dictator, to take soueraigne charge of the Weale publike, with absolute power, as necessitie required. It must needs seeme strange, that all sorts of people went forth to meet the Consul, & bid him welcome home, giuing him thanks for that he had not depaied of the Weale publike. But this was done (as may seeme) by order from the Senate: which therein (doublelesse) prouided wisely, for vpholding the generall reputation. If his comming into the Citie, had renewed the lamentations and out-cries of the people: what else would haue followed, than a contempt of their wretchednesse, among those that were subiect vnto their Dominion? Now in finishing this occasion (though indeed he gaue it not) of bestowing vpon him their welcome, and thanks; they noyed abroad a fame, which came perhaps vnto the eares of *Hannibal*; of their Magnanimitie and Confidence: that might seeme grounded on their remayning strength. This therefore was wisely done: But whereas *Liaue* would haue vs thinke, that it was done generously, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I beleue him not. It was done fearefully, and to couer their griefe: had they dared to shew their indignation, they would haue struck off his head; as in few yeeres after, *Cn. Fulsius* had his life brought into question, and was banished by them, being lesse blame-worthy, for a smaller offence. *M. Iunius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*, Master of the horse. These fell presently to multering of Souldiers, of whom they raised foure new Legions, and a thousand horse: though with much difficultie; as being faine to take vp some, that were very Boies. These foure Legions, are elsewhere forgotten, in account of the forces leuiued by this Dictator; and

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two Legions only set downe, that had bene enrolled in the beginning of the yeere for custodie of the Citie. Wherefore it may be, that these two Legions being drawne into the field, foure new ones of *Protestati*, or Strippings, were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to be reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding vnto them eight thousand furdie slaues, that were put in hope of libertie, if they should deserue it by manfull seruice. This not sufficing; The Dictator proclaimed, that whosoever ought money and could not pay it, or had committed any capitall offence, should forthwith bee discharged of his debt, or punishment, if he would serue in the Warre. To arme these Companies, they were faine to take downe, out of their Temples and Porches, the spoiles of their enemies that had bene there set vp: among which, were sixe thousand Armour of the *Gauls*, that had bene carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this Warre. To such mockerie had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent oppressions; that they were faine to issue forth of their own gates, in the habit of strangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman-like*.

About the same time it was, that *Carthago*, with the Agents of the prisoners taken at *Canna*, came to *Rome*. *Carthago* was not admitted into the Citie, but commanded, whilest he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territorie. To the messengers of the captiues, audience was given by the Senate. They made earnest Petition, to be ransomed at the publike charge; not only the reares and lamentation of their poore kins-folke, but the great neede, wherein the Citie then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their fate; which yet they obtained not. Besides the generall custome of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was ouerthrowne, and taken prisoner in the former warre) not to bee too tender of such as had yielded to the Enemy; much was alleaged against these who now craued ransome: but the special point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might haue saved themselves, as others did. It sufficed not vnto these poore men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Consuls: they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted money: and therefore could not want excuses, whereby to auoid the disbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as wee find recorded. Neyther must wee regard it, that the slaues which were armed for the warre, are said to haue cost more, than the summe did amount vnto, that would haue ransomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, deuised to countenance the *Roman* proceedings as if they had bene seuerer; when as indeed they were fureable to the present fortune, poore, and some what beggerly. Hereof it is no little prooffe, That *Hannibal* valued those *Roman* slaues, whom he had taken in the Campe among their Masters, at no more, than euery one the third part of a common Souldiers ransome: and likely it is, that hee offered them at the price, whereat hee thought them current. But wee should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargaine for slaues might haue been made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with priuate men; yet must we withall consider, that these priuate men did only lend these slaues for a while vnto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented to forebear the price of them (when by order from the Senate they were enfranchised) vntill the warre should be ended. If *Hannibal* would haue giuen such long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would haue bene his chapmen: but seeing he dealt only for ready monie, they chose rather to say, We will not giue, than, We cannot. The like austeritie, vpon the same reason, but contrarie pretence, was vsd toward the Souldiers that escaped from that great Battaille. These were charged for hauing fled; as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might haue done so. True it is, that in such cases (if euery that which they call *ragione del Stato* may serue for an excuse: when the Common-wealth being driuen to a miserable Exigent, is faine to helpe it selfe, by doing injuries to priuate

Lind. 124.

priuate men. And so dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all those that had serued at *Canna*, to be transported into *Sicily*; and there to serue, not as others did, vntill they had fulfilled twentie yeeres in the warres, or else were fiftie yeeres of age; but vntill this warre should be ended, how long fouer it lasted, and that without reward. The same thriftie censure, was afterwards laid vpon others, for their misbehaviour: but neuer vpon any man of qualitie, saue only (a good while after this, at better leisure) vpon *Cacilius Metellus*, and a few other bare-brained fooles his companions; who being frighted out of their wits, with the terror of so great a losse, were deuiling, after the battaille, which way to runne out of *Italie*, when *Hannibal* was yet had scarce one Towne within it. The inequalitye of this rigour grew shortly distastfull to the Commonalitie: and was openly blamed by a Tribune of the People, neuer. *Lind. 125.* thelesse it was quietly digested, the excuse being no lesse apparent than the fault.

M. Iunius the Dictator, hauing dispatched all needfull businesse within the Citie,ooke the field with sixe and twentie thousand men. What he did with this Arme, I cannot finde: nor more of him, than this, That he spent the time about *Campania*; where (as may be presumed) he was notidle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater euill: for of any euill done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans* in this their weakc citate, only *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prators, lay at *Ofilia* with a fleet, ready to set saile for *Sicily*, hauing one Legion aboard his ships, & fiftie hundred other Souldiers newly taken vp: with which forces he was to defend that liand, and doe what harme hee could in *Africa*. But hearing of the ouerthrow at *Canna*, he sent these of his new Leuie to *Rome*, for defence of the Citie; and marched hastily with his Legion toward *Cannusium*: deliuering the fleet, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates, & chiefe Citizens of *Nola*, to helpe them: who were like to be forced by the Multitude (as these were the rest of the *Campans*) to let in the *Carthaginian*; and knew not how to auoid this otherwise, than by seeming to deliberate about the Articles of this new Confederacie. Wherefore he made great iournies thitherward; and arrived euen time enough to preuent the Enemy. Many idle walks *Hannibal* made, betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: allaying by faire words, and terrible threats, the one and the other Citie. *Naples* was strong, and not infected with any the least touch of disloyaltie: it had also a sure Hauens, whereby it stood in the lesse feare, of fustaying much inconuenience, by spoile of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrey. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable consideration, That *Hannibal* was Master of the field: which if he laid waste, all the poore people were vtterly vndone. So thought the Multitude: and such talke vsed some, that had little feare of their owne priuate want or poeuerie, but a great desire to gratifie the *Carthaginian*. Of these, one *L. Banius* was chiefe; a stout yong Gentleman, and Souldier of especial marke, well beloued in the Citie, and one that had done good seruice to the *Romans*: but was found by *Hannibal*, halfe dead at *Canna*, and after much gentle vsage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberall gifts. He therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to returne the greatest thanks he could vnto so courteous an Enemy. *Marcellus* perceiving this, wrought vpon the same easie nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had bene by chance, seemed to wonder, why one that had so well serued of the *Roman* state, had not repaired vnto him the Prator, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and louing entertainment, being himselfe also a man highly reputed for his personal valour, he made this *Banius* so far in loue with him, that nothing could be attempted within *Nola*, against the *Romans*, whereof he had not presently aduertisement. As for the coming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* remoued from about *Nola*; and assailed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garrison; vpon confidence whereof they gaue him a peremptorie answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Auerria*: which he tooke by composition; and so returned back againe

again to *Nola*. Hee was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore vnto him : who although they durst not stirre in his quarrell, being out-
 10 awed by the *Roman* Garrison; yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly besieged, and forced to turne his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies assailing him without, like enough it seemed, that they would not bee wanting vnto the accom-
 plishment of their owne desires. Hee therefore brought his Armie close to the
 Towne, and skirmished often with *Marcellus* : not in hope thereby to doe much
 good, but only to make shew of a meaning to force the Towne; which hee sought
 in the meane while to take by intelligence. In the night time there passed mes-
 15 sages betweene him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if
Marcellus, with all his forces, could bee trained into the field, the Multitude
 within the Towne should presently rise; and seizing vpon the gates, exclude him as
 an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was advertised: and fearing, lest the Con-
 spiratois would shortly adventure, euen to finde him busied within the Citie, while
 20 the *Carthaginians* should scale the walls; he thought it the surest way, to cut off
 the enemies hope, and send him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in
 three Companies, within three severall gates looking towards the Enemy: He gaue
 a straight command, that all the Citizens should keepe their houses. Thus hee lay
 close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder; against whom hee cus-
 25 tomarily issued forth before more early, euery day, to skirmish. But when it was
 further noted, that the walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then
 thought *Hannibal*, that surely all was discovered, and *Marcellus* now busied with the
 Citizens. Whereupon hee bade his men bring ladders, and make ready for the as-
 30 sault; which was done in all haste. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very
 walls, and thought nothing lesse; than that the *Romans* would meet them in the
 field: suddenly the middle gate was opened, wherat *Marcellus*, with the best and
 oldest of his Souldiers, brake forth vpon them, with a great noise, to make his vn-
 expected fallie the more terrible. Whilest the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were
 35 some of them flying before *Marcellus*, the rest making head against him: the other
 two gates opened, wherat in like sort issued they of the new-leued Companies,
 vpon the enemies backs. The sudden terrour was more available vnto the *Ro-
 mans*, than their force: yet the Execution was so great, that this was accounted as a
 victorie, and reputed one of the brauest Acts performed in all that warre; for as
 much as hereby it was first proued, that *Hannibal* might be ouer-come. After this,
Marcellus, being freed from his enemies that were departed, tooke a strict account
 40 of the Citizens of *Nola*: condemning about threecore and ten of high Treason,
 whose heads hee struck off; and so leauing the Towne in quiet obedience vnto their
 Senate, went and incamped hard by about *Suessula*. *Hannibal* in the meane season
 was gone to *Aceris*: where being excluded, he thought it no wisdome to loose time
 in perswasions, but laid siege vnto it, and beganne on all sides to close it vp. This ter-
 45 rified the People, who knew themselves vnable to hold out. Therefore, before his
 Workes were finished, and they quite surrounded, they stole out by night, and left
 him the Towne emptie: which hee sacked and burnt. Then hearing newes of the
 Dictator, that hee was about *Casiline*, thither went *Hannibal*: as being vnwilling, that
 an Enemy so neere should disquiet him at *Capua*; where hee meant to Winter. It
 seemes, or rather indeede it is plaine, that the late victorie of *Marcellus* had nothing
 abated the spirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durst with a small part of his Armie seeke
 50 out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* strength. Wherefore
 the joy of his Enemies, vpon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thou-
 sand of his men, at the most, and those not slaine in plaine battaile, but by a sudden
 crupcion; witnesseth chiefly, in what great feare they stood of *Hannibal*, and how
 Crest-fallen they were: that hauing three yeeres since demanded at *Carthage*, the
 body of *Hannibal*, to be deliuered vnto their pleasure, by his owne Citizens; could
 now please themselves, as with good newes, to heare, That in a skirmish not farre
 from

from *Rome* he appeared to be a man, and not resolutelesse. At *Caslinum* the Dictator
 was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into
 the towne, and held it. Five hundred of the *Præsentines* there were, and about foure
 hundred of *Perusia*, with some of the *Lates*. All these had the good hap, to come
 too late to the Battaille of *Canna*, being sent by their severall States to the campe:
 10 whither whilest they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encoun-
 tred them, and sent them backe sorrowfull; for they loued well their Lords the *Ro-
 mans*, vnder whose gouernement they liued happily. So came they all, one after
 another, to *Casiline*, where they met and staid. Neither had they staid there long,
 ere they heard newes from *Capua*, How that great Citie became the Ring-leader of
 15 all the *Campani* into rebellion. The people of *Casiline* were affected as they of *Ca-
 pua*: and therefore fought how to rid their hands of those *Præsentines* and their fel-
 lows; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many traines laid one
 for another, at last they slew all the Townsmen in a night, and fortified the We-
 20 sterne part of the Towne (for it was diuided by the Riuer *Vulturnus*) against the En-
 emie. If they had runne away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Casi-
 line* were as the rest of the *Campani*, all Traitors; they themselves might haue been
 reputed, as no better than the *Atuerines*. But their constancie in defence of the
 place witnesseth, vpon what honest reasons they perswaded. *Hannibal* came thither,
 25 thinking to haue encountered with greater forces: but these few found him more
 worke than he expected. Diuers assaults hee gaue, but was still repelled with losse;
 and many fallies they made, with variable euent. The Enemy mined; and they
 countermined: opposing so much indutic to his force, that hee was driuen to close
 them vp, and seeke to winne them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Ma-
 30 ster of the horse, lay with the *Roman* Armie higher vp the Riuer: who saue would
 haue relieued *Casiline*, but that the Dictator, being gone to *Rome* about some mat-
 ters of Religion, had giuen him expresse charge not to fight till his returne. *Mar-
 cellus* from *Suessula* could not come: his way being stopp'd by the ouer-flowsings of
Vulturnus; the *Nolans* also beseeching him not to leaue them, who were in danger of
 35 the *Campani*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water staied his iourne,
 such entreaties were needlesse. Neither is it like, that the Dictator tarried at *Rome*
 so long, as till extreme famine had consumed the Garrison in *Casiline*. Wherefore it
 may be thought, that the Towne was lost, because the *Romans* durst not adventure
 to raise the siege. Barrells of corne were sent by night, floating downe the Riuer;
 40 and when some of these, being carried awry by an Eddie of the water, stuck among
 the Willowes on the banks, whereby this manner of reliefe was discovered and
 preuented; *Gracchus* cast a great quantitie of Nuts into the streame, which faintly
 sustained the poore besieged men. At length, when all foode was spent, and what-
 soeuer grew greene vnder the walls was gathered for fallies; the *Carthaginians*
 45 ploughed vp the ground: whereon the besieged presently found Rape-seeds. *Han-
 nibal* seeing this, admired their patience; and said, That hee meant not to stay at *Ca-
 siline*, vntill the Rapes were growne. Wherefore, though hitherto hee had refused
 to hearken vnto any Compulsion, as intending to make them an example to all o-
 thers, by punishing their obstinacie; yet now hee was content, to grant them their
 liues at an indifferent ranfome, which when they had paid, hee quietly dismis-
 50 sed them according to his promise. Seven hundred *Carthaginians* hee placed in *Casiline*,
 as a Garrison for defence of the *Campani*; vnto whom hee restored it. To the *Præ-
 sentine* Souldiers great thanks were giuen, and doeing rewards; among which they
 had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their present
 condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were, in
 55 *Præsentis*; which is no weak proofe, of the good estate wherein the Citie flourished;
 that were subject to the *Roman* Gouernement. This siege of *Casiline* was not a little
 beneficiall to the *Romans*; as hauing long detained *Hannibal*, and consumed much
 of his time, that might other wise haue bene better spent. For Winter ouer-tooke
 him;

him, long before he could dispatch the businesse: which how to quit with his honor he knew not, when hee was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where he refreshed his Armie, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate; though, effeminate as it was, He therewithall did often beate the *Romans* in following times, as shall appeare hereafter.

2. X.

Of the great supply that was decreed at Carthage to be sent to HANNIBAL in Italie. 10
How by the malice of HANNO, and steele parsimonie of the Carthaginians, the supply was so long deferred. That the riches of the Carthaginians grew faster, than of the *Romans*. OF FABIVS and other old Roman Historians, how partiall they were in their writings.



When *Mago*, the sonne of *Amilcar*, had spent some time about the taking in of such *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battaile at *Canna*; his brother *Hannibal* sent for him to *Capua*, and thence dispatched him away to *Carthage*, with the joyfull message of Victorie. 20
He told the *Carthaginian* Senate, with how many *Roman* Generalls his brother had fought; what *Consuls* he had chased, wounded, or slaine; how the stout *Romans*, that in the former war neuer shunned any occasion of fight, were now growne so calme, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the only good Capitaine, because he neuer durst adventure to come to battaile; that, not without reason, their spirits were thus abated, since *Hannibal* had slain of them about two hundred thousand, and taken above fiftie thousand prisoners. He further told them of the *Bruttians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italie*, that following the fortune of those great victories, had revolted vnto the *Carthaginians*. Among the rest he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly Citie, and fit to be not only (as already it was) 30
Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chiefe seat of their Dominion in *Italie*: and there he informed them, how lovingly his brother had bene entertained, where he meant to rest that winter, attending their supply. As for the warre, He said it was cūen at an end, if they would now pursue it closely, and not give the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to recollect themselves, and repaire their broken forces. Hee willed them to consider, that the warre was farre from home, in the Enemies Countre; that so many Battailles had much diminished his brothers Armie; that the *Souldiers*, who had so well deserved, ought to be considered with liberrall rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with exactions of monie, corne, and other necessaries; but that these things must bee sent from *Carthage*: 40
which the victorie would requite with large amends. Finally hee caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman Knights* that were slaine, to be powred out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three bulshels, or as others would rather haue it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appeare the greatnesse of the *Roman* calamitie, forasmuch as none but the " principall of that Order, were accustomed to wear that ornament.

* Thus *Liue* reports it: and credible it is, that while *Rome* was poore, the bragging of priuateness was not altogether so great, as the Law would haue permitted; though otherwise I am assured, it be the wearing of the Ring, was the generally privileged of the *Roman Equites*.

Whoso considers the former *Punicke Warre*, may easily find, that the State of *Carthage* neuer did receiue, in all the durance thereof, any such hopefull aduertisements from their Captaines abroad. Wherefore it is no meruaile, if the Errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcome. In the vehemencie of this joy, *Dimilio*, a Senator 50
aduerte to the fiction of *Hanno*, is said to haue demanded of that great perswader vnto peace with *Rome*. Whether he were still of opinion, that *Hannibal* should be yielded vp vnto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to give thanks vnto the gods, for this their good success. Hereunto though it bee not likely that

Hanno

Hanno made the same formall answer, which *Liue* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres conscripti*, by a terme proper to the *Romans*, and putting them in minde of his owne shamefull ouerthrow receiued at the Islands *Agates*: yet the summe of his speech appeares to haue bene no lesse malicious, than it is set downe, forasmuch as *Hannibal* himselfe, at his departure out of *Italie*, exclaimed against the wickednesse of this *Hanno*; saying, that his hatred against the *Barchinies*, had oppressed their Familie, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a jest of these victories, as is reported; saying, It ill befecmed him, who had vanquished the *Romans*, to call for more helpe, as if he had bene beaten; or him, that had taken their campe, filled forsooth with spoile, to make request for meat and monie. To these caulls, if answer were needfull, it might be said, That other bootie than of horses and slaues; little was to be found in the *Roman* campe: the belt of the *Souldiers* carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few siluer studs in the bridles and trappings of a *Libian* 10
their horses. If *Hannibal* had taken any maine conuoy of mony and prouisions, going to supply all wants of a great Armie in some other Prouince, (as the two *Scipios* are afterwards said to haue done, when they wanne the campe of *Asdrubal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of *Spain*, in his iourne towards *Italie*) then might such an objection more iustly haue bene made vnto his demand of a supply. 20
But the most likely part of *Hanno* his Oration, and wherein hee best might hope to preuaile, contained a perswasion to vse their fortune with moderation; and now to seeke peace, whilst they had so much the better in warre.

What would haue bene the issue of this counsaile, if it had bene followed, it were not easie to say. For though it bee likely, that the *Roman* pride would haue brooked much indignitie, in freeing *Italie* from the danger of warre, yet it is not likely, that the faith, so often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would haue bene kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for reuenge of so many shamefull ouerthrowes; since after this warre ended, and a new league concluded, no submissive behauiour could preserue *Carthage* from ruine, longer 30
than vntill such time, as *Rome* was at leisure from all other warres. This counsaile therefore of *Hanno*, though it might seeme temperate, was indeede very pestilent; and serued only to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a maine consent of the Senate, that fortie thousand *Numidian*, fortie Elephants, and great abundance of siluer, should bee sent ouer to *Hannibal*: and that, besides these, twentie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, should be leued in *Spain*; not only to supply, as neede should require, the Armies in that Prouince, but to be transported into *Italie*.

This great aide, had it bene as carefully sent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* Historians would not haue found cause, to taxe the rebellious improuidence of 40
Hannibal, in forbearing to march directly from *Canneto* to *Rome*, or in refreshing his Armie among the delights of *Capua*: the next yeeres worke would haue finished the businesse, with lesse dangerous adventure; and the pleasures, which his men enioyed among the *Campanians*, would haue bene commended, as rewards by him well thought vpon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to bee employed in the following warre. But either the too much carelesnesse of those, that were loth to make haste in laying out their monie, before extreme necessitie required it; or the craftie malice of *Hanno*, and his followers, working vpon the priuate humours of men, that had more feeling of their owne commoditie; than sense of the publike neede; vtterly peruerter, and made vnprofitable in the performance, the 50
order that had bene so well set downe. The Elephants were sent: and some *Libians* monie peradventure; vncertaine it is, how long after. But those great forces of three score thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, came not into *Italie*, till much was lost of that which already had bene gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Armie, was first consumed by time, and sundry accidents of warre. Only some

some small numbers, no way answering vnto the proportion decreed, were sent into *Spaines*; and the iourne of *Adrabat* thence through *France* into *Italie* much talked of; but he not enabled thereto, till many yeeres were past, and the *Romans* had recovered their strength.

Heere wee may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their Citie, both by the Tributes received from their subiects, and by their wealthy Trade of merchandize. For it is not long, since the warre of the Mercinaries; and the perfidious tyrannie of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greatest necessity twelue hundred talents; had exceedingly impoueriſhed *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, euen by the expence of so much monie, as was to bee disbursed for redeeming of peace, after the losse of *Agathis*. Yet wee see, what great Armies of *Nu- midians*, and *Spaniards*, besides those already on foot, are appointed to the seruice in *Italie*, and how little the *Carthaginians* feare the want of mony in these chargeable vndertakings: whereas the *Romans*, on the other side, hauing three or foure yeeres together bene forced to some extraordinary cost, are faine to goe vpon credit, euen for the price of those slaues, which they bought of their owne Citizens to arme for their defence. Such aduantage, in meanes to enrich their Treasurie, had the wealthy merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterranean Sea*, euen from *Tyrrus* their Mother-City in the bottome of the fireights vnto the great Ocean, about the *Romans*: who liued on the fruits of their ground; and receiued their Tributes from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it selfe, in the destruction of *Carthage*, the impudence of *Roman* fallshood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith, discovered plainly whence the ialousie was bred, that this mighty Citie would againe rebell. For the *Carthaginians*, hauing giuen vp hostages, euen before the *Roman* Armie did set forth, to performe whatsoeuer should bee enjoyned them, with condition that their Citie might not bee destroyed; and hauing accordingly, when they were so required, yeelded vp all their weapons, and engines of warre; the *Romans* told them plainly, That the Citie of *Carthage*, which was the Bodie of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall, but the Towne must needs be demolished, and remoued into some other place, that should be twelue miles distant from the Sea. For (said the *Romans*) this Trade of merchandize, by which ye now liue, is not so fit for peaceable men, such as yee promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of husbandrie; an whole some kind of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conseruation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though sugred with glossing words, plainly shewes, what good obseruation the elder *Cato* had made of the halte growth of *Carthage* in riches. For when, being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoever it were, added fill this conclusion, *Thus I thinke; and that Carthage should be destroyed*; Hee may seeme, not only to haue had regard vnto that present wealth, which at his being there hee had found in the Citie, but much more vnto these times, & the great height whereto it rose, euen suddenly as wee see, out of many calamities, whilst the *Romans* thought, that it had not bene in case to dare so terrible a warre.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skilfull than the *Romans*; so came they farre short of them, in the honourable care of the publicke good: hauing every one, or most of them, a more principall regard of his owne priuate benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the first heat of their affection, wherein they concluded to pursue the warre strongly, was ouer-past, goe more leisurely to worke, than had bene requisite in the execution. It was easie for *Hanno* to perswade couetous men, that they should first of all defend their owne in *Spain*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Province was secured, they might send an Armie into *Italie*; so going to worke orderly by degrees. For it were no wisdom, to commit

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all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, against the Enemies; or (which perhaps were worse) to the Government of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who hauing once (if they could so doe) finished the warre, might easily make * *Hanniball* a King, and subdue *Carthage*, with the forces that he had giuen them to the conquest of *Rome*.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their owne slacknesse, incredulitie, dulnesse, or niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perswaded rather to make small disturbances in *Spain*, than to set vp all their reit at once in *Italie*. Yet was it indeed impossible, to hold a Countrey of so large extent, and so open a coast as that of *Spain*, free from all incursion of the Enemy: especially the affection of the Naturalles being (as in a new Conquest) still established. A better way therefore it had bene to make a running warre, by which the *Romans* might haue bene found occupied, euen with the ordinarie *Carthaginian* Garrisons, or some little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet, to deferre the prosecution of their maine intendment against *Rome* it selfe, vntill such time as euery little thorne were pulled out of the sides of so great a Province, then must *Emporia* haue bin besieged & forced: which by reason of alliance with the *Masilians*, gaue vnto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleased, a readie and secure Harbour. But the Towne of *Emporia* was too strong to be wonne in halfe: it had long defended it selfe against the *Barbarians*; hauing not about foure hundred paces of wall to the maine Land, and exceedingly well fortified; a great *Spanish* Towne of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compasse, very strong likewise, and friend vnto the *Gracians*, though not ouer-much trusted. Wherefore to force this Towne of *Emporia*, that was, besides the proper strength, like to be so well assisted by the *Masilians*, *Romans*, and some *Spaniards*, would haue bene a worke of little lesse difficultie, than was the *Roman* warre (in appearance) after the battaile at *Canna*: yea it had bin in effect none other, than to alter the seat of the warre, which *Hanniball* had already fixed, with better iudgement, neere vnto the gates of *Rome*. The difficultie of this attempt being such as caused it altogether to be forborne; great follie it was, to bee much troubled about expelling the *Romans* utterly out of *Spain*: whom they might more easily haue diuerted thence, and drawne home to their owne doores, by making strong warre vpon their Citie. For euen so the *Romans* afterwards remoued *Hanniball* into *Africk*, by sending an Armie to *Carthage*; & by taking the like course, they now endeouored to change the seat of the warre, transferring it out of *Italie* into *Spain*. But the priuate affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwise, than as it is necessary to their owne purposes, did make them easily winke at opportunities, and hope, that somewhat would fall out well of it selfe, though they set not to their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him so, were wel enough contented to harken vnto his discourses, as long as they were plausible, and tended to keepe the purse full. In the meane while they suffered *Hanniball*, and all the noble house of *Amilcar*, to wearie themselves in triuall for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in general highly commended, but weakly assisted; as if the indolence of these *Barchinies* had been somewhat more than needfull. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in general, were farre lesse honourable than the people of *Rome*: not only in gouernement of their subiect Provinces, but in administration of their owne Estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Weale publike about their priuate interest. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parsimonie vsed toward their own Mercinaries, when the former *Roman* warre was finished: so the conclusion of this warre present, will make them complain, with feeling sighes, of their negligence in supplying *Hanniball*, after the victorie at *Canna*; when gladly they would giue all their Treasures, to redeeme the opportunity, that now they let passe, as if it were cost enough to send a few handfulls into *Spain*.

That both the *Spanish* businesse, and the state of *Africk* it selfe, depended wholly,

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* Of such ambition *Hanno* directly accused *Hanniball*, saying that he made warre that so he might liue compelled with Legions, not knowing no other way to make himselfe a King. *Liv.* lib. vi.

ly, or for the most part, vpon successe of things in *Italie*; the course of actions following will make manifest. Particularly how matters were ordered in *Spaine* by the *Carthaginian* Gouvernours, it is very hard, and almost impossible, to set downe. For though we must not reprehend in that worthy Historian *Liue*, the tender loue of his owne Country, which made him giue credit vnto *Fabius* and others; yet must we not, for his sake, beleue those lies, which the vnpartial iudgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gaue them originall. It were needlesse to rehearse all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the vntruth of that *Roman* Historian *Fabius*. One example may suffice. He saith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former warre, That hauing cleane spent their strength, and being cū broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselues vnto the *Romans*. Contrarie herunto we finde in the life of *Amilcar*, let downe by *Emilius Probus*, That *Eryx* was in such fort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not bene any warre. These wordes, being referred to the braue resolution of the *Carthaginian* Souldiers, and the singular vertue of their General infusing such spirit into them; may be taken as not ouerliberall. For in the treatie of peace betwene *Amilcar* and *Catalus*, when the *Roman* first of all required, that this Garrison of *Eryx* should lay downe their Armes, and forsake *Stail*, threatening, that otherwise he would not talke of any composition: *Amilcar* boldly bade him choofe, whether he would talke of it, or no; for that the Armes, which his Countrey had put into his hands to vse against her Enemies, it was not his purpose to yeeld vp vnto them. Now since the *Romans*, contrarie to their custome vpon like aduantages, were content to let *Amilcar* haue his will, and not to stand with him vpon point of honour, whilst otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him; plaine enough it is, that they were farre from thinking him a man consumed with miseries, as *Fabius* would haue him seeme. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with vntruth; saying, that howsoeuer *Amilcar*, and his Souldiers, had endured all extremities, yet they behaued themselves as men that had no sence thereof; and were as farre from being either vanquished, or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference betwene *Fabius* (as also perhaps betwene other old Writers of the *Roman* storie) and those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mightie Citie of *Rome*: we must take it in good part, that howsoeuer *Liue* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, ioyning very foolishly his owne shamefull ouerthrow at the Ilands, * *Egeates*, with the great seruices of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like event; yet elsewhere he forbearth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his owne vnhappy conduct) into the same *Hanno* his mouth, making him say, That the affaires of *Carthage* went neuer better, than a little before the losse of their fleet in that battaile at Sea: wherein himselfe was General. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipio* in *Spaine*, there is cause to wile, that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antius*, and others of the like stamp, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Liue* to his *Rome*, had not caused him to thinke too well of their relations: which are such as follow.

* *Egeates* Insulas, ex quibus ante oculis preponitur, &c. *Liue* lib. 33. a *Liue* lib. 23.

§. XI.

Strange reports of the Roman victories in *Spaine*, before *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar* followed thence his brother *Hannibal* into *Italie*.

It hath bene shewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul, returning from *Gaul* into *Italie*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his descent from the *Alpes*, sent before him his brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Armie, into *Spaine*. Two *Roman* Legions, with foure- teene thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelve hundred horse, had bene allotted vnto this Consul, therewith to make warre in *Spaine* against *Hannibal*: who since he was marching into *Italie* with the strength of his Armie, *P. Scipio* beleueed, that a good part of these his owne forces might well be spared from the *Spanish* Expedition; and therefore made bold to carrie some of the number backe with him, sending on his brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. *Publius* himselfe remainy in *Italie* all the time of his Consulship: which being expired, He was sent Proconsul into *Spaine* by the Senate, with an Armie of eight thousand men, and a fleet of thirtie Gallies.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Prouince, were very great; and as they are reported, somewhat maruailous. For they continually preuailed in *Spaine*, against the *Carthaginians*: whom they vanquished in so many battailes, & with-drew from their Alliance so many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates; that we haue cause to wonder, how the Enemye could so often finde meanes to repaire his forces, and returne strong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliuer the Countrey from the tyrannie of *Carthage*, might easily winne vnto their Confederacie, as many as were galled with the *African* yoke, and durst aduenture to breake it: so the ancient reputation of the first Conquerours might serue to arme the Naturalls against these Inuaders; and to reclaime those, that had resolted vnto the *Romans*, were it onely by the memorie of such ill successe, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* treasure: which easily raised souldiers, among those valiant, but (in that Age) poore, and gold-thirstie Nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* warres; or seruing the *Carthaginians* in *Africk*. And peraduenture, if we durst be bold to say it; the victories of the *Scipio*'s were neither so many, nor so great, as they are set out by *Liue*. This we may be bold to say, That the great Captaine *Fabius*, or *Liue* in his person, maketh an obiection vnto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Liue* for him, doth answer, That if *Asdrubal* were vanquished, as *Scipio* would say, by him in *Spaine*: strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had bene extremely dangerous to *Rome*, that the same vanquished man should inuade *Italie*. And it is indeede an incredible narration, That *Asdrubal* being closed in on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of a battaile, saue onely by the steep descent of Rocks, ouer a broken Riuer that lay at his backe, ranne away with all his monie, Elephants, and broken troupes, ouer *Tages*, directly towards the *Pyrencees*, and so toward *Italie*; vpon which he fell with more than threefore thousand armed Souldiers. Neither doe I see, how it hangs wel together, That he chose a peece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his retreat, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his monie and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the Enemye: Or how it could be true, that these his Elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the *Romans* (for so are they said to haue done in the last battaile betwene him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his camp. Wherefore we can no more than be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this warre, and *Spanish* (if there were any) being vtterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell vs: vnto whom it were no seldome to giue too much credit. In this regard, I will summarily runne ouer the doings of the *Scipio*'s in *Spaine*; not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Cn. Cornelius landed at Emporia, an Haven-towne, not farre within the Pyrenees, retaining still the same name with little inflexion. That by the fame of his clemencie he allured many Nations to become subiect vnto Rome, as the storie beginnes of him, I could easily beleue, if I vnderstood by what occasion they had need to vse his clemencie, or he to giue such famous example thereof, being a mere stranger, and hauing no iurisdiction in the Countrey. Yet is it certaine, that he was a man verie courteous, and one that could well insinuate himselfe into the loue of the Barbarians; among whom, his dexteritie in practice had the better successe, for that he seemed to haue none other errand, than setting them at libertie. This pretext auailed with some: others were to be hired with monie: and some hee compelled to yeeld by force or feare; especially, when he had wonne a battaile against Hanno. In to all Treaties of accord, made with these people, likely it is that he remembered to insert this Article, which the Romans in their Alliances neuer forgate, vnlesse in long times past, and when they dealt with the Carthaginians, or their Superiours; *Aluestatem Pop. Rom. comiter conferunt, which is, as Tullie interprets it, That they should gently (or kindly) uphold the Maieitie of the People of Rome.* This was in appearance nothing troublesome: yet implied it indeed an obscure couenant of subiection. And in this respect it may be true, That the Spaniards became dittons Romanes of the Roman iurisdiction; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Countrey wherein Scipio landed, was newly subdued by Hannibal in his passage toward Italie; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the Barguntians; Hannibal had found, at his coming among them, such an apprehension of the Roman greatnesse, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the Carthaginians. Wherefore he not only appointed Hanno Governour ouer them, as ouer the rest of the Prouince betwene Iberus and the Pyrenees, but made him also their Lord; that is, (as I conceiue it; for I doe not thinke he gaue the Principalltie of their Countrey vnto Hanno and his Heires,) He made him not only Lieutenant generall ouer them, in matters of warre, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to Carthage; but rooke from them all inferior Officers of their owne, leauing them to be gouerned by Hanno at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to reioyce at the coming of Scipio: with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to ioyne; it being the custome of al conquered Nations, in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times proue worse than the former. So were the Neapolitans, and Milanais, in the age of our Grand-fathers, wearie by turnes of the Spaniards and Frenches; as more sensible still of the present euil which they felt, than regardfull of the greater mischiefe, whereinto they ranne by seeking to auoid it. This bad affection of his Prouince, would not suffer Hanno to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, Hannibal had left vnto him: besides which it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his Prouince. Therefore he aduentured a battaile with Scipio; wherein he was ouerthrowne and taken. Following this victorie, Scipio besieged Stiffum, a Towne hard by, and wanne it. But Asdrubal hauing passed Iberus, and coming too late to the reliefe of Hanno, with eight thousand foot and a thousand horse, fel vpon the Roman Sea-forces, that lay not farre about Tarracon, whom he found carelesse, as after a victorie, rousing abroad in the Countrey; and with great slaughter draue them aboard their ships. This done, he ranne vp into the Countrey, where he with-drew the Illyrgetes from the Roman partie, though they had giuen hostages to Scipio. Scipio in the meane season was gone to visit and aide his fleet: where hauing fet things in order, he returned backe, and made toward Asdrubal; who durst not abide his coming, but with-drew himselfe againe ouer Iberus. So the Illyrgetes were compelled by force, hauing lost Athanagia their chiefe Citie, to pay a fine to the Romans, and increase the number of their hostages. The Aulstani likewise, Confederates of the Carthaginians, were besieged in their chiefe Towne: which they defended thirte

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dayes; hoping in vaine, that the sharpe Winter, and great abundance of snow that fell, would haue made the Romans to dislodge. But they were faine at length to yeeld: and for this their oblinacie, they were amerced twentie Talents of siluer. During the siege, the Lactani came to helpe their distressed Neighbours; and were beaten home by Scipio, leauing twelue thousand of their Companie dead behinde them. I cannot but wonder, how these Lactani, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of Scipio, should without any cause remembered, become Carthaginians on the sudden, in the next newes that we heare of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of Iberus, hauing lately become voluntari-ly dittons Romanes; subiect vnto Rome, should in continuance of the Storie, after a few lines, hold warre against Scipio, without any assistance of the Carthaginians. Neither can I beleue, that Asdrubal, as it were by a charme, stirred vp the Illyrgetes, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take Armes in his quarrell; whilst himselfe had not the daring to stand against Scipio, but ranne away, and saued himselfe beyond Iberus. Philinus perhaps, or some Carthaginian Writer, would haue told it thus: That Scipio aduenturing too farre into the Countrey, was beaten by Asdrubal back to his ships, whence he durst not stirre, vntill Winter came on: at what time this Carthaginian returned into the heart of his Prouince, leauing some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after Scipio wanne, by returning vpon them, vnlooked for, through a deep snow. As for the Lactani, Illyrgetes, and the rest, we may reasonably thinke, that they fought their owne benefit: helping themselves one while by the Romans against the Carthaginians, and contrariwise, vpon sense of injuries receiued, or apprehension of more grieuous tyrannie, vnder which they feared to be brought by these new Masters, harkning againe vnto the comfortable promises of those, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to liue vnder their owne Countrey Lawes, and not vnder Governours sent from Rome or Carthage, their demeanour in all Ages following may testifie: euen from henceforth vnto the dayes of Augustus Caesar; till when they were neuer throughly conquered.

The yeere following this, Cn. Scipio had a victorie against the Carthaginians in fight at Sea; or rather came vpon them vnlooked for, while they rode at Anchor; most of their men being on shore. All their ships, that ranne not too far on ground, he tooke: and thereby grew Master of the whole coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defended. After this victorie, aboue one hundred and twentie Nations, or petty Estates, in Spaine, are said to haue submitted themselves vnto the Romans, and giuen Hostages: where by Asdrubal was compelled to flie into the vtmost corners of the land, and hide himselfe in Lusitania. Yet it followes; that the Illyrgetes did againe rebell; that Asdrubal herupon came ouer Iberus; and that Scipio (though hauing easily vanquished the Illyrgetes) went not forth to meet him, but stirred vp against him the Celtiberians, that lately were become his subiects and had giuen him Hostages. These tooke from the Carthaginian three Townes, and vanquished him in two battailes, wherein they flue fifteen thousand of his men, and rooke foure thousand Prisoners. Then arriued P. Scipio, with the supply before mentioned: and henceforward the two brethren ioyntly administered the businesse in Spaine.

The Carthaginians being occupied in the Celtiberian warre; the two Scipios did, haud cunctantes, without feare or doubt, passe ouer Iberus, & besiege Saguntum. Little cause of doubt had they, if Cn. had already subdued many Nations beyond it, and, among many others, the same Celtiberians, that with their proper forces were able to vanquish Asdrubal. Bostar, the Governour of Saguntum, a simple man, suffered himselfe to be perswaded by one Accedus a Spaniard, that the only way to get the fauour and hearty good will of the Countrey, was by freely restoring vnto them their Hostages; as selling, without any pledge, assured of their faith. But the craftie Spaniard, being trusted with this message and restitution of the Hostages, carried them

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all to the *Roman* Generalls: perswading them, as hee had done *Nofar*, to make the Liberalitie their owne. Herby the *Romans* purchased much loue: if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward and ere this we finde, that all the *Spanish* Hostages were left in new *Carthage*. I am wearie of rehearsing so many particularities, whereof I can beleuee so few. But since wee finde no better certainties, we must content our felues with these.

The yeere following was like vnto this: *Asdrubal* must be beaten againe. The two *Scipio's* diuide their forces: *Cn.* makes warre by Land; *P.* by Sea. *Asdrubal*, with much labour and entreatie, hath gotten foure thousand foot, and five hundred horse, out of *Africa*: He repairs his fleet; and provides every way to make resistance. But all his chiefe Sea-men, and Masters of his ships, resolt vnto the *Romans*: because they had bene chidden the last yeere for their negligence, which had betrayed the Nauie. The reuolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the *Carpetanians*, or *Carpetani*, an In-land people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spaine*. These doe much mischief, so that *Asdrubal* is faine to make a iourney to them. His sudden coming cuts off some of them, that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they, making head, so valiantly assaile him, that they driue him, for very feare, to incampe himselfe strongly on an high piece of ground; whence he dares not come forth to giue them battaile. So they take a Towne by force, wherein he had laide vp all his provisions; and shortly make themselves Masters of the Countrey round about. This good successe breeds negligence; for which they dearly pay. *Asdrubal* comes vpon them, takes them vnprepared, beats them, kills the most of them, and disperseth the rest; so that the whole Nation yeeldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*; that *Asdrubal* should leade his Armie forth with into *Italie*: which we may wonder, why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to doe; if they had bene informed by his letters in what hard case he was; and had so weakly supplied him, as is shewed before. But thus we finde it reported: and that vpon the very rumour of this his iourne, almost all *Spaine* was readie to fall to the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therefore sends word presently to *Carthage*, that this must not be so: or, if they will needes haue it so, that then they must send him a Succes-
40 four, and well attended with a strong Armie, which to imploy they should finde worke more than enough; such notable men were the *Roman* Generalls. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moued with this excuse: *Asdrubal* must needes be gone; and *Himilco*, with such forces as are thought expedient for that seruice both by Land & Sea, is sent to take the charge of *Spaine*. Wherefore *Asdrubal* hath now no more to doe, than to furnish himselfe with store of monie, that hee might haue wherewithall to winne the friendship of the *Gauls*; through whose Countries hee must passe, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly to blame, for not remembering to ease him of this care. But since it can bee no better, he laies great Impositions vpon all the *Spaniards* his subiects: & hauing gotten toge-
40 ther as much treasure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio's* hearing these newes, are careful how to arrest him on the way. They besiege *Ibera* (so called of the Riuer's name running by it) the richest towne in all those quarters, that was confederate with *Asdrubal*: who thereupon steps aside to relieue it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battaile with him: which they winne the more easily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather bee vanquished at home; than get the victorie, and afterwards be haled into *Italie*. Great numbers are slaine: and few should haue escaped, but that the *Spaniards* ranne away, ere the battailes were thoroughly ioined. Their campe the *Romans* take, and spoile: whereby (question-
50 less) they are maruailously enriched: all the monie that could bee raked together in *Spaine*, being carried along in this *Italian* Expedition. Their dayes euent ioyne all *Spaine* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Countrey stood in doubt before; and puts *Asdrubal* so farre from all thought of traouailing into *Italie*, that it leaues him small hope of keeping himselfe safe in *Spaine*. Of these exploits aduertisement is sent to
Rome;

Rome: and Letters to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are; That they haue neither monie, apparrell, nor bread, wherewith to sustaine their Armie and Fleet; That all is wanting; so as unless they may bee supplied from *Rome*, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Province. These Letters come to *Rome* in an euill season; the State being scarcely able, after the losse at *Canna*, to helpe it selfe at home. Yet relieue is sent: how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that loue and care, which the priuate Citizens of *Rome* bare vnto the Common-wealth, shall be inserted elsewhere, into the Relation of things whereof the truth is lesse questionable. At the coming of this supply, the two *Scipio's* pursue *Asdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we thinke; that remember the last newes of him, and how fearfully he mistrusted his owne safetie? They finde him, and *Atago*, and *Amilcar* the sonne of *Bomilear*, with an Armie of threecore thousand men, besieging *Illiturgi*: (which the learned *Orelus*, & others, probably conjecture to haue stood, where *Cariuncna* is now, in the Kingdome of *Aragon*; for there was *Illiturgi*, afterward called *Forum Iulij*, quite another way) a Towne of the *Illigetis* their neerest Neighbours, for hauing resolted vnto the *Romans*. The Towne is greatly distressed; but most of all, for want of victualles. The *Romans* therefore breake through betwene the Enemies camps, with terrible slaughter of all that resist them; and hauing victualled the place, encourage the townsmen to defend their walls as stoutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in their behalfe. So they issue forth, about sixteen thousand against threecore thousand; and killing more of the
20 enemies, than themselves were in number, driue all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, every one, out of his quarter; and tooke that day, besides prisoners and other bootie, fiftie and eight Ensignes. The *Carthaginian* Armie, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall vpon *Incibilis*, that stood a little Southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning monie by warre, for thus re-enforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondred, whence the *Carthaginians* had monie to pay them: since *Asdrubal* was lately driuen to poll the Countrey, wanting monie of his owne; and being beaten in this iourne, had lost his wealthy carriages, when his campe was taken after the battaile by *Ibera*. Howsoeuer it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custome) are beaten againe at *Incibilis*: where there were of them about threene thousand slaine, & about three
30 thousand taken; besides two and forty Ensignes, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spaine* fell from them vnto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius Antius*, or some other Historian, to whom *Lince* gave credit, conquer all *Spaine* twice in one yeere, by winning famous victories; whereof these good Captaines, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this large access of Dominion, winter on their owne side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next yeere, great Armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Asdrubal*; and are ouertrowne by him. *P. Scipio*, to helpe these his friends, is forced to make great haste ouer the Riuer. At *Castellum altum*, a place in the mid-way betwene new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *P. Scipio* incampeth: and stores the place with victualles, being strong and defencible; as intending to make it his seat for a while. But the Countrey round about is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horse haue charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off cleare, falling also vpon some stragglers, or such as lagged behinde their fellows in march, they haue cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behouefull, to retire vnto some place more assured. So *Pub-*
50 withdraws himselfe vnto *Mons Victoria*: that rising somewhat Eastward from *Incibilis*, ouer-looks the Southerne Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him: His brother *Cn.* repaires vnto him; and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gefeo*, with a full Armie, arrives to helpe his Companions. As they lie thus neere incamped together, *P. Scipio*, with some light-armed, going closely to view the places therabouts,

is discovered by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdrawes himselfe to an high peece of ground; where they besiege him, untill his brother *Cn. Scipio* fetch him off. After this (but I know not why) *Casula*, a great citie of *Spaine*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, joyneth with the *Romans*; though being farre distant from them, and seated on the head of the River *Beris*. Neuertheless the *Carthaginians* passe over *Iberus*, to besiege *Illiturgi* againe, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* gar-
rison; hoping to winne it by famine. Wee may justly wonder, what should moue them to neglect the rebellion of *Casula*, yea and the *Roman* Armie lying so close by them, and to seeke adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had beene so grievously beaten the yeere before. But thither they goe: and thither fol-
lows them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Towne by force, breakes
out vpon them the next day, and in two battailes kills about twelue thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with sixe and thirtie Ensignes. This
victorie (doubtlesse) is remaekable: considering that the greatest *Roman* Legion at
this time, consisted of no more than fise thousand men. The vanquished *Cartha-*
ginians besiege *Digarta*: but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Cartha-*
ginians remoue to *Munda*; where the *Romans* are loone at their heeles. There is a
great battaile fought, that lasteth foure houres, wherein the *Romans* get a notable
victorie; and a more notable would haue gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* beene wound-
ed. Thirtie nine Elephants are killed; and twelue thousand men; three thou-
sand prisoners taken, and seven and fiftie Ensignes. The *Carthaginians* flie to *Aurige-*
ges; and the *Romans* pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and
vanquisheth the *Carthaginians* againe: but kills not halfe so many of them, as be-
fore; good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Norwithstanding
all these ouerthrowes, the *Spaniards*, a people framed euen by nature to fed warre on
foot, quickly fill vp the broken troups of *Asdrubal*: who hauing also hired some of
the *Gauls*, adventures once more to trie his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is bea-
ten againe, and loofeth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants,
Ensignes, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the *Romans* are euen
alhamed, to leaue *Saguntum* enthrall'd vnto the *Carthaginians*; since, in behalfe of
that Citie, they had at first entred into this warre. And well may wee thinke it
strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since wee may remember, that
long before this they had wonne all the Countrie once and againe. But it must not
be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum*; and were faine (as appears)
to goe their way without it: so as they neede not to blush, for hauing so long for-
borne to do that, which ere now they had attempted, but were vnable to performe.
At the present they winne *Saguntum*: and restore the possession thereof vnto such
of the poore disperfed Citizens, as they can finde out. They also waste and destroy
the Countrie of the *Turdians*, that had ministred vnto *Hannibal* matter of quarrrell
against the *Saguntines*. This last action (questionlesse) was much to their honour;
and wherein we may be assured, that the *Carthaginians* would haue disturbed them,
if they had beene able.

But ouer-looking now this long continuance of great victories, which the *Romans* haue gotten in *Spaine*, other print or token of all their braue exploits, wee can
perceiue none, than this recouerie of *Saguntum*: excepting the stopping of *Asdrubals*
journe; which was indeede of greatest importance, but appertaining to their
owne defence. For they haue landed at *Emporia*, an Haven towne, built and peo-
pled by a Colonie of the *Phocians*, kinne to the *Messians*, friends to the *Romans*;
They haue easily wonne to their party, lost, recovered, and lost againe, some petty
bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by perswasion, other
whiles by force, and sometimes by their owne vnstedfast passions; and now finally
they haue wonne a Towne, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire possession, who
had rooted out the old Inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily beleeeue, that when
they tooke *Saguntum* (if they tooke it not by surpris, which is to be suspected, since

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in this Action we finde no particulars remembered, as when the same place was taken
by *Hannibal*; they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight.
In like sort also must we thinke, that all those battailes lately remembered, after eue-
ry one of which *Asdrubal* fate down before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed
ready to rebell, were prosperous vnto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the custome
of Armies vanquished, to carry the warre from Towne to Towne, and beleaguer
Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themselves within their owne places of
strength, and therein to attend the leuie and arriuall of new supplies. And surely, if
the *Romans* had beene absolute Masters of the field, when they wanne *Saguntum*,
they would not haue consumed a whole yeere following, in practising only with
the *Celtiberians* the next adjoining people. Yet made they this, little lesse than two
yeeres businesse. Of these *Celtiberians* we heare before, that they haue yielded vp
themselves vnto the *Romans*; for securitie of their faith, giuen Hostages to *Scipio*;
and, at his appointment, made warre against the *Carthaginians*; with their proper
forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, not
without expresse condition of a great summe, hired to serue in the *Roman* Campe.
How this may hold together I cannot perceiue; vnlesse perhaps in those dayes it
were the *Roman* custome, or rather the custome of some bad Author whom *Luce*
followes, to call euey Messenger, or straggler, that entred their campe, an Hostage
of that people from whom he came.

The *Celtiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, send an Armie of thirtie
thousand to helpe the *Romans*: out of which, three hundred the fittest men are cho-
sen, and carried into *Italie*, there to deale with their Countymen that follow *Hanni-*
bal in his warres. But if any of these three hundred returne back into *Spaine*, it is to
be feared, that he brings with him such newes of the riches and welfare of *Hannibals*
men, that all his fellows at home are the lesse vnwilling to follow *Asdrubal*, when
he shall next haue a desire to leade them into *Italie*. Hereof wee finde more than
probability, when these Mercenary *Celtiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Army in the
field. The two *Scipio's*, presuming on this accesse of strength, diuide their forces,
and seeke out the Enemies; who lie not farre off with three Armies. *Asdrubal*, the
sonne of *Amilcar*, is neerest at hand; euen among the *Celtiberians*, at *Amitoris*.
With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the feare is, that this one
part of the *Carthaginian* forces being destroyed; *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of
Gisco, hearing the newes, will make vse of their distance, which is fise daies march,
and, by running into the furthest parts of the Countrie, saue themselves from being
ouer-taken. *Publius* therefore must make the more hastie, and take with him the
better Souldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* Armie, leaving the third part,
and all the *Celtiberians*, to his brother. Hee that hath the longer iourne to make,
comes somewhat the sooner to his liues end. *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of
Gisco, are not studying how to runne away: they finde no such necessitie. They
joyne their forces together; meet with *P. Scipio*; and lay at him so hardly, that he
is driuen to keepe himselfe close within his Trenches: wherein he thinks himselfe
not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Maianissa*, Prince of the *Massejssis*, *Numi-*
dians bordering vpon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremisen*: to whom the
chiefe honor of this seruice is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate
with the *Romans*. In this dangerous case *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis*, a
Spanish Prince, is comming with seven thousand and fise hundred of the *Sussetani*,
to joyne with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be streight shut vp, and besieged,
he issues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* vpon the way; leaving *T. Ponticus* his
Lieutenant, with a small companie, to defend the campe. He meets with *Indibilis*,
but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight
continues so long, that the *Numidian* horse appeare (whom he thought to haue bin
ignorant of his departure) and fall vpon the *Romans* on all sides: neither are the *Car-*
thaginians farre behinde; but come so fast vpon him in R. care, that *P. Scipio*, vncre-

taine which way to turne, yet fighting, and animating his men, where neede most requireth, is struck through with a lance, and flaine: very few of his Armie escaping the same destinie, through benefit of the darke night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twentie dayes after. At his meeting with *Asdrubal*, the *Celtiberian* Mercenaries all forsake him; pretending that they had warre in their owne Countre. If *Antistorgis*, where *Asdrubal* then lay, were, as *Otelius* following *Bauterus* takes it; a *Celtiberian* Towne; this was no vaine pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly beleue, that they were wonne by *Asdrubal*, and easily perswaded to take as much monie for not fighting, as they should haue had for hazing their liues. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being vnable to slay them; and no lesse vnable, without their helpe, either to resist the Enemy, or to joyne with his Brother, makes a very violent retrait; herein only differing from plaine flight, that hee keeps his men together. *Asdrubal* presseth hard vpon him: and *Mago*, with *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gesco*, hauing made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his brother after him. *Scipio* steals from them all, by night; but is ouer-taken the next day by their horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stonie ground, where grows not so much as a shrub, vnfit for defence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill hee findes, of easie ascent on euery side, which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with pack-laddies, and other luggage, for default of a better Palliade. These weake defences the *Carthaginians* soone care in funder: and, breaking 20 in on all hands, leaue very few of them alieue; that sauing themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoining, escape vnto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his camp, as is before said. It is a terrible ouerthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on euery side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to couer them, could breake out, and throw themselves within woods adjoining, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio's* campe, on the North side of *Iberus*, fearefull (as may be supposed) of his owne life, since his Generall, with two parts of the *Roman* Armie, had little hope to remaine long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a yong *Roman* Gentleman of a notable spirit: who ha- 30 uing gathered together the scattered Soldiers, & drawne some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretie Armie. The Souldiers, being to chosse a Generall by most voices, preferre this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius* the Lieutenant; as well they may. For *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gesco*, comming vpon them; this *L. Martius* so encourageth his men, (fondly weeping when hee led them forth, vpon remembrance of their more honourable Generalls lately slaine) and admonisheth them of their present necessitie, that he beates the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable victorie perhaps he might haue gotten, but that he wisely sounds the retraits, reseruing the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The *Carthaginians* are at 40 first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldnesse grows, in enemies lately vanquished, and now againe little better than taken: but when they see, that the *Roman* dares not follow his advantage, they returne to their former securitie; and vnterly despising him, let neither *Corps d'eguard*, nor Sentinell, but rest secure, as if no enemy were neere. *Martius* therefore animates his souldiers with liuely wordes; and tells them, that there is no aduenture more safe, than that which is furthest from suspicion of being vnder-taken. They are soone perswaded to follow him, in any desperate peece of seruice. So he leades them forth by night, and steals vpon the campe of *Asdrubal*: where finding no guard, but the enemies fast a sleepe, or very drowzie, He enters without resistance, fires their Cabbins, and giues a terrible alarme; so that all afrighted, the *Carthaginians* runne head-long one vpon another, they know 50 not which way. All passages out of their campe *Martius* hath prepossest, so that there is no way to escape, save by leaping downe the Rampart: which as many doe, as can thinke vpon it, and runne away toward the campe of *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, that lay six miles off. But *Martius* hath way-laid them. In a Valley be-

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tweene their two camps he hath beset a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of Horse; so that into this Ambush they fall euery one, and are cut in peeces. But lest perchance any should haue escaped, and giue the alarme before his comming; *Martius* hastens to be there as soone as they. By which diligent speede, He comes early in the morning vpon this further campe: which with no great difficulty he enters; and partly by force, partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceiued, when they beheld the *Roman* shields, foule, and blouided with their former execution, He drives head-long into fight, all that can saue themselves from the fury of the sword. Thirtie seven thousand of the enemies perill in this 10 nights worke, besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty, that are taken prisoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antias* addes, that the campe of *Mago* was also taken, and seven thousand slaine: and that in another battaile with *Asdrubal*, there were slaine tenne thousand more; besides foure thousand three hundred and thirtie, taken prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. *Liuius* therefore hath elsewhere well obserued, that there is none so intemperate, as *Valerius Antias*, in multiplying the numbers that haue fallen in battailes. That, whilst *Martius* was making an Oration to his souldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, *Liuius* reporteth as a common tale, not giuing thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, that this Captaine 20 *Martius* got a great name; which he might well doe, if with so small forces, and in such distresse, He could clearly get off from the Enemies, and giue them any parting blow, though it were farre lesse than that which is here set downe.

Of these occurs *L. Martius* sent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his owne good seruice, what soeuer it was, but setting it out in such wise, as the Senate might iudge him worthy to hold the place of their Vicegerent in *Spain*: which the better to intimate vnto them, He stiled himselfe Propretor. The *Fathers* were no lesse moued with the tidings, than the case required: and therefore tooke such careful order, for supplying their forces in *Spain*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the Companies, leuied to serue in that Prouince, could be sent away; yet would they not stay a tide for defence of the Citie it selfe, but shipped them in all haste for 30 *Spain*. As for that title of Propretor, which *Martius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his presumption in vsurping it: foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to haue the souldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should command Armies and Prouinces. Therefore *C. Claudius Nero* was dispatched away, with all conuenient haste, into *Spain*: carrying with him about sixe thousand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* Horse, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well, that about these times, the affaires of *Rome* beganne to prosper in *Italie*, and afforded means of sending abroad such a strong supply: otherwise, the victories of *Martius* would ill haue serued, either to keepe footing in *Spain*, or to 40 stop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alpes*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, tooke charge of that remainder of the Armie, which was vnder *Martius* & *Fonteius*; he found suter tokens of the ouerthrowes received, than of those miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts vnto the Senate. The *Roman* partie was forsaken by most of the *Spanish* friends: whom how to reclaim, it could not easily be deuised. Yet *Claudius* aduanced boldly towards *Asdrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*: whom he found among the *Asitani*, neere enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides Atri*; out of which there was no issue, but only through a sleight, whereon the *Roman* seized at his first comming. What should haue tempted any man of vnderstanding to incampe in such a place, I 50 doe not finde: and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said, That *Asdrubal*, seeing himselfe thus lockt vp, made offer to depart forth-with out of all *Spain*, and quit the Prouince to the *Romans*, vpon condition, that he and his Armie might be thence dismissed; that he spent many daies, in entertaining parlee with *Claudius* about this businesse, that night by night hee coueied his foot-men

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(a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a mistie day, Hee stole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leaving his campe empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generalls in *Spain*; we shall finde no lesse cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a Countrie, with one of these three Chieftaines, than at the strange nature of those passages: through which the foot-men could hardly creepe out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a darke mistie day. Wherefore in giuing beliefe to such a tale, it is needfull that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to haue bene of farre lesse value. Howsoever it was; neither this, nor ought else that the *Romans* could doe, serued to purchase any new friends in *Spain*, or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their Propretor, tooke it not well, that the Senate, regardless of their good deserts, had repealed their Election, and sent a Propretor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may haue moued them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) yong *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignitie, were needfull to worke regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloued memorie of *Cn.* and *Publius*, likely to doe good, were it reuiued in one of the same Familie. Whether vpon these, or vpon other reasons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Prouince; and *Publius* the sonne of *P. Scipio* sent Proconsul into *Spain*.

This is that *P. Scipio*, who afterward transferred the warre into *Africke*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Countrie. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned; especially he excelled in Temperance, Continencie, Bountie, and other Vertues that purchase loue; of which qualities what great vse he made, shall appeare in the tenour of his Actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, fauouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders* vanitie; How he vied to walke alone in the Capitoll, as one that had some secret conference with *Iupiter*; How a Dragon (which must haue bene one of the gods; and, in likelihood, *Iupiter* himselfe) was thought to haue conuersed with his Mother, entering her chamber often, and vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtfull answers; I hold them no better than mere fables, deuised by Historians, who fought thereby to adde vnto the glory of *Rome*: that this noble Citie might seeme, not only to haue surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generallitie, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serue to adorne this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as a matter of vnquestionable truth, That when a Proconsul was to be chosen for *Spain*, there durst not any Captainie of the principall Citizens offer himselfe as Petitioner, for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the People of *Rome* were much astonished therat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the Citie stood looking one another in the face, not one of them hauing the heart, to aduenture himselfe in such a desperate seruice; and finally, that this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about foure and twentie yeeres of age, getting vp on an high place where hee might be scene of all the Multitude, requested, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred vpon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreames: and either very vnreasonable was the feare of all the *Roman* Captaines, who durst not follow *Claudius*, that not long before was gone into *Spain* Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Prouince, which *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, as we heard euen now, was ready to abandon. But vpon these incoherences, which I finde in the too partiall *Roman* Historians, I doe not willingly insist.

P. Scipio was sent Proconsul into *Spain*; and with him was joyned *M. Iunius Silanus*, as Propretor, and his Coadiutor. They carried with them ten thousand foot, and

and a thousand horse, in thirtie *Quingentum Gallies*. With these they landed at *Euporia*; and marched from thence to *Tarraco* along the Sea-coast. At the time of *Scipio* arrivall, it is said, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Prouince: which he entertained with such a majestic, as bred a wonderful opinion of him. As for the Enemies, they were greatly afraid of him: and so much the greater was their feare, by how much the lesse they could giue any reason of it. It wee must beleue this, then must wee needs beleue, that their feare was euen as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of so yong a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the winter following (or, as some thinke, all the next yeere) hee did nothing: but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards*. His first enterprize was against new *Carthage*: vpon which he came vnexpected, with five and twentie thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; his Sea-forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. Hee assailed the Towne by Land and Sea; and wanne it by assault the first day. The *Carthaginians* lost it, by their too much confidence vpon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly, than was requisite. Yet it might haue been well enough defended, if some Fisher-men of *Tarraco* had not discovered vnto *Scipio*, a secret passage vnto the walls; whereof the Townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could haue no notice. This Citie of new *Carthage*, resembled the old and great *Carthage* in situation, standing vpon a demi-land, betwene an Hauen and a great Lake. All the Westerne side of the walls, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fisher-men of *Tarraco* had founded; and finding in some part thereof a helpe, whereon at low water men might passe knee-deepe, or (at most) wading vp to the Naui, *Scipio* thrust thercinto some Companies of his men; who recovered the top of the walls without resistance: the place being left without guard, as able to defend it selfe by the natural strength. These falling suddenly vpon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the Citie; easily forced a gate, and gaue free entrance to the *Roman* Armie. What bootie was found within the Towne, *Liue* himselfe cannot certainly affirme; but is saide to say, That some *Roman* Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treasure, we may easily perceiue, how great a vanitie it was to say, That all the wealth of *Africke* and *Spain*, was heaped vp in that one Towne. But therein were bestowed all the *Spanish* Hostages: (or at least of the adjoining Prouinces) whom *Scipio* entreated with singular courtelie; restoring them vnto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner, as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the *Coliberrians*, and two petty Kings of the *Ilergetes* and *Lactani*, neereit Neighbours to *Tarraco*, and dwelling on the North side of *Iberus*, forsooke the *Carthaginian* partie; and joyined with the *Romans*. The speech of *Indibilis*, King of the *Ilergetes*, is much commended; for that he did not want himselfe, as commonly fugitiues vse, of the pleasure which he did vnto the *Romans*, in revolting from their Enemies; but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the *Carthaginians*, and invited by the honorable dealing of *Scipio*. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeede no vntrue token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the *Ilergetes* had long ere this (as we haue heard before) forsaken the *Carthaginian* partie, and stoutly held themselves as friends to *Cn. Scipio*; then could nothing haue bene deuised more vaine, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King, excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when he should haue rather craued pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Vncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howloer the two elder *Scipios* had gotten some few places among these their Neighbours, and held them by strength; yet were the *Romans* neuer Masters of the Countrie, till this worthy Commander, by recovering their Hostages from the *Carthaginians*, and

by his great munificence in sending them home, wanne vnto himselfe the assured loue and assistance of these Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generalls, when they heard of this litle, were very forrie: yet neuerthelesse they set a good face on the matter; saying, That a young man, hauing stolne a Towne by surpris, was too farre transported, and ouer-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in minde of his Father and Vncle; which would alter his moode, and bring him to a more conuenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine owne conjecture; I should bee bold to say, That the *Carthaginians* were at this time busie, in setting forth towards *Italy*; and that *Scipio*, to diuert them, vnder-tooke new *Carthage*, as his Father and Vncle, vpon the like occasion, fate downe before *Ibera*. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amiss, if the passage ouer the Lake had bene vndiscovered, and the Towne held out some longer while. For howsoeuer that particular Action was the more fortunate, in comming to such good issue vpon the first day: yet in the generalitie of the businesse, betwene *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should bee staied from going into *Italy*, than that halfe of *Spain* should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do, that should hinder his journey; *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* worke, in that lingering warre of taking and retaking Townes, whilst the maine of the *Carthaginian* forces, vnder *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterprise: euen to fight in triall of the Empire. But the *Roman* Historians tell this after another fashion; and say, That *Asdrubal* was beaten into *Italy*: whether he ran for feare, as thinking himselfe ill assured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might but heare the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, comming vpon *Asdrubal*, his Vancourers charged so lustily the *Carthaginian* horse, that they draue them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, euen by that small peece of seruice, how full of spirit the *Roman* Armie was, and how dejected the Enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that euen ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with a Riuer, very steepe of ascent, and not easie of access on the fore side; by which himselfe got vp, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plaine, whercon he strongly incamped himselfe: and in the mid-way, between the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plaine, into which he descended, more vpon brauery, that he might not seeme to hide himselfe within his Trenches, than for that he durst adventure his Armie to the hazard of a battell, for which this was no equal ground. But such aduantage of place could not saue him from the *Romans*. They climed vp the Hill to him; they recovered euen footing with him; droue him out of this lower Plaine, vp into his Campe on the Hill-top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants belowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got vp before them, they draue both Men and Elephants head-long. I know not wither: for it is said, that there was no way to flie. Out of such a battell, whercon he lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to haue escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troupes, to haue marched towards the *Pyrennes*, hauing sent away his Elephants ere the fight beganne. Neuerthelesse, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*, are reported after this, to haue consulted with him about this warre; and finally to haue concluded, that goe he needs must, were it but to carrie all the *Spaniards* as farre as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to haue been true, it shall appeare at his comming into *Italy*; whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affaires, haue too long detained vs.

§. XII.

§. XII.

The great troubles that *HANNIBAL* raised in all quarters, to the Citie of *Rome*.
POSTHUMIUS the *Roman* General, with his whole Armie, is slaine by the *Gauls*.
PHILIP King of *Macedon*, enters into a League with *HANNIBAL*, against the *Romans*. The *Romans* toyning with the *Aetolians*, make warre vpon *PHILIP* in *Greece*: and afterwards conclude a peace with him; the better to intend their businesse against the *Carthaginians*.



10 I left *Hannibal* wintering at *Cyna*: where hee and his new Confederates reioyced (as may bee thought) not a litle, to heare the good newes from *Carthage* of such mightie aide, as was decreed to be sent thence vnto him. In former times hee had found worke enough, to carrie the *Romans* come into his own barres, and to driue away their Cattell to *Geryon*: his victories affording him litle other profit, then sustenance for his Armie; by making him Master of the open field. Hee might perhaps haue forced some walled Townes, in like sort as he did *Geryon*, and the Citie of *Canna*: but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; 20 30 40 50
 hunger, that his Armie must haue endured the Winter and Spring following, vntill come were ripe, would haue grieuouly punished him for such imploiment of the Summer. This may haue bene the reason, why hee forbore to adventure vpon *Rome* after his victorie at *Canna*. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carrie the Citie at his first comming; want of victuals would haue compelled him to quit the enterprise. Yea, many of the people that opened so hastily their gates vnto him, vpon the fresh bruit of his glorious success, would haue taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the euent of another battell: if being, either for want of means to force the Citie, or of necessaries to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might seeme) from the walls of *Rome*, hee had presented himselfe vnto them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the yeere; when time to force their obedience was wanting, vnlesse they would freely yeeld it. But this great part of the care and trauell was past, when so many States of *Italy* were become his: the yeere following, the *Samnites*, and other old enemies of *Rome*, were like to receiue a notable pleasure of their new alliance with *Carthage*, by helping to lay siege vnto that proud Citie, which so long had held them in subiection. Thus the Winter was passed ouer joyfully, sauing that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to second the welcom report of those mightie forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drew on: and of the promised supply there arriued no more, than only the Elephants. How late it was ere these came, I finde not: onely we find, that after this he had about thirtie of them; whereas all, saue one, that hee brought ouer the *Alpes*, had been lost in his journey through the marishes of *Hetruria*. Very bad excuse of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make vnto *Hannibal*. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what mischiefs the perswasion of *Hanno* wrought among the too nigardly *Carthaginians*. Otherwise, they might perhaps informe him, that it was thought a safer, though a farther way about, to passe along through *Spain* and *Gauls*, as hee himselfe had done; and increase the Armie by hiring the *Barbarians* in the journey; than to commit the maine strength of the Citie, to the hazard of the Seas: especially wanting a commodious Hauens, to receiue the fleet that should carrie such a number of Men, Horses, and Elephants, with all needfull provisions. With these allegations *Hannibal* must rest content; and seeke, as well as he can, to satisfie his *Italian* Confederates. Therefore when time of the yeere serued hee tooke the field: and hauing finished what rested to be done at *Castellum*, sought to make himselfe Master of some good Hauens towne thereabout; that might serue to entertaine the *Carthaginian* fleet; or take from his Enemies

ENEMIES

Enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the same purpose, and to doe what else was needfull, He sent *Himilco* vnto the *Locrians*, and *Hanno* to the *Lucans*: not forgetting at once to assay all quarters of *Italy*, yea, the Iles of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, since the liege of *Rome* mult needes bee deferred vnto another yeere. *Hanno* made an ill journey of it, being met, or ouer-taken, by *T. Scampronius Longus*: who lue about two thousand of his men; with the losse of fewer, than three hundred *Romans*. But *Himilco* sped farre better. By helpe of the *Brutians*, his good friends, hee wanne *Petelia* or *Pettia* by force; after it had held out some moneths. Hee wanne likewise *Consentia*; and *Crotom*, that was forsaken by the Inhabitants. Also the Citie of *Locri*, which was of great importance, yeelded vnto him: as did all other places thereabout; except only the Towne of *Rhegium*, ouer-against *Sicily*.

The great faith of the *Petilians* is worthie to be recorded, as a notable testimonie of the good gouernement, vnder which the *Roman* subjects liued. As for the *Samnites*, *Campani*, and others, whole carnellinesse in rebellion may seeme to proue the contrarie; we are to consider, That they had lately contended with *Rome* for Souerainetie, and were now transported with ambition: which Reason can hardly moderate, or Benefits allay. The *Petilians*, in the very beginning of their danger, did send to *Rome* for helpe: where their Messengers receiued answer from the Senate, That the publike misfortunes had not left meanes, to relieue their Associates: that were so farre distant. The *Petilian* Messengers (Embassadours they are termed, as were all others, publicly sent from Cities of the *Roman* subiection, that had a private iurisdiction within themselves) fell downe to the ground, and humbly besought the *Fathers*, not to giue them away: promising to doe and suffer whatsoever was possible, in defence of their Towne, against the *Carthaginians*. Hereupon the Senate fell to consultation againe: and hauing thoroughly considered all their forces remaining, plainly confessed, that it was not in their power to giue any reliefe. Wherefore these Embassadours were willed to returne home, and to bid their Citizens prouide hereafter for their owne safetie, as hauing already discharged their faith to the vtmost. All this notwithstanding, the *Petilians* (as was said) held out some moneths: and hauing striuen in vaine to defend themselves, when there was no apparant possibilitie, gaue to the *Carthaginians* a bloudie victorie ouer them; being vanquished as much by famine, as by any violence of the Assailants.

The *Romans* at this time wereindeede in such ill case, that *Hannibal*, with a little helpe from *Carthage*, might haue reduced them into termes of great extremitie. For whereas, in a great braunrie, before their losse at *Cannae*, they had shewed their high mindes, by entreating the care of things farre off, notwithstanding the great warre that lay vpon them so neere at hand: it now fell out miserably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better then at home. *L. Posthumus Albinus* their Pretor they had sent, with an Armie of five and twentie thousand, into *Gaul*; to the *Illyrian* King *Pineus* they had sent for their Tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past, willing him, if hee desired forbearance, to deliuer hostages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip* King of *Macedon* they had sent, to require, that he should deliuer vp vnto them *Demetrius Pharius*, their Subiect and Rebell, whom he had receiued. But now from all quarters they heare tidings, little futable to their former glorious conceits. *Posthumus* with all his Armie was cut in peeces by the *Gauls*, in such sort, that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his ouerthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the *Gauls*, *Litane*, through which he was to pass. Against his comming, the Enemies had sawed the Trees so farre, that a little force would serue to cast them downe. When therefore *Posthumus*, with his whole Armie, was entred into this dangerous passage, the *Gauls*, that lay about the Wood, beganne to cast downe the Trees: which falling one against another, bore all downe so fast, that the *Romans* were ouerwhelmed, Men and Horses; in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before.

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How this tedious worke, of sawing so many Trees, could take desired effect, and neither bee perceiued, nor made frustrate, either by some winde, that might haue blowne all downe before the *Romans* entred, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the deuiue was subiect; I doe not well conceiue. Yet some such thing may haue beene done; and what failed in the stratagem, supplied with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthe to be omitted, as a monument of the savage condition, wherewith *Lombardie*, a Countrie now so ciuill, was infected in elder times, That of *Posthumus* his skull, being cleawed, and trimmed vp with gold, a drinking cup was made, and consecrated in their principall Temple, as an holy vessell, for the vse of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great ouerthrow, when word was brought to *Rome*; the amazement was no lesse than the calamitie. But sorrow could giue no remedie to the mischiefe: and anger was vaine, where there wanted forces to reuenge. Tribute from the *Illyrians* there came none: neither doe I finde, that any was a second time demanded; thus we finde, That with *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus* *Illyrian* Kings, as also with *Gentius*, who reigned within a few yeeres following, the *Romans* dealt vpon euil tearmes; entreating their assistance against *Philip* and *Perseus*; not commanding their dutie, as Vassalls. The *Macedonians* troubled them yet a little further. For hauing assured his affaires in *Greece*, and enjoying leisure to looke into the doings abroad, Hee sent Embassadours to *Hannibal*: with whom he made a league, vpon these conditions; That the King in person should come into *Italy*, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, assist the *Carthaginians* in the *Roman* warre, vntill it were finished; That *Rome*, and all *Italy*, together with all the spoile therein to bee gotten, should bee left entire vnto the State of *Carthage*; And that afterwards *Hannibal* with his Armie should passe into *Greece*, and there assist *Philip*, vntill hee had subdued all his Enemies: (which were the *Aetolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus*, and others) leauing semblably vnto him the full possession of that Countrie, and the Iles adioyning. But such predisposition of Kingdomes and Provinces, is lightly controlled by the diuine Providence, which therein shewes it selfe not (as *Herodotus* falsely termes it, and like an *Atheist*) enuious or malicious, but very iust and majesticall; in vp-holding that vnspcakable greatnesse of Souerainetie, by which it rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadours that *Philip* sent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their iourne towards *Hannibal*: and being examined what they were, aduentured vpon a bold lie, saying, That they were sent from the King of *Macedon* to *Rome*, there to make a League with the Senate and People, and offer his helpe in this time of great necessitie. These newes were so welcome, that the ioy thereof tooke away all care of making better inquirie. So they were louingly sealed; and friendly dismissed, with guides that should leade them the way, and shew them how to auoide the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus instructed concerning their iourne, fell wilfully into the Campe of *Hannibal*: who entertained them after a better fashion; and concluded the businesse, about which they came, vpon the points before remembered. In their returne homeward, they happened againe vnluckily to bee descried by the *Roman* fleet; which, mistrusting them to bee of the *Carthaginian* partie, gaue them chase. They did their best to haue escaped: but being ouer-taken, they suffered the *Romans* to come aboard; and trusting to the lie that once had serued them, said it againe, That hauing been sent from King *Philip*, to make a League with the People of *Rome*, they were not able, by reason of the *Carthaginians* lying betwene, to get any farther than to *M. Valerius* the Pretor, vnto whom they had signified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now lesse credible than before; and (which marred all) *Gisco*, *Bostar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were sent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparant. Wherefore a little inquisition serued to finde all out: so that at length *Hannibals* owne letters to King *Philip* were deliuered vp, and the whole businesse confessed. The Embassadours and their followers were sent

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close prisoners to Rome: where the chiefe of them were cast into prison; and the rest sold for bond-slaves. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon a new Embassage was sent, that went and returned with better speede; concluding, as was agreed before; onely with some losse of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heauie weight this *Macedonian* warre, in an euill houre, was likely to fall vpon them; when their shoulders were ouer-burdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they tooke a noble resolution; and futeable vnto that, whereby they kept off the storme, that else would haue beaten vpon them *Spaine*. They iudged it more easie, with small forces to detain *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their strength to resit him in *Italie*. And herein they were in the right. For that the very reputation of a King of *Macedon*, joining with *Hannibal* in such a time, would haue sufficed to shake the allegiance not onely of the *Latines*, and other their most faithfull Subiects, but euén of the *Roman* Colonies that held all priuiledges of the Citie, it will appeare by the following successe of things. *M. Valerius* the Pretor, with twentie *Quinquere* Gallies, was appointed to attend vpon the *Macedonian*, and to set on foot some commotion in *Greece*; or to nourish the troubles already therein begunne. *Philip* was buisie about the Sea-townes, that looked towards *Italie*, setting vpon *Apollonia*; and thence sailing vpon *Oricum*; which he wanne, and so returned to *Apollonia* againe. The *Epirots* craued helpe of *M. Valerius*; or rather accepted his kinde offers; who had none other businesse to doe. The Garrison that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was strong enough to hold the Townsmen in good order; but not to keepe out the *Romans* of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, *Philip* as then had no suspition. *Valerius* therefore easily regained the Towne; and sent thence a thousand men, vnder *Nautius Crispus*, an vnder-taking and expert Captaine; which got by night into *Apollonia*. These made a notable sallie; and brake into *Philips* Trenches with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his camp, & raise the siege. The King purposed (as it is said) to haue departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, comming with his fleet from *Oricum*, stopped vp the mouth of the Riuer; so that hee was faine to burne his ships, (which belike were no better than long boats) and depart ill furnished of carriages, by Land. After this, *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation alwaies enemie to the Crowne of *Macedon*; and easily perswaded them (being so affected, as hath elsewhere bene shewed) to make strong warre on *Philip*; wherein he promised them great assistance from the *Romans*. That which most moued the troublesome spirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*: after which they had gaped long; and whereof the *Roman* was as liberal in making promise, as it already it had bene his owne. So a league was made betweene them: and afterward solemnely published at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*; and by the *Romans*, in their *Capitoll*. The conditions were, That from *Ætolia* to *Cercyra*, in which space *Acarnania* was contained, all the Countrie should bee subdued, and left vpon the *Ætolians*, the pillage onely to beguén to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it shuld be with Prouision, to hold no longer, than whilest he abstained from doing iniurie to the *Romans*, or their Associates. This was indeede the onely point, whereat *Valerius* aimed, who promised as much on the *Roman* behalfe, That they should not make peace with the *Macedonian*, vnlesse it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this League was place referred for the *Lacedemonians* and *Eleans*, as to those that had made or fauoured the side of *Cleomenes* against the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*: the first of which reigned at *Pergamus*, in *Asia* the lesse, a Prince hereafter much to bee spoken of; the other two held some part of *Thrya*, about which the *Romans* were so farre from contending with them, that gladly they sought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Associates, are thrust into the Treatie; rather to giue it countenance, than for any readinesse

readinesse which they disclosed to enter therein. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Pretor, with *Dorymealus* and others, are yet a while the onely men, of whom the *Roman* Generals must make much; as the late *French* King, *Henric* the fourth, when he had only the title of *Nauarre*, was said to court the Majors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle, when he heard wherevnto the *Ætolians* tended. He repaired his Armie; made a countenance of warre vpon the *Thyrians*, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger: to infect the Kingdome of *Macedon*; waited the Countrie about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*; and ouer-running the *Pelagians*, *Dardanians*, and others, whom he held suspected, came downe into *Thessalie*, whence hee made 10 shew as if he would invade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, He thought to stirre vp all the *Greekes* adjoining, against the *Ætolians*, whom they generally detested as a nest of Robbers, troublefome to all the Countrie. To which purpose, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into *Greece*, He left *Perseus*, his sonne & heire, with foure thousand men, vpon their borders: with the rest of his Armie, before greater businesse should ouer-take and entangle him. He made a long iourne into *Thrace*, against a people called the *Sedes*; that were wont to fall vpon *Macedon*, whensoever the King was absent. The *Ætolians*, hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could against the *Acarnanians*, in hope to subdue those their daily enemies, and winne their little Countrie, ere hee should bee able to returne. Hereto it 20 much auailed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Oenade* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Townes, conueniently situated to let in an Armie; and conigned them vnto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenor of the contratt lately made with them. But the stout resolution of the *Acarnanians*, to die (as we say) euery Mothers sonne of them, in defence of their Countrie; together with the great hate of the *Macedonian* (who laied aside all other businesse) to succour these his friends; caused the *Ætolians* to forsake their enterprife. When this Expedition was giuen ouer, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell vpon *Antiochia*, which they tooke: the *Romans* assailing it by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Towne, and the *Romans* the spoile.

For these good seruices *M. Valerius* was chosen Consul at Rome; and *P. Sulpicius* 30 sent in his stead, to keepe the warre on foot in *Greece*. But besides the *Roman* helpe, *Attalus* out of *Asia* came ouer to assist the *Ætolians*. He was chiefly moued, by his owne ialousie of *Philips* greatnesse: though somewhat also tickled with the vanity, of being chosen by the *Ætolians* their principall Magistrate; which honour, though no better than titularie, he tooke in very louing part. Against the forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had sent, being ioyned with the maine power of *Ætolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battailes: and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, these his troublesome Neighbours desired peace of him, and vied their best meanes to get it. But when the day, appointed for the conclusion thereof, was come: their Embassadors, in stead of making submission, proposed vnto him such intolerable 40 conditions, as ill befemed vanquished men to offer: and might therefore well testifie, that their mindes were altered. It was not any loue of peace, but feare of being beleiged in their owne Townes, that had made them delirious of composition. This feare being taken away, by the encouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as euer: and thrust a Garrison of their owne, and some *Roman* friends, into *Elis*; which threatned *Achaea*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut ouer the streight from *Naupactus*, wasted the Countrie in a terrible brauerie: wherein *Philip* requited them; comming vpon them in halfe from the *Neuemean* Games (which he was then celebrating) and sending them faster away, but nothing richer, than they came.

In the heat of this contention, *Prusias* King of *Bitlynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no lesse than *Attalus* held suspected the power of *Philip*; sent a Naue into 50 *Greece*, to assist the *Macedonian* partie. The like did the *Carthaginians*: and vpon greater reason; as being more interested in the successe of his affaires. *Philip* was too weak by Sea: and though he could man some two hundred ships; yet the Vessels were

were such, as could not hold out against the *Roman Quinquagesims*. Wherefore it be-
 hewed him, to vñe the helpe of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aide
 came somewhat too late: which might better at first haue kept those Enemies from
 fasting vpon any part of *Greece*; than afterwards it could serue to driue them out,
 when they had pierced into the bowels of that Countrey. Ere *Philip* could attempt
 anything by Sea; it was needfull that he should correct the *Eleians*, bad Neighbours
 to the *Achaïans* his principall Confederates. But in assailing their Towne, hee was
 encountered by the *Ætolian* and *Roman* Garrison; which draue him back with some
 losse. In such cases, especially where God intends a great conuersion of Empire,
 Fame is very powerfull in working. *Philip* had received no great detriment, in
 his retreat from *Elis*: rather he had giuen testimonie of his personall valour, in fight-
 ing well on foot, when his horse was slaine vnder him. He had also soone after taken
 a great multitude of the *Eleians*, to the number of foure thousand; with some
 twentie thousand head of Cattle, which they had brought together into a place of
 safetie, as they thought, when their Countrey was invaded. But it had happened,
 that in his pursuit of the *Roman* foragers about *Sicyon*, his horse running hastily vn-
 der a low tree, had torne off one of the hornes, which (after the fashion of those
 times) the King wore in his Crest. This was gathered vp by an *Ætolian*, who car-
 ried it home, and shewed it as a token of *Philip's* death. The horse was well known,
 and the tale beleued. All *Macedon* therefore was in an vpror: and not onely the
 Borderers, ready to fall vpon the Countrey, but some Captaines of *Philip*, easily
 corrupted; who thinking to make themselves a fortune in that change of things,
 ranne into such treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse.
 Hereupon the King returned home; leauing not three thousand men, to assill his
 friends the *Achaïans*. He also tooke order, to haue Beacons erected; that might giue
 him notice of the Enemies doings; vpon whom hee meant shortly to returne. The
 affaires of *Macedon*, his presence quickly established. But in *Greece* all went ill-fauo-
 redly: especially in the Ile of *Eubœa*, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Attalus*, and the
Romans, the Towne of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arrive to helpe it; where also the
 strong Citie of *Chalcis* was likely to haue bene lost, if hee had not come the sooner.
 He made such hastie marches, that he had almost taken *Attalus* in the Citie of *Opus*.
 This Citie, lying ouer against *Eubœa*, *Attalus* had wonne more through the cowar-
 dize of the people, than any great force that he had vsed. Now because the *Roman*
 souldiers had defrauded him in the sack of *Oreum*, and taken all to themselves: it was
 agreed, that *Attalus* should make his best profit of the *Opuntians*, without admitting
 the *Romans* to be his sharers. But whilst he was busie, in drawing as much monie as
 he could out of the Citizens: the sudden tidings of *Philip's* arriual, made him leaue
 all behinde him, and runne away to the Sea-side, where he got aboard his ships; fin-
 ding the *Romans* gone before, vpon the like feare. Either the indignitie of this mis-
 adventure; or tidings of *Prusias* the *Bithynian* his inuasion vpon the Kingdome of
Pergamus; made *Attalus* returne home, without staying to take leaue of his friends.
 So *Philip* recovered *Opus*; wonne *Torone*, *Tritones*, *Drymus*, and many small townes
 in those parts; performing likewise some Actions, of more brauerie than impor-
 tance, against the *Ætolians*. In the meane season, *Adschemidas*, the Tyrant of *Lace-
 dæmon*, had bene busie in *Peloponnesus*; but hearing of *Philip's* arriual, was return-
 ed home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Ægypt*,
 went about to choose two new Kings; and to conformance themselves to their old
 manner of Governement. But their estate was so farre out of tune, that their hope
 of redressing things within the Citie, proued no lesse vnfortunate, than had bene
 their attempts of recouering a large Dominion abroad. *Lycorgus* a Tyrant rose vp
 among them: vnto whom succeeded this *Machinidas*; and shortly after came *Nabis*,
 that was worse than both of them. They held on the *Ætolian* and *Roman* side, for
 feare of the *Achaïans*; that were the chiefe Confederates of *Philip*, and hated ex-
 tremely

tremely the name both of Tyrant, and of *Lacedæmonian*. But of these wee shall
 speake more hereafter.

Philip entring into *Achaïa*, and seeing his presence had brought the contentment
 of assurance to that Countrey; spake braue words to the Assembly of their States,
 saying, That he had to doe with an Enemy, that was very nimble, and made warre
 by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Oreum*, to *Opus*,
 and now into *Achaïa*: but could no where finde them; such haile they made, for
 feare of being ouer-taken. But flight, He said, was not alwaies prosperous: He should
 one day light vpon them; as ere this hee sundrie times had done, and fill to their
 losse. The *Achaïans* were glad to hear these words; and much the more glad, in
 regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For hee restored vnto their Nation
 some Townes, that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewise to the *Me-
 galopoltians* their Confederates, He rendred *Aliphera*. The *Dymeans*, that had bene
 taken by the *Romans*, and sold for slaues, He fought out, ransomed, and put in quiet
 possession of their owne Citie. Further, passing ouer the *Corinthian Gulfe*, Hee fell
 vpon the *Ætolians*: whom he draue into the mountaines and woods, or other their
 strongest holds; and waited their Countrey. This done, Hee tooke leaue of the *A-
 chaïans*: and returning home by Sea, visited the people that were his subjects, or de-
 pendants: and animated them so well, that they reled fearelesse of any threatening
 danger. Then had he leisure to make warre vpon the *Dardaniens*, ill Neighbours to
Macedon: with whom neuertheless he was not so farre occupied, but that he could
 goe in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred Gallies, whereby to make himselfe
 Master of the Sea; the *Romans* (since the departure of *Attalus*) hauing not dared
 to meet or pursue him, when he lately ranne along the coast of *Greece*, fast by them
 where they lay.

This good successe added much reputation to the *Macedonian*; and emboldened
 him to make strong warre vpon the *Ætolians*, at their owne doores. As for the *Ro-
 mans*; either some displeasure, conceiued against their Confederates; or some feare
 of danger at home, when *Asdrubal* was ready to fall vpon *Italie*, caused them to giue
 30 ouer the care of things in *Greece*, and leaue their friends there to their own fortunes.
 The *Ætolians* therefore, being driuen to great extremitie, were faine to sue for peace
 vnto *Philip*; and accept it, vpon what euir conditions it best pleased him. The agree-
 ment was no sooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thousand foot, a thousand
 horse, and thirtie fise Gallies, came ouer in great haile (though somewhat too late)
 to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Ætolia*, hee turned aside to *Dyrrachium*,
 and *Apollonia*; making a great noyse, as if with these his owne forces he would work
 wonders. But it was not long, ere *his ip* came to visit him; and found him tame e-
 nough. The King presented him battaile: but he refused it: and suffering the *Ma-
 cedonians* to walke the Country round about, before his eyes, kept himselfe close with-
 40 in the walls of *Apollonia*; making some Ouerures of peace: which caused *Philip* to
 returne home quietly. The *Romans* had not so great cause to be displeased with the
Ætolians, as had *Philip*, to take in euill part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For
 notwithstanding the Royall offer that he made them, to serue their turne in *Italie*,
 and assill them in getting their hearts desire, before he would expect any requital:
 they had not sent any Fleet, as in reason they ought, and as considering his want of
 sufficient abillitie by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to secure the transpor-
 tation of his Armie, or to free his coast from the *Roman* and *Ætolian* Pyracies. On-
 ly onct they came to his helpe, which was, at his last iourne into *Achaïa*. But they
 were gone againe before his arriual: hauing done nothing, and pretending feare of
 50 being taken by the *Romans*, euen at such time as *Philip*, with his owne Naue, did
 boldly passe by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This rechelesse dealing
 of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore seme to haue bene one of *Hannos* his tricks;
 whereof *Hannibal* so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieue this malicious
 man exceedingly to heare, that so great a King made offer to serue in person vnder
 Hannibal,

Hannibal, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affaires of the World at pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as *Enius* could suggest, to perswade the *Carthaginians* vnto a safe and thrifte course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their *Italian* waies so mightie a Prince, whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection vnto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their libertie. Rather they should doe well to saue charges: and feede the *Macedonian* with hopes; by making many promises of sending a fleet, and some other succours. This would cost nothing: yet would it serue to terrifie the *Romans*, and compell them to send part of their forces from home; that might finde this Enemie worke abroad. So should 10 the *Roman* Armies be lessened in *Italie*; and *Philip*, when once he was engaged in the warre, be vrged vnto the prosecution, by his owne necessitie: putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges; yea scarce to the labour of giuing him thanks. Now if it might come to passe, as *Hannibal* euery day did promise, that *Rome*, and all *Italie*, should within a while bee at the deuotion of *Carthage*: better it were that the Citie should bee free, so as the troublesome *Greekes* might addresse their complaints vnto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Iudges betwene them and the *Macedonians*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Africa*, should wait vpon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries. As would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hateful in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no lesse impudent, in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the countaile of *Hanno* and his fellows, were such as this; or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their owne disposition without his aduice, were too sparing, and carelesse, the matter (as farre as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good: but rather dodged with him; euen in that little courtlike which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why hee begonne the building of an hundred Gallies, as if hee would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would haue reached, had he not vainely giuen credit to faithlesse promises. When therefore the 20 *Italians* had submitted themselves already: and when the *Romans* desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very feare of him: with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to haue succoured them in their necessitie, He might giue ouer the warre, and, without reprehension, leave them to themselves. For hee had wilfully entred into trouble for their sakes: but they despised him, as if the quarrell were merely his owne, and hee vnable to manage it. The vanitie of which their conceits would appeare vnto them: when they should see that with his proper strength he had finished the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the yeere following it was agreed, by mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* should retain three or foure 30 Townes of *Thyria*, which they had recovered in this warre, being part of their old *Illyrian* Conquest: Places no way belonging to the *Macedonian*; and therefore perhaps inserted into the covenants, that somewhat might seeme to haue been gotten. On the other side, the *Attinians* were appointed to returne vnder the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably conjectures) the people of the Countie about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appeares, that they did not giue peace, as they would seeme to haue done, but accepted it, vpon conditions somewhat to their losse.

The Confederates and Dependents of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, the *Achaens*, *Boeotians*, *Thesalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* side were named, first, the People of *Ilium*, as an honorable remembrance of the *Romans* descent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; *Pleuratus*, an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis*, the Tyrant of *Lacedaemon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Messenians*, and *Athenians*. The *Etolians* were omitted, belike, as hauing agreed for themselves before. But the *Eleans* and *Messenians*, followers of the *Etolians*; (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their League with *Philip*) were

were also infected by the *Romans*; that were neuer slow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*: they stood much vpon their old honour; and loued to beare a part, though they did nothing, in all great Actions. Yet the setting downe of their name in this Treatie, serued the *Romans* to good purpose: forasmuch as they were a busie people; and ministred occasion to renew the Warre, when meanes did better serue to follow it.

§. XIII.

How the Romans beganne to recover their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romans, in relieving the publike necessities of their Common-wealth.

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing so many Enterprises at once, they followed all by the halues: and waited more men and monie to no purpose, than would haue serued (if good order had beene taken) to finish the whole warre, in farre shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This error 20 had beene the lesse harmefull, if their care of *Italie* had beene such as it ought. But they suffered *Hannibal*, to wearie himselfe with expectation of their promised supplies: which being still deferred from yeere to yeere, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a conquerour could haue desired. The death of *Peplosimus*, and destruction of his whole Armie in *Gaulle*; the begunne rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *Hiero* their friend in *Syracuse*; with great alterations, much to their prejudice, in the whole Ile of *Sicill*; as also that Warre, of which we last spake, threatened from *Macedon*; happening all at one time; and that so neerely after their terrible ouerthrow at *Canna*, among so many reuolts of their *Italian* Confederates; would vtterly haue funke the *Roman* State, had the *Carthaginians*, if not the first yeere, yet 30 at least the second, sent ouer to *Hannibal* the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that euen this diuerfitee of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administered matter vnto *Hanno*, or such as *Hanno* was, whercupon to worke. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to performe all that was decreed for *Italie*: yet could not that proportion hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their several Armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had been thoroughly prosecuted: though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperitie of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* warre, should haue beene strengthened; whatsoever had become of the rest. But the slender troupes, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the warre in *Spain*; the lingering aide which they sent, to vp-hold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was already wel-neere beauen downe; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hasty catching at *Sicill*: little deferred to be thought good reasons of neglecting the maine point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather euery one of these Actions, considered apart by it selfe, was no otherwise to be allowed as discreetly vnder-taken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition, That the care of *Italie*, made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serue to content *Hannibal*, then must he patiently endure to know, that his owne Citizens were jealous of his Greatnesse, and durst not trust him with so 30 much power, as should enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatsoever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himselfe to Necessitie; to feede his *Italian* friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about *Neples*, *Naples*, *Cuma*, and other places: being loth to spend his Armie in an hard siege, that was to be reserved for a worke of more importance. Many offers hee made vpon

upon *Nola*; but alwaies with bad successe. Once *Marcellus* fought a battaile with him there: yet vnder the very walls of the Towne; hauing the assistance of the Citizens, that were growne better affected to the *Roman* side, since the Heads, that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men *Hannibal* in that fight lost: which was no great maruaile; his forces being then diuided, and imployed in sundrie parts of *Italie* at once. *Naples* was, euen in those daies, a strong Citie; and required a yeeres worke to haue taken it by force. Wherefore the earnest desire of *Hannibal* to get it, was alwaies frustrate. Vpon the Towne of *Cuma* they of *Capua* had their plot and were in hope to take it by cunning. They sent to the chiefe Magistrates of the *Cumans*, desiring them (as being also *Campanians*) to be present at a solemn sacrifice of the Nation, where they would consult about their generall good: promising to bring thither a sufficient guard, to assure the whole Assembly, from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made shew to entertaine; but priuily sent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the *Roman* Consul.

Gracchus was a very good man of warre; and happily chosen Consul in so dangerous a time. His Colleague should haue bene *Posthumius Albinus*, that was lately slaine by the *Gauls*: after whose death *Marcellus* was chosen; as being judged the fittest man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman Augures* either found some religious impediment, that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at least they feared so to haue done. because this was the first time, that euer two *Plebeian* Consuls were chosen together. *Marcellus* therefore gaue ouer the place: and *Q. Fabius Maximus* the late famous Dictator, was substituted in his room. But *Fabius* was detained in the Citie, about matters of Religion, or Superstition: wherewith *Rome* was commonly, especially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Consular Armie, waited vpon *Hannibal* among the *Campanians*: not able to meet the Enemy in field; yet intente to all occasions, that should be presented. The *Volones*, or *Slaves*, that lately had bene armed, were no small part of his followers. These, and the rest of his men, hee continually trained: and had not a greater care, to make his Armes skillfull in the exercises of warre; than to keepe it from quarrels, that might arise by vpbraiding one another with their base condition.

Whilest the Consul was thus buied at *Linternum*; the Senators of *Cuma* sent him word, of all that had passed betwene them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occasion to shew his men, and make them confident against the Enemy; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himselfe into *Cuma*: whence he issued at such time, as the Magistrates of that Citie were expected by the *Campanians*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hama*, three miles from *Cuma*. There lay *Marius Alfusus* the chiefe Magistrate of *Capua*, with fourteen thousand men: not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather desiring how to surpris others, than fearing himselfe to be assailed. The Consul therefore, suffering none to goe forth of *Cuma*, that might beare word of him to the Enemies, issued out of the Towne when it grew darke: his men being well refreshed with meat and sleepe, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights seruice. So he came vpon the *Capuans* vnawares: and slew more than two thousand of them, together with their Commander; looting not aboue an hundred of his owne men. Their campe hee took: but carried not long to rise it, for feare of *Hannibal*; who lay not farre off. By this his providence, He escaped a greater losse, than he had brought vpon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was enformed how things went at *Hama*, forthwith he marched thither: hoping to finde those yong souldiers, and slaues, buied in making spoile, and loading themselves with the bootie. But they were all gotten safe within *Cuma*; which partly for anger, partly for desire of gaining it, & partly at the vrgent entreatie of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* assailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill successe, the

the *Carthaginians* and their fellows spent, about this Towne. They raised a wooden Tower against it: which they brought close vnto the walls; thinking thereby to force an Entrie. But the Defendants, on the inside of the wall, raised against this an higher Tower: whence they made resistance; and found meanes at length, to consume with fire the worke on their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were buie in quenching the fire; the *Romans*, falling out of the Towne at two gates, charged them valiantly, and draue them to their trenches, with the slaughter of about fourtene hundred. The Consul wisely founded the Retreat; ere his men were too farre engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readinesse to requite their seruice. Neither would he, in the pride of this good successe, aduventure forth against the Enemy; who presented him battell the day following, neere vnto the walls. *Hannibal* therefore, seeing no likelihood to preuaile in that which he had taken in hand, brake vp the siege; and returned to his old Campe at *Tifata*. About these times, and shortly after, when *Fabius* the other Consul had taken the field; some small Townes were recouered by the *Romans*, and the people eueryly punished for their revolt.

The *Carthaginian* Armie was too small, to fill with Garrisons all places that had yielded; and withall to abide (as it must doe) strong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the supply from home, that should enable him to strike at *Rome* if selfe, was driven in the meane time to alter his course of warre: and, in stead of making (as formerly he had done) a general insuaion vpon the whole Country, to passe from place to place; and wait vpon occasions, that grew day more commodious to the enemy, than to himes. The Countrey of the *Hirpines* and *Samnit* was grievously waied by *Marcellus*, in the absence of *Hannibal*; as also was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Consul; when *Hannibal* hauing followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and received there the losse before mentioned, was gone to Winter in *Apulia*. These people shewed not the like spirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done; when they contended with the *Romans*, in their owne behalfe, to get the Soueraigntie. They held it reason, that they should be protected, by such as thought to haue dominion ouer them: whereby at once they overburdened their new Lords; and gaue vnto their old the more easie means, to take reuenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intente, as necessitie constrained them, to the worke that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Consulship: and ioynd with him *M. Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed vnto that honour the yeere before. Of these two, *Fabius* was called the Shield: and *Marcellus*, the *Roman* Sword. In *Fabius* it was highly, and vpon iust reason, commended, that he himselfe Consul, and holding the Election, he did not stand vpon nice points of formalitie, or regard what men might thinke of his ambition, but caused himselfe to be chosen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the Citie stood of able Commanders. The great name of these Consuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made; serued to put the *Campanians* in feare, that *Capua* it selfe should bee besieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal* at their earnest entreatie came from *Arpi*: (where he lay, harkning after newes from *Tarentum*), and hauing with his presence comforted these his friends, fell on the sudden vpon *Puteoli* a Sea-towne of *Campania*; about which he spent three daies in vaine, hoping to haue wonne it. The Garrison in *Puteoli* was fixe thousand strong: and did their dutie so well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good successe, could onely shew his anger vpon the fields there, and about *Naples*; which hauing done, and once more (with as ill successe as before) assailed *Nola*, he bent his course to *Tarentum*: wherein he had very great intelligence. Whilest he was in his progresse thither; *Hanno* made a iourne against *Beneuentum*; and *T. Gracchus* the last yeeres Consul, halting from *Nuceria*, met him there; and fought with him a battell. *Hanno* had with him about fouteene thousand Foot, *Brutians* and *Lucans* for the most part: besides twelue hundred Horse; vnto which

commonalty being obnoxious vnto the Censors; which were alwaies of that Order, and careful to vp-hold the reputation thereof. But the Common-weale being now impoverished by warre, and hauing small store of Lands to let, or of Customes that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselves much with perusing the Temples, or other decayed Places, that needed reparations: or if they tooke a view of what was requisite to be done in this kinde; yet forbore they to let any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein againe appeared a notable generositie of the *Romans*. They that had bene accustomed, in more happie times, to vndertake such peeces of worke, offered now themselves as willingly to the Censors, as if there had bene no such want: promising liberally their cost and travell; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the warre. In like sort, the Masters of those slaves, that lately had bene enfranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forebare the price of them, vntill the Citie were in better case to pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieue, as farre forth as euery one was able, the common necessitie; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widdowes liuing vnder Patronage, were brought into the Treasurie; and there the Quæstor kept a booke, of all that was laid out for the sustentance of these Widdowes and Orphans: whilest the whole stocke was vied by the Citie. This good example of those which remained in the Towne, prevailed with the Souldiers abroad: so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay; and called those *Mercinaries*, that did accept it, when their countrie was in so great want.

The twelve hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any injuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride; yielded halfe so much commoditie, as might bee laid in ballance against these miseries, wherinto their Estate was now reduced. Neuerthelesse, if wee consider things aright; the calamities of this Warre did rather enable *Rome* to deale with those Enemies, whom shee forth-with vnder-tooke, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto shee attained, ere the youngest of those men was dead, whose names wee haue already mentioned. For by this hampering, the *Roman* metall grew more hard and solide: and by paring the branches of priuate fortunes, the Roote and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the Citie of *Athens*; when *Xerxes* had burnt the Towne to ashes, and taken from euery particular Citizen all hope of other felicitie, than that which rested in the common happinesse of the vniuersalitie. Certaine it is, (as *Sir Francis Bacon* hath iudiciously obserued) That a State, whose dimension or stемme is small, may aptly serue to be foundation of a great Monarchie: which chiefly comes to passe, where all regard of domesticall prosperitie is laid aside; and euery mans care addressed to the benefit of his countrie. Hercof I might say, that our Age hath seene a great example, in the vnited Provinces in the *Netherlands*; whose present riches and strength grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Townes, or almost of their Families, perceived it selfe to hold, whilest the Generalitie was oppressed by the Duke of *Alua*; were it so, that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme indurie, and straining themselves to fill their publike Treasurie, they are all growne wealthy, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their seruices by Land. Wherefore if wee valew at such a rate as wee ought, the patient Resolution, conformitie to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and, aboue all other, the great loue of the Common-weale, which was found in *Rome* in these dangerous times: we may truly say, That the Citie was neuer in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being growne more large and beautifull, should in all reason haue been more deare vnto them, if the riches and delicacies of *Alexa* had not infected

infected them with sensualitie, and carried their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to consist; if all the Citizens, and Subiects of *Rome* could haue beleueed their owne interrest to be as great, in those waies which these latter Emperours made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the Consuls: the Empire, founded vpon so great vertue, could not haue bene throwne downe by the hands of rude *Barbarians*, were they neuer so many. But vnto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who, though hee hath giuen vnto Man the knowledge of those waies, by which Kingdomes rise and fall; yet hath left him subiect vnto the affections, which draw on these fatall changes, in their 10 times appointed.

p. XIII.

The Romans win some Townes back from HANNIBAL. HANNIBAL winnes Tarentum. The siege of Capua. Two victories of HANNIBAL. The course of HANNIBAL to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.



20 S the People of *Rome* strained themselves to the utmost, for maintaining the warre: so their Generals abroad omitted no part of indurie, in seeking to recouer what had bene lost. The Towne of *Castine Fabius* beleeged. It was well defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and likely to haue bene relieved by those of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola* had not come to the assistance of his Colleague. Neuerthelesse the place held out so obstinately, that *Fabius* was purposed to giue it ouer: saying, that the enterprife was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrarie opinion. He said, That many such things, as were not at first to haue been vnder-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to bee prosecuted vnto the best effect. So the siege held on: and the Towne was pressed so hard, that the *Campani* dwelling therein grew fearefull, and craved parlee; offering to giue it vp, so as all might haue leaue to depart in safetie, whither they pleased. Whilest they were thus treating of conditions: or whilest they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made; (for it is diuersly reported) *Marcellus*, seizing vpon a Gate, entred with his Armie, and put all to sword that came in their way. Fiftie of those that were first gotten out, ranne to *Fabius* the Consul: who saued them, and sent them to *Capua* in safety; all the rest were either slaine, or made prisoners. If *Fabius* deserued commendations, by holding his word good vnto these fiftie; I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such, as escaped the heat of execution, could bee excused by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himselfe, after the *Roman* fashion, with some equiuocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like sort was *Mount Marsam* in *Gascogne* taken by the Marhall *Montuc*, when I was a young man in *France*. For whilest he entertained parlee about composition; the besieged ranne all from their severall guards, vpon halfe desire of being acquainted with the conditions proposed. The Marhall therefore discovering a part of the walls vnguarded, entred by *Scalado*; and put all saue the Gouverneur vnto the sword. Herein that Gouverneur of *Mount Marsam* committed two grosse errors; the one, in that hee gaue no order for the Captaines and Companies, to hold themselves in their places; the other, in that hee was content to parlee, without pledges for assurance giuen and received. Some such ouer-sight, the Gouverneur of *Castine* seemeth to haue committed; yet neither the aduantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Montuc*, was very honourable. When this Worke was ended, many small Townes of the *Samnites*, and some of the

Lucans and *Apulians*, were requeered: wherein were taken, or slaine, about five and twentie thousand of the Enemies; and the Countrie grievously walted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying sicke at *Nola*.

Hannibal in the meane while was about *Tarentum*; waiting to heare from those, that had promised to give vp the Towne. But *M. Valerius*, the Roman Propretor, had thrust so many men into it, that the Traitors durst not stirre. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* was faine to depart; having wearied himselfe in vaine with expectation. Yet he walted not the Countrie; but contented himselfe with hope; that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence toward *Salapia*: which he chose for his wintering place; and beganne to victuall it, when Summer 10 was but halfe past. It is said, that he was in loue with a yong Wenche in that towne: in which regard if he beganne his Winter more timely, than otherwise neede required, He did not like the *Romans*; whom necessitie enforced, to make their Summer last as long, as they were able to trauell vp and downe the Countrie.

About this time beganne great troubles in *Sicily*; whither *Marcellus* the Consul was sent, to take such order for the Prouince, as neede should require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than his Consulship, we will speake hereafter.

The new Consuls, chosen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius* the sonne of the present Consul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time. The *Romans* found it needfull for the publique seruice, to employ often-times their best able men: and therefore made it lawfull, during the war, to recontinue their Officers, and choose such, as had lately held their places before; without regarding any distance of time, which was otherwise required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant vnto his sonne: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his sonne vnto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the campe, and his sonne rode forth to meete him: cleuen of the twelue Lictors, which carried each an axe with a bundle of rods before the Consul, suffered him, in regard of due reuerence, to passe by them on horse-backe; which was against the custome. But the sonne perceiving this, commanded the last of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bade the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Consul on his feete. The father chearefully did so; saying, *It was my minde, sonne, to make triall, whether thou diddest vnderstand thy selfe to bee Consul.* 30

Cassius Albinus a wealthie Citizen of *Arpi*, who, after the battell at *Canna*, had holpen the *Carthaginian* into that Towne, seeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend; came priuily to this Consul *Fabius*, and offered to render it back vnto him, if he might bee therefore well rewarded. The Consul purposed to follow old examples: and to make this *Albinus* a patterne to all Traitors; vsing him, as *Camillus* and *Fabritius* had done those, that offered their vnfaithful seruice against the *Falsisti*, and King *Pyrhus*. But *Q. Fabius* the father, was of another opinion: and said, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, That it should be thought more safe to reuolt from the *Romans*, than to turne vnto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that hee should be sent to the Towne of *Cades*, and there kept as prisoner; vntill they could better resolue, what to doe with him, or what vse to make of him. *Hannibal*, vnderstanding that *Albinus* was gone, and among the *Romans*, tooke it not forrowfully; but thought this a good occasion, to seize vpon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet, that he might seeme rather suere, than couetous, He sent for the wife and children of *Albinus* into his campe: where hauing examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly, and more strictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, He condemned them, as partakers of the Treason, to be burnt aliue; and tooke all their goods vnto himselfe. *Fabius* the Consul shortly after came to *Arpi*: which he wanne by *Scalado*, in a stormie and rainie night. Five thousand of *Hannibals* Souldiers lay in the Towne; and of the *Arpines* themselves, there were about three thousand. These were thrust forsooth by the *Carthaginian* Garrisons, when it was vnderstood, that the *Romans* had gotten ouer the wall, and broken open a Gate. For the souldiers held the townsmen suspected; 50

suspected; and therefore thought it no wisdom, to trust them at their backs. But after some litle resistance, the *Arpines* gaue ouer fight, and entertained parlee with the *Romans*: protesting, that they had bene betrayed by their Princes; and were become subject to the *Carthaginians*, against their wills. In proceesse of this discourse, the *Arpine* Pretor went vnto the Roman Consul: and recueing his faith for security of the Towne, presently made head against the Garrison. This notwithstanding; like it is, that *Hannibals* men continued to make good resistance. For when almost a thousand of them, that were *Spaniards*, offered to leaue their companions, and serue on the Roman side; it was yet couenanted, That the *Carthaginians* should be suffered 10 to passe forth quietly, and returne to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and so *Arpi* became Roman againe; with little other losse, than of him that had betrayed it. About the same time, *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the Pretors: and vnto *Cneius Fulvius*, another of the Pretors, an hundred and twelue Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their seruice; vpon no other condition, than to haue their goods restored vnto them, when their Citie should bee recovered by the *Romans*.

This was a thing of small importance: but considering the generall hatred of the *Campans* toward *Rome*, it serued to discouer the inclination of the *Italians* in those times; and how their affections recoiled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of those mighty succours, that had bene promised from *Carthage*. The 20 *Consentines* also, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Britains*, that had yielded themselves to *Hannibal*; returned againe to their old allegiance. Others would haue followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a *Publican* had made himself a Captaine, and gotten reputation by some pettie exploits in foraging the country, was slaine by *Hanno*, with a great multitude of those that followed him. *Hannibal* in the meane while had all his care bent vpon *Tarentum*; which if he could take, it seemed that it would stand him in good stead, for drawing out that helpe out of *Macedon*, which his *Carthaginians* failed to send. Long he waited, ere he could bring his desire to passe: and being loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to preuaile by intelligence; He contented himselfe, with taking in some poore Townes of the 30 *Salentines*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum* found meanes to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One *Phileas*, that was of their conspiracie, who lay at *Rome* as Embassador, praistling with the Hostages of the *Tarentines*, & such as had the keeping of them, conueighed them by night out of the Citie. But hee and his companie were the next day so closely pursued, that all of them were taken, and brought back to *Rome*; where they suffered death, as Traitors. By reason of this crueltie, or seueritie, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans*, more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, they followed their businesse the more diligently; as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discouered. Wherefore they sent againe to *Hannibal*: and ac- 40 quainting him with the manner of their plot, made the same composition with him for the *Tarentines*, which they of *Capua* had made before. *Nico* and *Philonetes*, two the chiefe among them, vied much to goe forth of the Towne on hunting by night; as if they durst not take their pleasure by day, for feare of the *Carthaginians*. Seldome or neuer they missed of their game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it readie for their hands, that they might not seeme to haue bene abroad vpon other occasion. From the campe of *Hannibal*, it was about three daies iourne to *Tarentum*, if hee should haue marched thither with his whole Armie. This caused his long abode in one place the lesse to be suspected: as also to make his Enemies the more secure. He caused it to be giuen out, that he was sicke. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were 50 growne carelesse of such his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had let their businesse in order; He tooke with him ten thousand the most expedite of his horse and foot; and long before brake of day, made all speede thitherward. Foure score light horse of the *Numidians* ranne a great way before him, beating all the waies, and killing any that they met, for feare lest he, and his troupe following him, should be discouered.

covered. It had beene often the manner of some few *Numidian* horse, to doe the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Governour, when hee heard tell in the evening, that some *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, tooke it for a signe, that *Hannibal* was not as yet dislodged; and gaue order, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to strip them of their bootie, and send them gone. But when it grew darke night, *Hannibal*, guided by *Philemenes*, came close to the towne; where, according to the tokens agreed vpon, making a light to shew his arrivall; *Nico*, that was within the Towne, answered him with another light, in signe that he was readie. Presently *Nico* beganne to fet vpon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. *Philemenes* went toward another gate: and whistling (as was his manner) called vp the Porter; bidding him make haste, for that hee had killed a great Bore, so heauie, that scarce two men could stand vnder it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwith entred two young men, loaden with the Bore; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to bee worthe the looking on. While the Porter stood wondering at the largenesse of the beast, *Philemenes* ran him through with his Bore-speare: and letting in some thirtie armed men, fell vpon all the watch; whom when he had slaine, he entred the great gate. So the Armie of *Hannibal*, entring *Tarentum* at two gates, went directly toward the Market-place; where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their Generall, and sent into all quarters of the Citie, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*; and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof *Hannibal* willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in fight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheare. All the Towne was in an vpror: but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpeter was vnskillfully founded by a Greek in the Theater: which helped the suspicion, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to spoile the Towne; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadell, that stood in the mouth of the Hauē; whence hee might easily perceiue the next morning, how all had passed. *Hannibal*, assembling the *Tarentines*, gaue them to vnderstand, what good affection hee bore them; inuighed bitterly against the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppressors; and spake what else he thought fit for the present. This done; and hauing gotten such spoile as was to bee had of the Souldiers goods in the Towne, He addrest himselfe against the Citadell; hoping that if the Garrison would fallie out, he might giue them such a blow, as should make them vnable to defend the Pecee. According to his expectation it partly fel out. For when hee beganne to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a brauerie sallying forth, gaue charge vpon his men: who fell back of purpose according to direction, till they had drawne on as many as they could, and so farre from their strength, as they durst adventure. Then gaue *Hannibal* a signe to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared readie for the purpose: and fiercely setting vpon the Enemy, draue him back with great slaughter, as fast as he could runne; so that afterwards he durst not issue forth. The Citadell stood vpon a Demi-land, that was plaine ground; and fortified only with a ditch and wall against the Towne, whereunto it was joyned by a cawley. This cawley *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like sort against the Citadell; to the end that the *Tarentines* might bee able, without his helpe, to keepe themselves from all danger thence. His worke in few daies went so well forward, without impediment from the besieged, that he conceiued hope of winning the Pecee it selfe, by taking a little more paines. Wherefore he made readie all sorts of engines, to force the place. But whilest he was busied in his works, there came by Sea a strong supply from *Metapontum*: which tooke away all hope of preuailling; and made him returne to his former counsaile. Now so farre as the *Tarentine* fleet lay within the Hauē, and could not passe forth. Whilest the *Romans* held the Citadell: it seemed likely, that the Towne would suffer want, being debarred of accustomed trade and provisions by Sea; whilest the *Roman* Garrison, by helpe of their shipping, might easily be relieved,

lieued; and enabled to hold out. Against this inconuenience; it was rather withed by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the Hauē; to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all supply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Towne standing in plaine ground, and their streets being faire and broad, it would bee no hard matter to draw the Gallies ouer Land, and launch them into the Sea without. This he vnderooke and effected: whereby the *Roman* Garrison was reduced into great necessitie; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* often-times otherwise busied, than his affaires required.

- Thus, with mutual losse on both sides, the time passed: and the *Roman* forces, growing daily stronger, *Q. Fulvius Placcus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately chosen Consuls, prepared to besiege the great Citie of *Capua*. Three and twenty Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and hastic growth from that want of men, and of all necessaries, whereinto the loss of *Canusium* had reduced them. But to fill vp these Legions, they were faine to take vp young Boyes, that were vnder seuen teene yeeres of age; and to send Commissioners about fiftie miles round, for the seeking out of such Lads as might appeare seruiciable, & pressing them to the warres; making yet a Law, That their yeares of seruice, whereinto they were bound by order of the Citie, should be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning so young, as if they had beene of lawfull age. Before the *Roman* Armie drew neere, the *Campans* felt great want of victuall, as if they had already beene besieged. This happened partly by sloth of the Nation, partly by the great waste and spoile, which the *Romans* had in foregoing yeeres made vpon their grounds. They sent therefore Embassadors to *Hannibal*; desiring him to succour them ere they were sent vp, as they feared to bee shortly. Hee gaue them comfortable words: and closed *Hanno* with an Armie to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day; against which they should be readie with all manner of Carriages, to store themselves with victuall, that he would provide. Neither did he promise more, than he performed. For hee caused great quantitie of graine, that had beene laid vp in Cities round about; to be brought into his campe, three miles from *Beneuentum*. Thither at the time appointed came no more than fortie Carts or Wagons, with a few pack-horses; as if this had beene enough to victualle *Capua*. Such was the rechelesse of the *Campans*. *Hanno* was exceeding angrie hereat: and told them they were worse than very beasts; since hunger could not teach them to haue greater care. Wherefore hee gaue them a longer day; against which hee made prouision to store them thoroughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the *Roman* Consuls, from the Citizens of *Beneuentum*. Therefore *Q. Fulvius* the Consul, taking with him such strength as hee thought needfull for the seruice, came into *Beneuentum* by night; where with diligence hee made inquirie into the behaviour of the Enemy. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Armie was gone abroad to make prouisions; that some two thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their campe; so that little good order was kept: all thought being set vpon a great Harass. Hereupon the Consul bade his men prepare themselves, to assault the Enemies campe: and leaving all his impediments within *Beneuentum*, He marched thitherward so early in the morning, that hee was there with the first breake of day. By coming so vnexpected, Hee had well-neere forced the campe on the sudden. But it was very strong, and very well defended: so that the longer the fight continued, the lesse desire had *Fulvius* to loose more of his men in the attempt; seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he said, that it were better to goe more leisurely and substantially to worke; to send for his fellow-Consul with the rest of their Armie, and to lie betwene *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campans* should depart thence, nor the *Carthaginian* be able to relieue them. Being thus discouraging, and about to found the retreat; hee saw, that some of his men had gotten ouer the Enemies Rampart.

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There was great bootie; or (which was all one to the souldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that campe. Wherefore some Ensigne-bearers threw their Ensignes ouer the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, vntlesse they would endure the shame and dishonour following such a losse. Feare of such ignominie, than which none could bee greater, made the Souldiers aduenture so desperately; that *Fulvius*, perceiuing the heat of his men, charged purpose, and encouraged those that were somewhat backward, to follow the example of them, that had already gotten ouer the Trenches. Thus the campe was wonne: in which were flaine aboue like thousand; and taken, about seuen thousand, besides all the fore of vistsuables, and carriages, with abundance of bootie, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This misadventure, and the neerer approach of both the Consuls, made them of *Capua* send a pittifull Embassage to *Hannibal*: putting him in minde of all the loue, that he was wont to protest vnto their Citie; and how he had made hew, to affect it no lesse than *Carthage*. But now, they said, it would be lost, as *Asp* was lately, if he gaue not strong and speedie succour. *Hannibal* answered with comfortable words: and sent away two thousand horse, to keepe their grounds from spoile; whilest hee himselfe was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the citadell, partly by the disposition, which he saw in many townes adjoining, to yeeld vnto him. Among the Holiages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and being ouer-taken, suffered death for their attempt; were some of the *Metapontines*, and other Citie of the *Greekes*, inhabiting that Easterne part of *Italie*, which was called of old *Magna Græcia*. These people tooke to heart the death of their Holiages; and thought the punishment greater, than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as soone as the *Roman* Garrison was taken from them, to defend the citadell of *Tarentum*, made no more adoe, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurines* would haue done the like, vpon the like reason: had not some companies laine in their Towne; which they feared that they should not be able to master. Neuertheless they helped themselves by cunning; inuiting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were neere at hand: against whom whilest they professed their seruice to *Atinius*, the *Roman* captaine, they drew him forth to fight; and re-
coyling from him, closed vp their gates. A little formalitie they vsed in pretending feare, lest the Enemy should breake in together with the *Romans*; in sauing *Atinius* himselfe, and sending him away by Sea; as also in consulting a small while (because perhaps many of their chiefe men were vnacquainted with the practice) whether they should yeeld to the *Carthaginian*, or no. But this disputation lasted not long; for they that had removed the chiefe impediment, easily preuailed in the rest; and deliuered vp the Towne to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good successe, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in those quarters; whilest the Consuls, fortifying *Beneuentum* to secure their backs, addressed themselves vnto the siege of *Capua*.

Many disasters befell the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great enterprize. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of warre, that had of late bene twice Consul, was flaine either by trecherie of some *Lucans*, that drew him into ambush; or by some *Carthaginian* stragglers, among whom he fell vnawares. His bodie, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himselfe, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* lent it. He was appointed to lie in *Beneuentum*, there to secure the back of the Armie that should besiege *Capua*. But his death happened in an ill time; to the great hindrance of that businesse. The *Volturnes*, or *Slauis* lately manumitted, forsooke their Ensignes, and went euery one whither he thought good, as if they had been discharged by the decease of their Leaders; so that it asked some labour to seeke them out, and bring them back into their campe. Neuertheless the Consuls went forward with their worke; and drawing neere to *Capua*, did all acts of hostilitie which they could. *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua*, gaue them an hard welcome; wherein aboue fifteene hundred *Romans* were lost. Neither was it long, ere *Hannibal* came thither: who fought with the Consuls, and

and had the better; in so much that hee caused them to dislodge. They removed by night, and went severall waies: *Fulvius* toward *Cume*; *Claudius*, into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*: who hauing led him a great walke, fetched a compasse about, and returned to *Capua*. It so fell out, that one *M. Centurius Penela*, a stout man, and one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a *Centurion*, lay with an Armie not farre from thence, where *Hannibal* rested, when hee was wearie of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penela* had made great waies to the *Roman* Senate, of wonders which he would worke, if he might be trusted with the leading of five thousand men. The *Fathers* were vnwilling in such a time, to reject the vertue of any good Souldier; how meane so euer his condition were. Wherefore they gaue him the charge of eight thousand: and he himselfe, being a proper man, and talking bravely, gathered vp so many voluntaries, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gaue prooffe of the difference, betweene a stout *Centurion*, and one able to command in chiefe. Hee and his fellows were all (in a manner) flaine; scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soone after this *Hannibal* had word, that *Ch. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Pretor, with eightene thousand men, was in *Apulia*; very careless, and a man insufficient for the charge which he held. Thither hee therefore hastied, to visit him: hoping to deale the better with the maine strength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when he should haue cut off those forces, that lay in the Prouinces
at out, vnder men of small abilitie. Coming vpon *Fulvius*, He found him and his men so jolly, that needs they would haue fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So hee bestowed *M. 20* with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit for ambush. Then offering battaile to *Fulvius*, Hee loonce had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to escape aliue; leaving all, saue two thousand of his followers, dead behinde him.

These two great blowes, received one presently after the other, much astonished the *Romans*. Neuertheless all care was taken, to gather vp the small reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Consuls (should go substantially forwards with the
siege of *Capua*; which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls late downe before the towne; and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Pretors, came with his Armie from *Suessula* to their assistance. They made Proclamation, That whosoever would iussue forth of *Capua* before a certain day prefixed, should haue his pardon, and bee suffered to enjoy all that vnto him belonged: which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliously rejected; the *Capuans* relying on their owne strength, and the succors attended from *Hannibal*. Before the Citie was closed vp, they sent Messengers to the *Carthaginians*; which found him at *Brundisium*. He had made a long journey, in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* citadell: of which expectation failing, he turned to *Brundisium*; vpon aduertisement that he should be let in. There the *Capuans* met him; told him of their danger with earnest words; and were with words as braue recomforted. He bade them consider, how a few daies since he had chased the Consuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would presently come thither againe, and send the *Romans* going, as fast as before. With this good answere the Messengers returned: and hardly could get back into the citie; which the *Romans* had almost entrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himselfe; He was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily devoted vnto his friendship, would hold out a long time: and thereby giue him leisure, to doe what he thought requisite among the *Tarentines*, and in those Easterne parts of *Italie*; whilst the *Roman* armie spent it
selfe in a tedious siege. Thus he lingered: and thereby gaue the Consuls time, both to fortifie themselves at *Capua*, and to dispatch the election of new Magistrates in *Rome*; whilest he himselfe pursued hopes, that neuer found successe.

Claudius and *Fulvius*, when their terme of Office was expired, were appointed to continue the siege at *Capua*; retaining the same Armies, as Proconsuls. The townemen

men often fallied out: rather in a brauerie, than likelihood to worke any matter of effect; the Enemie lying close within his Trenches, as intending, without other violence, to subdue them by famine. Yet against the *Campan* horle (for their foot was easily beaten) the *Romans* vsed to thrust out some troupes, that should hold them skirnish. In these exercises the *Campan*s vsually had the better, to the great griefe of their proud Enemie; who scorned to take foile at the hands of such Rebels. It was therefore deuised, that some aduise and courageous yong men, should learne to ride beinde the *Roman* men at armes; leaping vp, and againe dismounting lightly, as occasion serued. These were furnished like the *Velites*, hauing each of them three or foure small darts: which, alighting in time of conflict, they discharged thick vpon the Enemies horle, whom vanquishing in this kinde of seruice, they much disheartened in the maine. The time thus passing, and famine daily increasing within the Citie; *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the *Romans*; and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell vpon their campe. At the same time the *Capuans* illused with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deuise: setting all their multitude of vniuersible people on the walls; which, with a loud noise of Pannes and Basons, troubled those that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* opposing himselfe to the *Campan*s, easily defended his Trenches against them; and so well repressed them, that he draue them at length back into their Citie. Neuertheless, in pursuing them to their gates. He receiued a wound, that accompanied him in short space after to his graue. *Q. Fuluius* was held harder to his taske, by *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginian* Armie. The *Roman* campe was euen at point to haue bene lost: and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought with him three and thirtie, were either gotten within the rampart, or else (for the report varies) being some of them slaine vpon it, fell into the ditch; and filled it vp in such sort, that their bodies serued as a bridge vnto the Assailants. It is said, that *Hannibal* in this tumult caused some fugitiues, that could speake *Latine* well, to proclaime aloud, as it were in the Consuls name, That euery one of the Souldiers should thirst for himselfe, and flie betimes vnto the next Hills, forasmuch as the campe was already lost. But all would not serue. The fraud was detected: and the Armie, hauing sitten there so long, had at good leisure strongly entrenched it selfe; so as little hope there was to raise the siege by force.

This did extremely perplex the *Carthaginian*. The purchase of *Capua* had (as was thought) with-held him from taking *Rome* it selfe: and now his desire of winning the *Tarentine* Citadell, had well-neere lost *Capua*; in respect of which, neither the Citadell, nor Citie of *Tarentum*, were to haue bene much regarded. Falling therefore into a desperate anger with himselfe and his hard fortune, that of so many great victories he had made no greater vse: on the sudden he entertained an haughty resolution, euen to set vpon *Rome*; and carrie to the wallies of that proud Citie, the danger of warre that threatened *Capua*. This hee thought would bee a meane, to draw the *Roman* Generals, or one of them at least, vnto the defence of their owne home. If they rose from the siege with their whole Armie; then had he his desire: If they diuided their forces; then was it likely, that either he, or the *Campan*s, should well enough deale with them apart. Neither did hee despair, that the terror of his coming might so astonish the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter some part or other of the Citie. His onely feare was, lest the *Campan*s, being ignorant of his purpose, should thinke he had forsaken them; and thereupon forthwith yeeld themselves to the Enemie. To prevent this danger, He sent letters to *Capua* by a subtilie *Nimidian*: who running as a fugitiue into the *Roman* campe, conueighed himselfe thence ouer the innermost Trenches into the Citie. The iourne to *Rome*, was to be performed with great celeritie: no small hope of good successe, resting in the suddennesse of his arriual there. Wherefore hee caused his men, to haue in a readinesse ten daies victualles; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night transport his Armie ouer the Riuer of *Vulturnus*. This could not be done so closely, but

That the *Roman* Generals by some fugitiues had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate which was there with affected, according to the diuersitie of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gaue counsaile to let alone *Capua*, yea and all places else, rather then to put the Towne of *Rome* into perill of being taken by the Enemie. Others were so farre from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could thinke, that *Hannibal*, being vnable to relieue *Capua*, should iudge himselfe strong enough to winne *Rome*; and therefore stoutly said, That those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the Citie, would serue the turne well enough, to keepe him out, and send him thence; if he were so vnwise, as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that letters should be sent to *Fuluius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the present were in *Rome*: who, since they knew best, what the strength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were best able to iudge, what was needfull to oppose him. So it was referred vnto the discretion of these Generals at *Capua*, to doe as they thought behouefull: and if it might conueniently be, neither to raise their siege, nor yet to put the Citie of *Rome* into much aduantage. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fuluius* tooke fiftene thousand foot, and a thousand horse, the choise of his whole Armie: with which he halted toward *Rome*; leauing *App. Claudius*, who could not trauel by reason of his wound,

to continue the siege at *Capua*. *Hannibal*, hauing passed ouer *Vulturnus*, burnt vp all his boats; and left nothing that might serue to transport the Enemie, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then halted he away toward *Rome*; staying no longer in any one place, then hee needs must. Yet found he the bridges ouer *Liris* broken downe, by the people of *Fregella*: which as it stopped him a little on his way; so it made him the more grieuouly to spoile their lands, whiles the bridges were in mending. The neerer that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waste he made: his *Nimidian*s running before him; driving the Countrey, and killing or taking multitudes of all sorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The messengers of these newes came apace, one after another into the Citie; some few bringing true aduertisements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their owne feare. All the streets, and Temples in *Rome*, were pelted with women, crying and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their haire, because they could doe none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Assembly; ready to giue their aduice, if it were asked, or to take directions giuen by the Magistrates. All places of moit importance were stuffed with souldiers: it being vncertaine, vpon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the middle of this trepidation, there came newes that *Q. Fuluius*, with part of the Armie from *Capua*, was halting to defence of the Citie. The Office of a Proconsul did expire, at his returne home, and entrie into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fuluius* might lose nothing by coming into the Citie in time of such need, an Act was passed, That he should haue equall power with the Consuls, during his abode there. Hee and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome*, one soone after another: *Fuluius* hauing bene long held occupied in passing ouer *Vulturnus*; and *Hannibal* receiuing impediment in his iourney, as much as the Countrey was able to giue. The Consuls, and *Fuluius*, incamped without the Gates of *Rome*; attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew neerer and greater; so tooke they more carefull and especiall order against all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the Riuer *Anio* or *Anien*, three miles from the Towne; whence he aduanced with two thousand Horse, and rode along a great way vnder the wals; viewing the site thereof, and considering how he might best approach it. But he either went, or (as the *Roman* Storie saith) was driven away; without doing, or receiuing any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the people; but were suppressed by the diligence of the Senators. Above the rest one accident was both troublesome, and not without perill. Of *Nimidian*s that had shifted side, and fallen vpon

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some displeasures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were some twelve hundred then in *Rome*; which were appointed by the Consuls, to passe through the Towne, from the Mount *Aventine* to the Gate *Collina*, where it was thought that their service might be usefull among broken wayes, and Garden wals lying in the suburbs. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*, bred such mistaking, as caused a great uproare among the people: all crying out, that *Aventine* was taken, and the enemy gotten within the wals. The noise was such, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the freets were so full of cattraile, and husbandmen, which were fledde thither out of the Villages adioyning, that the passage was stopp'd vp: and the poore *Numidians* pitifully beaten from the house-toppes, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate multitude, that would haue run out at the gates, had it not bene certaine who lay vnder the walls. To remedie the like inconueniences, it was ordained, That all which had bene Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, should haue authority as Magistrates, till the Enemy departed. The day following, *Hannibal* passed ouer *Amien*, and presented battaile to the *Romans*, who did not wisely if they vnderooke it. It is said, that a terrible shewre of raine, caused both *Romans* & *Carthaginians* to returne into their severall Camps: and that this happened two daies together, the weather breaking vp, and clearing, as soone as they were departed asunder. Certaine it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more then ten daies prouision, could not endure to stay there, vntill his victuals were all spent. In which regard, the *Romans*, if they suffered him to waste his time and prouisions, knowing that hee could not abide there long, did as became well-aduised men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is said) by some accident of weather; the commendations must be given to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibals* comming to the Citie, how great soeuer it was at the first, yet after some leisuere, and better notice taken of his forces, which appeared lesse than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and soone abated. Hereunto it helped well, that at the same time, the supplie appointed for *Spaine*, after the death of the two *Scipio's*, was sent out of the towne, & went forth at one gate, whilst the *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *Panick terrors*, as they are called, whereof there is either no cause known or no cause answerable to the greatnesse of the sudden consternation; it is a good remedie to doe somewhat quite contrarie to that which the danger would require, were it such, as men haue falslied in in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cause his souldiers to disarme themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great feare of they knew not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a foolish vprore in his Army, by proclaiming a reward vnto him, that could tel who had sent the Asse into the Campe. But in this present example of the *Romans*, appears withall a great magnanimitie: whereby they sustained their reputation, and augmented it no lesse, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might seeme to haue bene diminished. Neither could they more finely haue checked the glorious conceits of their Enemies, and taken away the disgrace of that feare, which clouded their valour at his first comming; than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recouered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therefore that verie piece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay incamped, was sold in *Rome*: and sold it was nothing vnder the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had been in time of peace. His indignity comming to his care, incensed *Hannibal* so much, that he made Port-fals of the Siluer-smiths shops, which were neere about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his owne title to the Houses within the Towne, were no whit worse, then any *Roman* Citizens could be vnto that piece of ground, wheron he raised his Tent. But this counter-practice was nothing worth. The *Romans* did seek to manifest that assurance, which they iustly had conceiued, *Hannibal*, to make the continuing in an hope, which was already past. His victuals were almost spent, and of those ends, that he had propofed vnto himselfe, this iourney had brog

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forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore hee brake vp his campe: and doing what spoile he could in the *Roman* Territories, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, He passed like a Tempest ouer the Countrey; and ranne toward the Easterne Sea so fast, that hee had almost taken the Citie of *Rhegium* before his arrivall was feared or suspected. As for *Capua*, hee gaue it lost: and is likely to haue curst the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus disabled him to relieue that faire Citie; since he had no other way to vent his griefe.

Q. Fulvius returning back to *Capua*, made Proclamation anew, that who so would yeild, before a certaine day, might safely doe it. This, and the very returne of *Fulvius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gaue the *Capuans* to vnderstand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To truit the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, every mans conscience of his owne euill deserts, told him, that it was a vanitie: and some faint hope was given, by *Hanno* and *Bostar*, Captaines of the *Carthaginian* Garrison within the Towne; that *Hannibal* should come againe; if it means could onely be found, how to conuey such letters vnto him, as they would write. The carriage of the letters was vnderaken, by some *Numidians*: who running, as fugitives, out of the Towne, into the *Roman* campe, waited it opportunitee to make an escape thence with their packets. But it hapned, ere they could conueigh themselves away, that one of them was detected by an Harlot following him out of the Towne; and the letters of *Bostar* and *Hanno* were taken and opened; containing a vehement entreatie vnto *Hannibal*, that he would not thus forsake the *Capuans* and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make warre against *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but against the *Romans*: whose Legions wheresoever they lie, there also should the *Carthaginian* Armie be readie to attend them; and by taking of such course, haue wee gotten those victories at *Trubin*, *Thrasymene*, and *Canna*. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himselfe and betray them to their enemies, by turning another way; as if it were his onely care, that the Citie should not be taken in his full view: promising, to make a desperate fallie, if he would once more adventure to set vpon the *Roman* campe. Such were the hopes of *Bostar* and his fellow. But *Hannibal* had already done his best: and now began to faint vnder the burden of that warre, wherein (as afterward he protested) he was vanquished by *Hanno* and his Partisans in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in *Capua*, had bene sent out by the *Hannonians*, to observe the doings of *Hannibal*, and to check his proceedings. If this were so; iustly might they curse their owne malice, which had cast them into this remedielesse necessitie. Howsoever it were, the letters directed vnto *Hannibal*, fell (as is shewed) into the *Roman* Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all such counterfait fugitives, as carried such messages, whipt them backe into the Towne. This miserable spectacle brake the hearts of the *Capuans*: so that the Multitude crying out vpon the Senate, with menacing termes, caused them to assemble, and consult, about the yeelding vp of *Capua* vnto the *Romans*. The brauest of the Senators, and such as a few yeeres since had bene most forward in joyning with *Hannibal*, understood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the rest home to supper: telling them, that when they had made good cheare, he would drink to them such an health, as should set them free from that cruel reuenge, which the Enemy sought vpon their bodies. About seven and twentie of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their liues together, by drinking poyson. All the rest, hoping for more mercie than they had deserved, yeelded simply to discretion. So one of the Towne-gates was set open: whereat a *Roman* Legion with some other companies, entring, disarmed the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to goe forth into the *Roman* campe. At their comming thither, the Proconsuls laid yrons vpon them all: and commanding them to tell what store of gold and siluer they had at home, sent them into safe custody;

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custodie; some to *Cales*; others to *Theanum*. Touching the generall Multitude; they were referred vnto the discretion of the Senate: yet so hardly vsed by *Fulvius* in the meane while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this aduersitie. *Sp. Claudius* was brought euen to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately receiued: yet was he not inexorable to the *Campanians*; as hauing loved them well in former times, and hauing giuen his daughter in marriage to that *Pacuvius*, of whom we spake before. But this facilitie of his Colleague, made *Fulvius* the more hallic in taking vengeance: for feare, lest vpon the like respects, the *Roman* Senate might proue more gentle, than he thought behouful to the common safetie, and honour of their state. Wherefore he tooke the paines, to ride by night vnto *Theanum*, and from thence to *Cales*: where he caused all the *Campan* prisoners to suffer death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods; after which he struck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all Townes of *Italie* the lesse apt to follow the vaine hope of the *Campanians*; and bred a generall inclination, to returne vpon good conditions to the *Roman* side. The *Atellans*, *Calstines*, and *Sabartines*, people of the *Campanians*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made also now the like submission, for very feare, and want of abilitie to resist. They were therefore vsed with the like rigour, by *Fulvius*: who dealt so extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their yong Gentlemen, burning with fire of reuenge, got into *Rome*: where they found means by night-time, to set on fire so many houses, that a great part of the Citie was like to haue been consumed. The beginning of the fire in diuers places at once, argued that it was no casualitie. Wherefore libertie was proclaimed vnto any slaue, and other sufficient reward vnto any free man, that should discouer who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came out: and the *Campanians*, being detected by a slaue of their owne (to whom, about his libertie promised, was giuen about the summe of an hundred markes) had the punishment answerable to their deserts. *Fulvius* hereby being more and more incensed against this wretched people, held them in a manner as prisoners within their walls: and this extreme severity, caused them at length to become Suppliants vnto the *Roman* Senate; that some period might be set vnto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resolved in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Onely two poore women in *Capua* (of which one had beene an Harlot) were found not guiltie of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wiues and children sold for slaues, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and referred to further deliueration: but the generalitie of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certaine day; and confined vnto severall places as best liked the angrie Victors. As for the Towne of *Capua*, it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beautie and commodious site: but no corporation or forme of politic, was allowed to bee therein; onely a *Roman* Prouost was euery yeere sent to gouerne ouer those that should inhabit it, and to doe iustice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great losses in the present warre. After this, the glorie of *Hannibal* beganne to shine with a more dimme light, than before: his oyle being farre spent; and that, which should haue renewed his flame, being vnfortunatly shed; as shall be told in place conuenient.

§. XV.

§. XV.

How the Carthaginians, making a partie in Sardinia and Sicill, held warre against the Romans in those Ilands; and were ouercome.



Hilest things passed thus in *Italie*; the commotions raised in *Sardinia* and *Sicill* by the *Carthaginians* & their friends, were brought to a quiet and happie end, by the industrious valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* rebellion was great and sudden: about thirtie thousand being vp in armes, ere the *Roman* forces could arrive there to suppress it. One *Harfcoras* with his sonne *Hioitus*, mightie men in that Iland, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, that promised the assistance of his Countre. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this enterprise so carelesse, as in the rest of their maine vndertakings, about the same time. Yet it had beene better, if their care had beene directed vnto the prosecution of that maine businesse in *Italie*; wherein this and all other hopes depended. For it would haue sufficed, if they could haue hindered the *Romans* from sending an Armie into *Sardinia*. *Harfcoras* with his followers might well enough haue serued to driue out *Q. Mutius* the Prator; who lay sicke in the Province; and not more weake in his owne bodie, than in his traine. But whilest they sought reuenge of that particular iniurie, whereof the sense was most grievous: they neglected the opportunitie of requiting those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselves from all iniuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enterprise was such; as may seeme to haue discouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For whereas they sent over *Afarubal*, surnamed the bald, with a competent fleet and armie; assisted in this Expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, & by *Margo* a Gentleman of the *Barchine* house, and neere kinsman to *Hannibal*: it so fell out, that the whole fleet by extremitie of foule weather, was cast vpon the *Baleares*; so beaten and in such quill plight, that the *Sardinians* had euen spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquished, ere these their friends could arrive to succour them.

Titus Manlius was sent from *Rome* with two and twentie thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, to settle the estate of that Iland, which he had taken in, and annexed vnto the *Roman* Dominion, long before this, in his Consulship. It was a laudable custome of the *Romans*, to preferre and vp-hold in their seuerall Provinces, the greatnesse and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Province had beene first subdued vnto their Empire. If any iniurie were done vnto the Prouincials; if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate; or whatsoeuer accident required the assistance of a Patron: the first Conquerour, and his race assisted him, were the most readie and best approued means, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very great intelligence, in euery Province, and had alwaies in readinesse fit men to reclaim their Subiects; if they fell into any such disorder, as would otherwise haue required a greater charge and trouble. The comming of *Manlius*, retayned in obedience all that were not already broken too farre out. Yet was *Harfcoras* so strong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arme his Mariners: without whom he could not haue made vp that number of two and twentie thousand, whereof we haue spoken before. He landed at *Calaris* or *Carallis*, where mooring his ships, he passed vp into the Countre, and fought out the Enemie. *Hyoitus*, the sonne of *Harfcoras*, had then the command of the *Sardinian* Armie left vnto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countre, to draw in more friends to their side. This yong Gentleman would needes aduenture to get honor, by giuing battaile to the *Romans* at his owne discretion. So hee rashly aduentured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom he receiued a terrible overthrow; and lost in one day about thirtie thousand of his followers. *Hyoitus* himselfe, with

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the rest of his broken troups, got into *Cornus*, the chiefe Towne of the Island: whither *Manlius* pursued them. Very soone after this defeat came *Asdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*: too late to winne all *Sardinia* in such haste as he might have done, it the tempest had not hindered his voiage; yet soone enough, and strong enough to save the Towne of *Cornus*, and to put a new spirit into the Rebels. *Manlius* hereupon with-drew himselfe backe to *Calaris*: where he had not stayed long, ere the *Sardinians* (such of them as adhered to the *Roman* partie) craued his assistance; their Countie being wasted by the *Carthaginians*; and the Rebels, with whom they had refused to ioyne. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calaris*: where if he had staid a little longer, *Asdrubal* would have sought him out with some blemish to his reputation. 10 But the fame of *Asdrubal* and his companie, appears to have beene greater than was their strength. For after some triall made of them in a few skirmishes; *Manlius* adventured all to the hazard of a battaile: wherein he slew twelue thousand of the enemies; and took of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* three thousand. Four houres the battaile lasted: and victorious length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Islanders; whose courages had bene broken in their vnprosperous fight, nor many daies before. The death of young *Hyslas*, and of his father *Hyscoras*, that slew himselfe for griefe, together with the captiuitie of *Asdrubal* himselfe, with *Idago* and *Hanno* the *Carthaginians*; made the victorie the more famous. The vanquished Armie fled into *Cornus*: whither *Manlius* followed them; and in short space wanne 20 the Towne. All other Cities of the Isle that had imposed vpon them such increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best forced with the nature of their several offences, or their ability to pay, returned backe to *Calaris* with a great bootie, and from thence to *Rome*; leauing *Sardinia* in quiet.

The warre in *Sicil* was of greater length, and euery way more burdnesome to *Rome*: as also the victorie brought more honour and profit; for that the *Romans* became thereby not only sauers of their owne, as in *Sardinia*; but Lords of the whole Countie; by annexing the Citie and Dominion of *Syracuse*; so that which they enjoyed before. Soone after the battaile of *Canne*, the old King of *Syracuse* died: who 30 had continued long a stedfast friend vnto the *Romans*; and greatly relieued them in this present warre. He left his Kingdome to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fifteene yeeres of age; *Gelo* his sonne, that should haue bene his heire, being dead before. To this young King his successor, *Hiero* appointed fifteene tutors: of which the principal were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themistius*; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The rest were such, as he iudged most likely to preferre the Kingdome, by the same arte, whereby himselfe had gotten and so long kept it. But within a little while; *Andronodorus*, waxing wearie of so many Coad- 40 tutors, beganne to commend the sufficiency of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his yeeres; and said, that he was able to rule the Kingdome without helpe of any Protector. Thus by giuing over his owne charge, hee caused others to doe the like: hoping thereby to get the King wholly into his hands; which came to passe in a sort as he desired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aside all care of gouernement, gaue himselfe wholly over to his pleasures: or if he had any regard of his Royall dignitie, it was onely in matter of exterior shew, as wearing a Diademe with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people; that had neuer seene the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his sonne. But much more he offended them, when by his insolent behauiour, futable to his outward pompe, he gaue proofe, that, in course of life, hee would reuiue the memorie of *Tyrants* dead long since, from whom he tooke the pattenne of his habit. Hee grew proud, 50 lustfull, cruel, and dangerous to all that were about him: so that such of his late Tutors as could escape him by flight, were glad to liue in banishment: the rest, being most of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their owne hands, to avoid the danger of his displeasure, that seemed worse than death it selfe.

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Only *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thrafo* continued in grace with him, and were his Counsaillers, but not of his Cabinet. These, howeuer they agreed in other points, were at some dissension about that maine point, of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them, were wholly for the Kings pleasures, which was set on change: but *Thrafo*, hauing more regard of his honour and profit, was very earnest to continue the amitie with *Rome*. Whilest as yet it remained somewhat doubtfull, which way the King would incline: a conspiracie against his Person, was detected by a groom of his; to whom, one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; 10 thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the vnder-takers. Long it was ere he would speake any thing: but yeelding (as it seemed) in the end, vnto the extremitie of the torture, he confessed, that he had bene set on by *Thrafo*, whom he appeached of the treason, together with many more, that were necere in loue or place vnto *Hieronymus*. All these therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime where with they were charged. But they that were indeede the Conspirators, walked boldly in the streets, and neuer shrunke for the matter: assuring themselves, that their resolution of *Theodorus* would yeelde to no extremitie; Thus they all escaped, and soone after found means to execute their purpose. The King himselfe, when *Thrafo* was taken out of the way, quickly resolved vpon siding 20 with the *Carthaginians*; whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when first they grow Masters of themselves, loue to seeme wiser than their fathers, by taking different courses. And the liberalitie of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great necessitie, had of late bene such, as might haue bene termed excessiue; were it not in regard of his prouidence; wherein hee tooke order for his owne estate, that depended vpon theirs. But the young Nephew, taking little heede of dangers farre off, regarded only the things present; the weakenesse of *Rome*; the preualent fortunes of *Carthage*; and the much monie that his grand-father had laied out in vaine, to shoulder vp a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*: who readily entred into good correspondence with him; that was maintained by *Hippocrates* & *Eptides*, 30 *Carthaginians* borne, but grand-children of a banished *Syracusen*. These grew into such fauour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they listed. So that when *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Pretor, hearing what was towards, made a motion offering the Confederacie, betwene the People of *Rome* and the King of *Syracuse*; his Messengers were dismissed with an open scoffe. For *Hieronymus* would needs haue them tell him the order of the fight at *Canne*; that hee might thereby learne how to accomodate himselfe: saying, That he could hardly beleue the *Carthaginians*; so wonderfull was the victorie as they reported it. Having thus dismissed the *Romans*, he sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, where hee concluded a league: with condition, at first, that a great part of the Island should be annexed to his Domini- 40 on; but afterward, that he should raigne ouer all *Sicil*; and the *Carthaginians* rest satisfied, with what they could get in *Italie*. At these doings *Appius Claudius* did not greatly stirre: partly for the indignities that were offered, partly for that it behoued not the *Romans*, to entertaine more quarrells, then were enforced vpon them by necessity; and partly (as may seeme) for that the reputation, both of himselfe, and of his Citie, had receiued such blemish, by that which hapned vnto him in his iourne, as much discontented him when he came into *Sicil*, & forbade him to looke big. The money that *Hiero* had bestowed vpon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieue them in their necessitie, this *Appius* was to carrie backe vnto him: it being refused by the *Roman* Senate, with greater brauerie than their present fortune would allow. But 50 in stead of returning the monie with thanks, as he had bene directed, and as it had bene noised abroad that hee should doe: the warre against *Philip* King of *Macedon* (whereof we haue spoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aside their vaine glory, and send word after him, that he should consign that monie over to *Marcus Valerius*; of whose voyagge into *Greece*, the Citie had not otherwise wherewith to beare

bear the charge. This was done accordingly: and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Familie, is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious ostentation of the *Roman* magnanimitie; into such a pittifull tune of thanksgiving, as must needs haue bred sorrow and commiseration, in so true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if he were deluded after his death, matter of pastime and scorn, in *Hieronimus* the new King.

But whilst *Hieronimus* was more desirous of warre, than well resolved how to beginne it: his owne death changed the forme of things, and bred a great innovation in the state of *Syracuse*; which thereby might haue prospered more than euer, had it bene wisely gouerned. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom we spake before, were sent about the Country with two thousand men; to sollicite the Townes, and perswade them to shake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himselfe with an Armie of fiftene thousand horse and foot, went to *Leontium*, a Citie of his owne Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Island fall to him in all haste, and accept him for Soueraigne. There the Conspirators tooke him on the sudden, as hee was passing through a narrow street; and rushing betwene him and his guard, strooke him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed: and the sound of that word so joyfully answered by the *Leontines*, that the guard of *Hieronimus*, had little courage to reuenge their Masters death. Yet for feare of the worst, a great largesse was promised vnto the Souldiers, with rewards vnto their Captaines; which wrought so effectually; that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned vp; the Armie, as in detestation of his bad life, suffered his carcase to lie vnburied. These newes ranne quickly to *Syracuse*: whither some of the Conspirators, taking the Kings horses, poiled away; to signifie all that had passed; to stirre vp the people to libertie; and to prevent *Andronodorus*, if he, or his fellows would make offer to vsurpe a Tyrannie. The *Syracusians* herupon presently tooke Armes; and made themselves masters of their owne Citie. *Andronodorus* on the other side fortified the Palace, and the Island: being yet vncertaine what to doe; betwene desire of making himselfe a soueraigne Lord, and feare of suffering punishment, as a Tyrant, if his enterprise miscarried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cherished him in his hopes; putting him in minde of that well knowne Proverbe, which *Dionysius* had vsed; That a Tyrant should keepe his place, till he were haled out of it by the beeles, and not ride away from it on horse-backe. But feare, and better counsaile preuailed so farre; that *Andronodorus*, hauing slept vpon the matter; dissembled his affections, and deferred his hope, vnto better opportunitie. The next day he came forth, and made a speech vnto the People: telling them; That hee was glad to see, how prudently they behaued themselves in so great a change; that he had stood in feare, lest they would not haue contained themselves within bounds of discretion; but rather haue fought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that since he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to rauish their liberty perforce, but to wed it vnto them for euer; he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, & surrendered vp the charge, committed vnto him, by one that had bene an euill Master, both to him and them. Herupon great joy was made; and Pretors chosen (as in former times) to gouerne the Citie; of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chiefe. But such was his desire of Soueraignitie; and so vehement were the insligations of his wife; that shortly he beganne to practise with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other Captaines of the Mercinaries: hoping to make himselfe strong, by their helpe; that were least pleased with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* had bene with the *Syracusian* Pretors, and told them, that, being sent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronimus*, they according to instructions of their Captaine, had done him, whilst he liued, what seruite they could; and that now they were desirous to returne home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed: and with a conuoy; that might keepe them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and set them safe at *Locri*. This was easily

easily granted; both for that the *Syracusian* Magistrates were well contented to earne thanks of *Hannibal*, with such a little curtelie; and for that they thought it good content, to rid their Towne quickly of this troublefome couple; which were good souldiers, and gracious with the Armie, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the desire of these two *Sicilians*, to be gone so hastily as they made shew: they were more mindefull of the businesse, for which *Hannibal* had sent them. Wherefore they infused themselves into the bosoms of such as were most likely to fill the army with tumult: especially of the *Roman* fugitiues, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselves, when the *Romans* & *Syracusians* were come to agreement. Such instruments as these, *Andronodorus* had great neede of: as also of many other, to helpe him in his dangerous attempt. Hee found *Themistius*, that had married *Harmonia* the sister of *Hieronimus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like passions of his owne, and of his wife. But in seeking to increase the number of his adherents; he reuealed the matter to one, that reuealed all to the rest of the Pretors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and *Themistius*, entering into the Senate, were slaine out of hand: and afterward accused to the People, of all the euill which they had done, whilst *Hieronimus* liued, as by his authoritie; and now since attempted, in seeking to vsurpe the tyrannie themselves. It was also declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were accessarie to this dangerous treason: and that the vnquiet spirits of these women would neuer cease to worke, vntill they had recovered those Royall ornaments, and Soueraigne power, whereof their familie was now dispossessed. These daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were also condemned to die: & executioners presently sent by the enraged people, to take away their liues. *Demarata*, and *Harmonia* had perhaps deferred this heauie sentence: but *Helices*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Sossippus*, being altogether innocent; was murdered together with her two yong daughters, in the hasty execution of this rash judgement. Her husband *Sossippus* was a louer of the Common-wealth; and in that respect so hated by *Hieronimus*, that being sent Embassador to King *Ptoleme*, &c. he durst not returne home; but staid in *Egypt* as a banished man. This consideration, when it was too late, together with some other pittifull accidents accompanying the slaughter, so affected the multitude; that (pardoning themselves) all cryed out vpon the authors of so foule a butchery. Being thus incensed against the Senate; and knowing not other wise how to satisfie their anger; they called for an election of new Pretors, in the roome of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, that were lately slaine: to substitute such in their places, as the Senators should haue little cause to like. At the election were present a great rowt, not only of the poorer Citizens, but of souldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these, named *Epicides* Pretor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the lesse that the old Pretors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a generall cry forced them to be accepted. These being made Pretors, did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, between the *Syracusians* and the *Romans*. But hauing striven in vaine, and seeing that the People stood in feare of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus*, that was lately come into *Sicily*; they gave way vnto the time, and of the old league of *Hiero* to be reconfirmed; which afterward they purposed to dissolve by practice. The *Leontines* had some neede of a Garrison: and to them was sent *Hippocrates* the Pretor, attended, by such fugitiues, and mercenary souldiers, as were most burdensome to *Syracuse*. Thither when he came, hee beganne to doe many acts of hostilitie against the *Romans*: first in secret, afterward more openly and boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly vnderstanding the purpose of these two bretheren, sent word vnto the *Syracusians*, that they had already broken the league; and that the peace would neuer be kept sincerely, vntill this turbulent paire of bretheren were expelled the Island, *Epicides*, feare to sustaine the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more desirous to see forward the warre, than to excuse any breach of peace; went himselfe vnto the *Leontines*, whom he perswaded to rebell against the *Syracusians*.

Syracusans. For he said, that since they had all of late serued one Master; there was little reason why the *Leontines* should not be enfranchised by his death, as well as the *Syracusans*; yea or much rather, all things considered; since in their *Arrets* the Tyrant was slaine, and libertie first proclaimed. Wherefore, since they of *Syracuse* were not contented, to enjoy the freedome purchased among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reason, that they should beare Dominion ouer those that had broken the chaine, wherewith both the one, and the other were bound: his aduice was, that such their arrogancie should be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was giuen by one article of the league, made of late by the *Romans* and *Syracusans*. For it was agreed, That all which had been subiect to *Hiero* and *Hieronymus*, should henceforth be subiect unto the state of *Syracuse*. Against this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their owne due; *Epicles* told them, that in this nonclicke of change, they had fit opportunity to recouer the freedome, which their fathers had lost not many ages before. Neither was it vnreasonable, which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had beene subdued by the same hand, which tooke libertie from the *Syracusans*. But seeing they had long since yielded vnto *Syracuse*, and been subiect vnto that Citie, by what forme soeuer it was gouerned; this claime of libertie was rather reasonable than iust. Neuerthelesse the motion of *Epicles* was highly approved: in so much that when messengers came soone after from *Syracuse*, to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done against the *Romans*; and to denounce vnto *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, that they should get them gone, either to *Leontis*, or whither else they listed, so that they staid not in *Sicily*: word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requested the *Syracusans*, to make any bargaines for them with the *Romans*, nor thought themselves bound to obserue the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptorie answer was forth-with reported vnto *Marcellus* by the *Syracusans*: who offered him their assistance in doing iustice vpon the *Leontines* their Rebels; with condition that when the Towne was taken, it might be theirs againe. *Marcellus* required no better satisfaction: but forth-with toke the businesse in hand; which he dispatched in one day. At the first assault, *Leontium* was taken: all saue the Castle, wherinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicles* fled; and stealing thence away by night, conueied themselves into the Towne of *Herbesus*. The first thing that *Marcellus* did, when hee had wonne the Towne, was the same, which other *Roman* Capitaines vsed after victorie; to seeke out the fugitiue *Roman* slaues and renegados, whom hee caused all to die: the rest both of the Townsmen and Souldiers, hee tooke to mercy; forbearing also to strip or spoile them. But the fame of his doings was bruted after a contrary sort. It was said, that he had slaine, Man, Woman, and Child, and put the Towne to sacke. These newes met the *Syracusan* Army vpon the way, as it was going to ioine with *Marcellus*, who had ended his businesse before. About eight thousand Mercenaries there were, that had bene sent forth of *Syracuse*, vnder *Sofis* and *Dinaemenes* two of the Pretors, to serue against the *Leontines* and other Rebels. These Capitaines were honest men, and well affected to their Countrey: but the souldiers that followed them, had those diseases, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They tooke the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow-souldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had bene so cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutinie; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Pretors therefore thought it best, to turne their vnquiet thoughts another way, and set them a worke in some place else: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no neede of their seruice. So toward *Herbesus* they marched: where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, the architects of all this mischiefe, deuiling what further harme they might doe; but now so weakely accompanied, that they seemed vnable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two brethren were no lesse well aware; and therefore aduentured vpon a remedy little lesse desperate

desperate than their present case. They issued forth of *Herbesus* vnarmed, with Olive branches in their hands, in manner of suppliants; and so presented themselves to the Armie. Sixe hundred men of *Creete* were in the vanguard; that had bin well viced by *Hieronymus*; and some of them greatly bound vnto *Hannibal*, who had taken them prisoners in the Italian warre, and louingly dismissed them. These *Cretans* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good cheare; saying, that no man should doe them harme, as long as they could vie their weapons. Herewithall the Armie was at a stand; and the rumor of this accident, ranne swiftly from man to man, with generall approbation. The Pretors thought to helpe the matter by feueritie; which would not serue. For when they commanded these two Traitors to be laid in yrons: the exclamation was so violent against them, that faine they were to let all alone, and returne, vncertaine what courie to take, vnto *Megara*; where they were lodged the night before. Tither when they came, *Hippocrates* deuised a trick; whereby to helpe himselfe, and better the vncertaine case wherein he stood. He caused letters of his owne penning, to be intercepted by some of his most trustie *Cretans*; directed (as they made shew) from the *Syracusan* Pretors, to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the sword among the *Leontines*: but that it farther behoued him, to make the like dispatch of all the Mercenaries belonging to *Syracuse*; which were offensive, all of them in general, to the libertie of the Citie, and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit Epistle was openly rehearsed: the vprore was such, that *Sofis* and his fellow Pretor, were glad to forsake the campe, and flie for their liues. All the *Syracusans*; remaining behinde, had been cut in peeces by the enraged souldiers, if the two artificers of the sedition had not saued their liues; rather to keepe them as pledges, and by them, to winne their friends within the Towne; than for any good will. They perswaded also a mischieuous knaue that had serued among the *Leontines*, to iustifie the bruit of *Marcellus* his crueltie; and to carrie home the newes to *Syracuse*, as an eye-witnesse. This incensed not only the multitude, but some of the Senate; and filled the whole Towne with caulcelle indignation. In good time (said some) was the auarice and crueltie of the *Romans* detected: who, had they in like sort gotten into *Syracuse*, would haue dealt much worse; where their liue in like sort gotten into *Syracuse*, would haue dealt much worse; where their greedy appetites might haue bene tempted with a farre greater bootie. Whilst they were thus discourting, and deuiling how to keepe out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates* with his Armie came to the gates; exhorting the Citizens to let him in, vnlesse for want of helpe, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Pretors with the best and wisest of the Senate, would faine haue kept him out: but the violence of those within the Towne; that laboured to breake it open. So he entred, and immediately fell vpon the Pretors; whom (being forsaken by all men) hee put to the sword, and made slaughter of them and their followers vntill night. The next day he went openly to worke: and after the common example of Tyrants, gaue liberty to all slaues and prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and basest sort, made himselfe and his other Pretors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuse*.

When *Marcellus* was aduertised of this great alteration, hee thought it no time for him to sit still, and attend the further issue. He sent Embassadors to *Syracuse*; that were not admitted into the Haven, but chased out as enemies. Then drew hee neere with his Armie; and lodging within a mile and a halfe of the Towne, sent before him, some to require a parlee. These were entertained without the walls by the two new Pretors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpose to doe hurt, but in fauour of the *Syracusans*, which were oppressed by Tyrants; and to punish those, that had murdered and banished so many of the principall Citizens. Wherefore they required, that those worthy men, their Confederates, which were chased out of the Towne, might be suffered to returne and

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enjoy their owne; as also that the Authors of the great slaughter lately committed, might be deliuered vp. Hereto *Epicides* briefly answered, That if their errand had bene to him, he could haue told what to say to them: but since it was directed vnto others, they should doe well to returne, when those to whom they were sent, had the gouernement in their hands. As for the warre which they threatned; hee told them, they should finde by experience, that to besiege *Syracuse*, was an other manner of worke, than to take *Leontium*. Thus hee sent them gone; and returned back into the Citie. Immediately beganne the sieg, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected. The quicke and easie winning of *Leontium* did put *Marcellus* in hope, that so long a circuit of walls, as compassed *Syracuse*, being manned with no better kinde of Souldiers, than those with whom he had lately dealt, would in some part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terrour in the very beginning; but did his best, both by Land and Sea. Neuerthelſe all his labour was disappointed; and his hope of preuailling by open force, taken from him by the ill successe of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any strength of the Citie, that bred such despair of hastie victorie. But there liued at that time in *Syracuse*, *Archimedes*, the noble Mathematician; who at the request of *Hiero* the late King, that was his kinsman, had framed such engines of warre, as being in this extremitie put in vse, did more mischief to the *Romans* than could haue bene wrought by the Canon, or any instruments of Gunne-powder; had they in that age bene knowne. This *Archimedes* discourſing once with *Hiero*, maintained, That it were possible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were some other earth, or place of fure footing, whereon a man might stand. For prooffe of this bold assertion, he performed some strange workes; which made the King entreat him to conuert his studie vnto things of vse; that might preferre the Citie from danger of enemies. To such Mechanicall workes, *Archimedes*, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an inuarie done vnto the liberall sciences, to submit learned Propositions, vnto the workmanship, and gaine, of base handicrafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an author: who greatly blamed some Geometricians; that seemed vnto him to profane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither muſt wee rashly taske a man so wise as *Plato*, with the imputation of supercilious auſteritie, or affected singularitie in his reprehension. For it hath bene the vnhappy fate of great inuentions, to be viſified, as idle fancies, or dreames, before they were published: and being once made knowne, to be vnder-valued; as falling within compass of the meanest wit; and things, that euery one, could well haue performed. Hercof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus* his discouerie, with the much different sorts of neglect, which hee vnder-went before and after it) in a familiar and most homely example, we may see most apparent prooffe. He that looks vpon our *English Brewers*, and their Seruants, that are daily exercised in the Trade; will thinke it ridiculous to heare one say, that the making of Malt, was an inuention, proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in naturall Philosophie. Yet is not the skill of the inuention any whit the lesse, for that the labor of workmanship growes to be the Trade of ignorant men. The like may be said of many handicrafts: and particularly in the Printing of Bookes; which being deuised, and bettered, by great Schoſers and wise men, grew after ward corrupted by those, to whom the practice fell; that is, by such, as could slubber things easily ouer, and feede their workmen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all others, that haue, or would seeme to haue any secret skill, whereof the publication might doe good vnto mankind; are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a kinde of iniustice, that the long trauels of an vnderstanding braine, beside the losse of time, and other expence, should be cast away vpon men of no worth; or yeld lesse benefit vnto the Author of a great worke, than to meer strangers; and perhaps his enemies. And surely, if the passion of Enuie, haue in it any thing allowable

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and naturall, as hauing Anger, Feare, and other like Affections: it is in some such cases as this; and serueth against those, which would vsurpe the knowledge, where-with God hath denied to endue them. Neuerthelſe, if we haue regard vnto common charitie, and the great affection, that euery one ought to beare vnto the generalitie of mankind, after the example of him that suffereth his Sonne to liue vpon the iſt and vniuersall: it will appeare more commendable in wise men, to enlarge themselves, and to publish vnto the world, those good things that lie buried in their own bosomes. This ought specially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it some dangerous cunning; that may bee peruenied by cuill men to a mischieuous vse. For if the secret of any rare Art, should contained in it the skill of giuing some deadly and irrecoverable poyſon: better it were, that such a iewel remaine close in the hands of a wife and honest man; than being made common, binde all men to vse the remedie, by teaching the worst men how to doe mischief. But the workes which *Archimedes* published, were such as tended to very commendable ends. They were engines, seruing vnto the defence of *Syracuse*; not fit for the *Syracusans* to carry abroad, to the hurt and oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge, how to vse them, but referred so much to his owne direction; that after his death more of the same kinde were not made, nor those of his owne making were employed by the *Romans*. It sufficed vnto this worthy man, that he had approued, euen vnto the vulgar, the dignitie of his Science; and done especiall benefit vnto his Countrey. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade, or teach the art of murdering men, it was besides his purpose.

Marcellus had caused certaine of his *Quinquereme* Gallies to be fastened together, and Towers erected on them, to beat the defendants from the wall. Against these, *Archimedes* had sundrie deuices; of which any one fort might haue repelled the assaults: but all of them together shewed the multiplicitie of his great wit. He thot heauie stones and long peeces of timber, like vnto the yards of ships; which brake some of the Gallies by their force and weight. These afflicted such as lay farre off. They that were come neerer the walls, lay open to a continuall voly of shot, which they could not endure. Some with an yron grapple were taken by the prow and hoisted vp, shaking out all the men, and afterward falling downe into the water. Some by strange engines were lifted vp into the ayre; where turning round a while, they were broken against the walls, or cast vpon the rocks: and all of them were so beaten, that they durst neuer come to any second assault. In like sort was the Land-armie handled. Stones and timber, falling vpon it like Haile; did not onely ouerwhelme the men, but brake downe the *Roman* engines of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to giue ouer the assault. For remedie herof it was conceiued, that if the *Romans* could earlie before day get neere vnto the walls: they should be (as it were) vnder the point blank, and receiue no hurt by these terrible Intriments; which were wound vp hard to shoote a great compass. But this vaine hope cost many of the assaultants liues. For the shot came downe right vpon them: and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great slaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were vnable to stay by it) euen till they were gotten very farre off. This did so terrifie the *Romans*; that if they perceived any peece of timber, or a ropes end, vpon the walls, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* his engines were readie to discharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that feare; against the cause whereof he knew no remedie. If the engines had stood vpon the walls, subiect to firing, or any such annoyance from without; he might haue holpen it by some deuice, to make them vnreceivable. But all, or the most of them were out of sight, being erected in the streets behinde the walls; where *Archimedes* gaue directions how to vse them. Wherefore the *Roman* had none other way left, than to cut off from the Towne all prouision of victualls, both by Land and by Sea. This was a desperate peece of worke.

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For the enemies hauing so goodly an Haue; the Scain amanner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likely, so soone to bee confumed with famine, as the besiegers to bee wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a Citie, hauing no probability to carrie it. Yet, for want of better counsell to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable course.

In the meane while, *Himilco*, Admirall of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicily*, being by *Hippocrates* aduertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage*, and there to deale with the Senate, that five and twentie thousand Foote, three thousand Horse, and twelue Elephants, were committed vnto his charge, wherewith to make warre vpon the *Romans* in *Sicily* by Land. Hee tooke many Townes; and many, that had anciently belonged vnto the *Carthaginians*, did yeeld vnto him. To remedie this mischiefe, and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of *Fortune*, beganne to turne vnto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus* with a great part of his Armie, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. Hee tooke *Pelorus* and *Herbesus*, which yeelded vnto him. Hee tooke also *Megara* by force and fact: either to terrifie others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracussans*, or else because *Rome* was at this time poore, and his Armie much haue somewhat to keepe it in heart. His especiall desire was to haue saued *Agrigentum*: whether hee came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned back toward *Syracuse*, carefully, and in as good order as hee could, for feare of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumstance that hee liued, in regard of *Himilco*, stood him in good stead, against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leaving the charge of *Syracuse* vnto his brother, had lately issued out of the Citie, with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, intending to ioyne his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell vpon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an easie victory, against the disperfed and halfe vnarmed *Syracussans*. The reputation hereof helped a little to keepe the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, ioyning with *Hippocrates*, ranne ouer al the Island at his pleasure, and presented battle to *Marcellus*, euen at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar* also a *Carthaginian*, entred with a great fleet into the Haue of *Syracuse*, and victualled the Citie. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed so againe, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*, and safely arriued at *Marcellus* his campe; yet many places reuolted vnto the *Carthaginians*, and sue or betrayed the *Roman* Garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath awhile; and *Marcellus* leauing some of his Armie before *Syracuse*, that he might not seeme to haue giuen over the siege, went vnto *Leontium*, where he lay intentione to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious worke of besieging *Syracuse*, or to turne all his forces to *Agrigentum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly haue impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuse*, as vnable to preuaile; and he himselfe was of an eager disposition, euer vnwilling to giue ground, or to quit, as not faillible, an enterprise, that he had once taken in hand. Hee came therefore to *Syracuse*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take the Citie by force or famine; yet was hee not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfill his desire. Especially hee assaied to preuaile by treason; against which no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the *Syracussan* Gentlemen that were in his campe, exhorting them to practise with their friends that remained in the Citie. This was not easie for them to doe, because the towne would harken to no parlee. At length a slave vnto one of these banished men, making shew to runne away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*, where

where he talked in priuate with some few, as he had beene instructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to haue intelligence within the Citie: whence the Conspirators vied to send him aduertisement of their proceedings; by a fisher-boat that passed forth in the night: but when they were growne to the number of fourescore, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance: all was discovered; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the meane while, one *Damippus* a *Lacedaemonian*, that had beene sent out of the Towne as an Embassador to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicles* was very desirous to ransom him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, not farre from the walls.

There, one of the *Romans*, looking vpon the wall, and wanting the more compendious arte of Geometric, fell to numbring the stones: and, making an estimate of the height, iudged it lesse than it had beene formerly deemed. Herewith hee acquainted *Marcellus*: who causing better notice to be taken of the place, and finding, that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it; made all things ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakest part of the Towne, and therefore the most strongly garded: neither was there hope to preuaile by force against *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by surpris. But a fugitive out of the Towne brought word, that a great feast was to be held vnto *Diana*, which was to last three dayes: and that, because other good cheare was not so plentifull within the Citie, as in former times, *Epicles*, to gratifie the People, had made the more large distribution of Wine. A better opportunitie could not be wished. Wherefore *Marcellus*, in the dead of the Festiual night, came vnto the walls, which hee tooke by *Scalado*, *Syracuse* was diuided into foure parts (or five, if *Epitola* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as distinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten some peeces, he had the commoditie of a better and safe lodging, with good store of bootie; and better opportunitie than before, to deale with the rest. For there were now a great many, as well of those in *Acradinia* and the Island, inner parts of the Towne, as of those that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that beganne to harken vnto composition, as being much terrified by the losse of those parts, which the *Romans* had taken and fact. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harme, or none they did, vnto those, that were sheltered vnder strong houses: although it may seeme, that the inner walls were not altogether vnurnished of his helpe; since they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The *Roman* fugitives, and *Renegados*, were more carefull than euer to defend the rest of the Citie: being sure to be rewarded with a cruell death, if *Marcellus* could preuaile. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was sent away to *Carthage*, to bring helpe from thence: It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell vpon the old camp of the *Romans*, whilst *Epicles* sallied out of *Acradinia* vpon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made such defence in each part, that the Assailants were repelled. Neuertheless, they continued to beset *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as strictly besieged, as he himselfe did besiege the Towne. But the pestilence at length consumed; together with the two Captaines, a great part of the Armie, and caused the rest to dislodge. The *Romans* were (though somewhat lesse) afflicted with the same pestilence, in so much that *Bomilcar* did put the Citie of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were sent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no desire to doe his Countrey seruice: but his courage was not answerable to his good will. He arriued at *Pachynus* with a strong fleet: where he staid; being loth to double the Cape; for that the windes did better serue the enemy than him. Thither sailed *Epicles* out of *Syracuse*: to acquaint him with the necessities of the Citie; and to draw him on. With much intreatie, at length hee came forward; but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was ready for him, he stood off into the deepe; and sailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicily* farewell. Then durst not *Epicles* returne into *Syracuse*, but went to *Agrigentum*: where he expected the issue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

T he *Sicilian* souldiers, that remained aliue of *Hippocrates* his Armie, lay as nere as they could faile, vnto *Marcellus* and fene of them, in a strong Towne three miles off. Thefe had done what good they could to *Syracuse*, by doing what hurt they could vnto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the state of *Sicily* was giuen as desperate by the *Carthaginians*: they sent Embassadours to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themselves, and for the Towne. Hercunto *Marcellus* willingly gaue care: for he had baid there long enough; and had caufe to feare, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither strong againe. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers, that lay abroad; That they should be Masters of their owne, enioying their libertie and proper lawes, yet fulfilling the *Romans* to possesse, what euer had belonged vnto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epides* had left his charge, were put to death; new Pretors choien; and the gates euen readie to be opened vnto *Marcellus*: when suddenly the *Roman* fugitiues disturbed all. Thefe perceiving their owne condition to be desperate, perswaded the other Mercinarie souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained onely for themselves, and betrayed the Armie to the *Romans*. Wherefore they presently tooke armes, and fell vpon the new-chofen Pretors: whom they flue; and made election of fixe Capitaines that should command ouer all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the souldiers; excepting onely the Fugitiues. T he treatie therfore was againe set on foot, and wanted little of conclusion: which yet was delayed; either by some feare of the Citizens, that had fene (as they thought) proofe of the *Roman* auarice in the sack of *Epipolæ*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts alreadie taken; or by some desire of *Marcellus* to get the Towne by force, that he might vie the libertie of a Conqueror, and make it wholly subiect vnto *Rome*. *Mercius* a *Spaniard* was one of the fixe Capitaines, that had bene chofen in the late commotion: a man of such faith, as usually is found in Mercinaries; holding his owne particular benefit aboue all other respects. With this Capitaine, *Marcellus* dealt secretly: having a fit instrument, of the same Nation, one *Belligenes*; that went in company with the *Roman* Embassadors, daily passing to and fro. This craftie Agent perswaded *Mercius*, That the *Romans* had alreadie gotten all *Spain*; and that euer he purposed to make his owne fortune good, either at home in *Spain*, or any where else; it was now the onely time to doe it; by conforming himselfe to the will of the *Roman* Generall. By such hopes the *Spanish* Capitaine was easily wonne, and sent forth his owne brother among the *Syracusan* Embassadors to ratifie the covenant with *Marcellus*.

This vnder-hand dealing of *Marcellus* against the *Syracuzians*, cannot well be commended as honest : neither was it afterwards thoroughly approued at his coming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had bene such, as deserved not to be requir'd with the ruine of his Countrie : much lesse, that the miseries of his people, oppressed (though partly through their owne follie, by an Arme of Mercina- 40 rians, should minister vnto the people of *Rome*, advantage against them. The poore Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired souldiers; and therefore were faine to yeeld vnto the time, and obey those Ministers of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Arme. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicles* : it had bene their chiefe care to maintaine amitie with the people of *Rome*. They had lately slaine many the principall of *Epicles* his followers; and many of them selues had also bin slaine, both lately and in former times, because of this their desire vnto the peace. What though it were true, that the *Rafalcites*, and some ill aduised Persons ioyned with the souldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occasion of the slaughter which they 50 heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in those parts of their owne Citie which was taken ? Ought therefore the *Roman* General, in a treatie of peace held with the *Syracuzians*, to make a bargain vnder-hand against them, with a Capitaine of the Mercinaries ? These things were objected against *Marcellus*, at his returne

turne home. But the Senators thought it a great deal better, to comfort the *Syracians* with gentle words, and promises of good viages in time to come, than to re-
flect the bootie, and giue ouer the Dominion of a Citee, to great, wealthy, strong,
and many waies important. Neurtherleffe if we consider the many incontinencie,
and great mischiefs, wherunto *Syracuse* was obnoxious; both by cuill neighbors,
and by that very forme of politie, after which it was gouerned: wee may truly al-
firm, that it receiued no small benefit, by becoming subiect vnto *Rome*. For
thereby it was not only assured against all forraigne enemies, domesticall conspiracies,
and such Tyrants as of old had ragin'd therein: but freed from the necessitie of ba-
nishing, or murdering, the most wortheie Citizens; as also from all factions, inelaine
seditions, and a thousand like miseries, that were wont to grow out of the sea-
louisie, wherein they held their libertie in vaine. Neither enjoyed that Citee, from
her first foundation, any such long time of happinesse, as that wherein it flourished,
when it rested secure vnder the protection of *Rome*; and was no more molested,
by the discase of ambition; whereof by *Marcellus* his victorie it was thoroughly cur'd.
But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, serues not to make inuicte the more
excusable: vntlesse we should approue the answer of that Citee, who being found
to haue stolen a silver cup from a sicke man, said, *It neuer leanes drinking*.

to have stolen a silver cup from a sick *Antiochus*, and to have
by the treafon of *Mercurius*, the *Roman Army* was let into poffeffion of all *Syria*:
20 *whence*, wherein, the booty that it found, was faid to have been no leffe, than could have
been hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it felfe; that maintained warre by Land
and Sea againft them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith *Syracusæ* was
marvelloufly adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left untouched;
faue only the houfes of thofe banifhed men, that had efaped from *Hippocrates* and
Epietides, into the *Roman camp*. Among other pittifull accidents; the death of *Archimedes*
was greatly lamented, euen by *Marcellus* himfelfe. He was fo bufie about
his Geometric in drawing figures, that he hardened not to the noife, and vprone in
the City; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him.
Marcellus took heauily the death of him; and caufed his body to bee honourably
30 buried. Vpon his Tombe (as he had ordained in his life time) was placed a Cylinder
and a Sphere, with an infcription of the proportion betwene them; which hee
firft found out. An Invention of fo little vfe, as this may feeme, pleased that great
Artift better, than the deuifing of all thofe engines, that made him fo famous. Such
difference is betwene the iudgement of learned men, and of the vulgar fort. For
many an one would thinke the monie loft, that had been fpent vpon a fonne, whole
ftudies, in the Vniuerfities had brought forth fuch fruit, as the proportion betwene
a Sphere and a Cylinder.

a Sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of *Syracuse*, all the Townes in *Sicill* yielded vnto the *Romans*; except *Aggrigentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Aggrigentum* lay *Epides* with
40 one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an *African*; that was lately sent from *Hannibal*.
T his *Mutines*, by many good peeces of seruice, had added some credit to the bea-
ten *Carthaginian* side; and withall made his owne name great. By his persuasions,
Hanno and *Epides* aduentured to meet *Marcellus* without the Towne, and not be-
cause they feared as men expecting to be besieged. Neither was hee more valiant in
counsell, than in execution. Once and againe he set vpon the *Romans*, where they
lay encamped; and droue them fearfully into their Trenches. This bred enuie in
50 *Epides* and *Hanno*: especially in *Hanno*, that hauing bene lately sent from *Carthage*,
with commission and authoritie from the State, thought himselfe wronged greatly
by *Hannibal*; in that he had sent vnto him this *Mutines*, to be his Companion, and
to take vpon him, like as good a man as himselfe. The indignitie seemed the greater,
when *Mutines*, being *Numidian*; aduised (as directing *Hanno* and *Epides*) not to med-
dle with the enemy, vntill his returne. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno*
fight; and offered battell vnto *Marcellus*, before hee fought it. It is like, that a great
part

part of the *Roman* Armie was left behinde in *Syracuse*, as neede required: which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deale with those that came against them. But whatsoeuer disproportion was betweene the two Armies, farre greater were the odds betwene the Capitaines. For howsoeuer the people of *Carthage* would giue authoritie by fauour; yet could they not giue worth, and abilitie, in matter of warre. The *Numidians*, hauing before conceiued some displeasure against their Capitaines: and being therefore some of them gone away to *Heracles*; were much more offended, when they saw that the vaine-glorious enuie of *Hanno* carried him vnto the fight, vpon a fool th desire to get victorie, without the helpe of *Mutines* their 10
Countriman. Wherefore they sent vnto the *Roman* Generall, and bade him be confident: for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his enemies that day; but onely looke on, and see the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten, by whom they had bene misused. They made good their promise; and had their desire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their message, did so lustily set vpon the enemies, that he brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands, droue them backe into *Agigentum*.

If *Hanno* could haue beene contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of warre than himselfe, and not haue hazarded a battell without neede; the *Romans* would shortly haue beene reduced into termes of great difficulty in their *Sicilian* warre. For *Marcellus* was shortly after to leaue the Province; and soone 20
vpon his departure, they landed in the Iland a supply of eight thousand foote, and three thousand *Numidian* horse, that were sent from *Carthage*. The same of this new Armie drew many of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Armie, consisting (for the most part) of the Legions of *Canna*, tooke it very hainously, that no good seruice done, could bring them into the fauour of the Senate; but that, as banished men, they were sent farre from home, and not suffered to returne backe to *Rome* with their Generall. *Mutines* had pacified his Countrimen the *Numidians*; and, like an honest man, did the best that he could for those whom he serued, without contending against the foolish pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might haue bene, if the Armie lately ouertrowne had bene entire. 30
M. Cornelius, the *Roman* Pretor, vsed all diligence, both to pacifie his owne men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recovered those inland Townes that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from ouer-running all the Countrie; yet hee hindered the Countrie from revoluing vnto *Mutines*. About three score Townes, great and small, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*: of which, *Agigentum* was the principall, and farre bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued *Mutines* as often as he pleased, in despite of the *Romans*: not only to the succor of his owne adherents, but to the great waste of those that followed the contrarie part. But *Hanno*, in stead of being pleased with all these good seruices, was filled more and more with enuie, against the man that performed them. He had (belike) receiued intrusion 40
from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to suffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to haue share in the honor of these *Sicilian* warres: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilst *Italy* was neglected, that should haue beene regarded more then all the rest. Wherefore, to shew his authoritie, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint vnto him an Assistant, or Director: Hee tooke away from *Mutines* his charge, and gaue it to his owne sonne; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of Office, among his *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrary: and this spitefull dealing, occasioned the losse of whatsoeuer the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignitie offered vnto their Countriman, being such a braue Com- 50
mander, that they offered him their seruice to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth absolutely at his owne disposition. *M. Valerius Lænius*, the *Roman* Consul, was newly come into the Province, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brooke these indignities: but being,

neither

neither a *Carthaginian*, nor fauoured by those that bore all the sway in *Carthage*; He thought it the wisest way, to play the best of his owne game, and forsake that Citie, which was likely to perish by the euill counsell that gouerned it. He did not therefore, as his Countrimen had lately done, content himselfe to see his Adversaries reape the bitter fruits of their owne malicious ouer-weening: and to suffer that harme, in doing whereof hee would not beare a part; but conspired against them to deliuer vp *Agigentum*, and to helpe to expell them vtterly out of *Sicily*. The Consul was glad of this friendship: and carefully followed his aduertisements. Neither was there much cunning needfull, to the performance of that which *Mutines* 10
had vnder-taken. For hee with his *Numidians* did forcibly seize vpon a gate, where at they let in some *Roman* Companies that lay neere in a readinesse for the purpose. *Hanno*, when first hee heard the noise, thought it had bene no worse matter, than some such tumult of the *Numidians*, as hee had bene well acquainted with of late. But when, making haste to pacifie the trouble, he saw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among those discontented followers of *Mutines*, forthwith he betooke himselfe to flight: and sauing himselfe, with *Epicides*, in a small Barke, let saile for *Africk*, leauing all his Armie and Adherents in *Sicily*, to the mercie of the *Romans*; that henceforward continued masters of the whole Iland.

Lænius the Consul hauing taken *Agigentum*, did sharpe execution of justice 20
vpon all the Citizens. The principall of them hee scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the rest of them he sold for slaues, and confiscated their goods; sending home to *Rome* the monie that was raised of the bootie. This was indeede a time, wherein *Rome* stood in no lesse necessitie of gold, than of Steele: which may haue bene the reason, why *Lænius* dealt so cruelly with the *Agigentines*. Neuertheless the fame of such seueritie bred a terror among all the Dependants of the *Carthaginians*; so that in great haste they sought to make their peace. About fortie Townes yielded themselves quickly vnto the *Romans*; twentie were deliuered vp by Treason; and fixe onely staid to be 30
wonne by force. These things done, *Lænius* returned home to *Rome*: carrying with him about foure thousand men from *Agitirna*; that were a companie of out-laws, bankrouts, and banished men, accustomed to liue by spoile of others, in these troublesome times. He bestowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they might exercise their occupation against the *Brutians*; a theeuish kinde of people, that were enemies vnto those of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he liued in good account; accompanying the two *Scipio*'s in their iourne against *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is said) very especial seruice. So by this enterprise of *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might haue bene employed in *Italy*: leauing yet vnto the *Romans*, in the end of this warre, the entire possession of this Iland; 40
which they wanted when it beganne.

§. XVI.

How the warre passed betwene the *Romans* and *Hannibal* in *Italy*, from the taking of *Capua* to the great victorie at *Metinurus*.

50
Shortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where for his good seruices done in the Iland of *Sicily*, he had granted vnto him the honour of the lesser Triumph, which vvas called *Ouatien*. The greater Triumph was denied him: because hee had not finished the warre, but vvas faine to leaue his Armie behinde him in the Province. Hee staid not long in *Rome*, before hee vvas againe chosen Consul together with

with *M. Valerius Laevinus*, who succeeded him in the gouernement of *Sicily*, and was, at the time of his election, making warre against King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great complaint was made against the Consul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracusians*, for that which he had done vnto them : they alleging their great friendship to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their Citie did neuer willingly break the alliance, excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome*, than to all good men that liued in *Syracuse*. The Consul, on the other side, reckoned vp the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him : willing them to bemoane themselves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their necessitie ; and not vnto the *Romans* whom they had kept out. Thus each part hauing some good matter to alledge, the Senate made such an end of the controuersie, as best agreed with the benefit of their owne Common-wealth : blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not restoring the bootie that hee had taken, nor making the *Syracusians* free from their subiection, but comforting them, with gentle words, and hopefull promises, as hath bene shewed before. The two new Consuls, *Marcellus* and *Laevinus*, were appointed to make warre, as their lots should fall out; the one in *Italy*; the other in *Sicily*. The Isle of *Sicily* fell vnto *Marcellus*: which Prouince he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syracusians* (whose cause had not as yet bene heard in the Senate) might not seeme hindred by feare, from vttering their grievances freely. Afterwards, when his businessse with them was dispatcht, hee gently undertooke the patronage of them : which remained long in his Familie : to the great benefit of their Country in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Consul, was sent into *Sicily*, whose doings there haue bene already rehearsed : but *Marcellus* was employed against *Hannibal*.

Before the Consuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with pressing of Souldiers to the warre; and most of all, with getting Mariners for their Nauie. They were all of the poorer sort, that vsed to be employed in Sea-seruices, especially in rowing. These could not liue without present wages : neither was there monie enough in the Treasurie to giue them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they should be set out at the expence of priuate men; who, in this necessitie of the state, were driuen to sustaine all publike charges. Hereat the People murmured : and were readie to fall into sedition; had not the Consuls deferred the matter vnto further consideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or doe, in a case of such extremite. For manifest it was, that the multitude had already endured so much, as well it could vnder-goe; and somewhat more, than could with honestie haue been imposed vpon it. Neuerthelessse it was impossible to maintaine the warre against the *Carthaginians*, or to keepe the *Macedonian* out of *Italy*, without a strong fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion; That, since the common Treasurie was so empty, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden vpon them. At last the Consuls beganne to say, That no perswasions would be so effectuall with the people, as good examples : and that if the Senators would follow the Consuls, like it was, that the People also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That euery one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasurie, all the monie that hee had; and that no Senator should keepe any vessell of gold, or plate whatsoeuer; excepting one salt-seller, and a boule wherewith to make their offerings vnto the gods; as also a Ring for himselfe, with such other tokens of ingenuitie for his wife and children, as euery one did vse, and those of as small value as might be. This aduice of the Consuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded; and hastily followed by the Gentlemen of so *Rome*. Neither did the Commonaltie refuse to doe that, which their betters had openly done before them. For since the publike necessity could no otherwise be holpen; euery one was contented, that his priuate estate should runne the same fortune with the Common-wealth; which if it suffered wrack, in vaine could any particular man

man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper substance. This magnanimitie deferred well that greatness of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Conuenient order being thus taken for an Armie and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the Citie against *Hannibal*; and *Laevinus* toward *Sicily*. The armie of *Hannibal* was greatly diminished, by long and hard seruice: neither did his *Carthaginians* seeme to remember him, and thinke vpon sending the promised supply; or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his *Italian* friends, was much weakened, by the losse of *Capua*: which gaue them cause to looke vnto themselves; as if in his helpe there were little truit to be reposed, when they should stand in need. This he well perceiued; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he must the vnt Garrison into all Townes that he suspected, and thereby so diminish his armie; that he should not bee able to keepe the field : or else hee must leaue them to their owne fidelitie, which now beganne to wauer. At length his jealousie grew so outrageous, that he sacked, and wasted, those places that he was vnable to defend: thinking that the best way to enrich himselfe; and make vnprofitable, to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and some of those, whom before he had least cause to doubt. The towne of *Salapia* yeelded vnto *Marcellus*; and betrayed vnto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horse, the best of all that serued vnder *Hannibal*; which was a greater losse, then the Towne it selfe. *Blasius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his desire to effect; without getting the consent of one *Daglus*, which was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Daglus* in priuate; and was by him accused vnto *Hannibal*. But when he was conuicted, and charged of Treason, he stoutly denied it, and by way of recrimination, so vehemently pressed his accuser with the same fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter denied out of meere malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and seeing, that neither of them could bring any proofe of what he affirmed. This notwithstanding, *Blasius* did not cease to presse his aduersarie anew, and vrge him from time to time, with such liuely reasons; that he who could not be belieued by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to winne the fauor of *Marcellus*. Presently after this, the Consul rooke by force, *Marones* and *Meles*, Townes of the *Samnites*: wherein hee slew about three thousand of *Hannibal* his men.

Hannibal could not looke to all at once; but was faine to catch aduantages, where he might get them; the *Romans* now being growne stronger in the field than hee. The best was, that his *Carthaginians*, hauing wearied themselves with ill speede in many pettie enterprises, and laide aside all this while the care of *Italy*, to follow businessse of farre lesse importance; had now at length resolved, to send presently the great supply, that had bene so long promised and expected. This if they had done in better season; *Rome* it selfe might haue bene stricken downe, the next yeere after that great blow receiued at *Canna*. But since that which is past cannot be amended: *Hannibal* must force himselfe to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mighty succour would come time enough. For *Masaniissa* was at *Carthage* with fife thousand *Numidians*, ready to set sail for *Spain*: whither when hee came, it was appointed, that *Asdrubal* should forthwith take his iourne into *Italy*, of which there had bene so long talk. These newes did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrifie the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their best : the *Romans* to prevent the threatening mischiefe, and winne as much as they could vpon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrarie, to hold his owne, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, so *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Pretor, lay nere vnto *Herdomea* to get the Towne by practice. It was not long, since, nere vnto the same place, another *Cn. Fulvius* had lost his armie. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; and came to *Herdomea* ere *Fulvius* heard newes of his approach. As loone as hee came, he offered battale to the *Roman* Pretor: who accepted it with more haste than good speede. The

Roman

Roman Legions made good resistance a while, till they were compassed round with the Carthaginian horse. Then fell they to rout; and great slaughter was made of them. Fulvius himself, with twelve Tribunes or Coronels, were lost: of the common souldiers that were slain, the number is uncertaine; some reporting seven, others thirteenth thousand. The Towne of *Herdouea*, because it was at point to have yeelded vnto Fulvius, Hannibal did set on fire; and putting those to death that had practised with the Enemy, carried away the multitude; whom he bestowed among the *Thuriens* and *Metapontines*. The Consul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote vnto the Senate; and exhorted them to be of a good cheare; for that he would shortly abate the enemies pride. Hee followed the Carthaginian apace; and over-taking him at *Namisstro* in the countie of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battaile: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, lasted vntill night; and ended, by reason of the darknesse, with uncertaine victorie. Afterward Hannibal departed thence into *Apuia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venusia* they met, and had many skirmishes; but none of importance. Hannibal remoued often; and fought to bring the enemy within danger of some ambush. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battaile, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light and vpon faire ground.

Thus passed the time away, vntill *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were chosen Consuls. *Fabius*, considering how much the Roman affaires were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purposed that yeere to besiege *Tarentum*: which if he could winne; like it was, that scarce one good Citie would afterwards remaine true to Hannibal. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued the command of those Legions that serued vnder him the yeere before) to presse the Carthaginian so hard, as he might haue no leisure to helpe *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no Roman fitter than himselfe, to deale with Hannibal in open field. Hee followed him therefore to *Cannusium*, and thence from place to place: desiring euer to come to battaile, but vpon equall termes. The Carthaginian had not minde to hazard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertaine his enemy with skirmish; as being desirous to keep his Army strong vntill the coming of *Asdrubal*. Yet could he not auoide the importunitie of *Marcellus*; nor brooke the indignitie of being daily braued. He therefore bade his men to be lustie, and to beat soundly this hot-spirited Roman Captaine, that would neuer suffer them to bee at quiet; vntill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him bloud. Hereupon followed a battaile: wherein Hannibal had the victorie; and tooke fixe Ensignes; and slue of the Romans almost three thousand, among which were some of marke. *Marcellus* was so impatient of this dishonour, that hee rated his men, as Pefants, and base cowards: telling them, that they were the first of the Roman Legions, which had bene beaten by Hannibal, by plaine force and manhood; without being circumvented by any stratagem. With these, and many other the like words, which they were ashamed to heare, hee did so vex them; that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than such displeasure of their Generall, they besought him to pardon them, and leade them forth once againe to fight. He did so: and placing those Companies formost, that had lost their Ensignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victorie; whereof the newes might bee at Rome, before the report of their shamefull overthrow. Hannibal was angrie, to see that nothing could make this Enemy quiet: and therefore was readie to fight againe; since all other motives continued the same, and his men had bene heartened by the late victorie. But the Romans were stirred vp with desire of reuenge, and of repairing their honor lost, which affections gaue a sharpe edge vnto their valour: whereas the Carthaginians were growne dull, and wearie by seeing themselves disappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithstanding their late victorie, as readie to molest them as before. In this second battaile *Marcellus* got the victorie: which hee purchased at so

deare

deare a rate; that neither hee, nor Hannibal, had great cause to vaunt, the second night. For if eight thousand of the Carthaginians were slaine, and three thousand of the Roman side, in this next battaile, the difference was no greater, than euen to recompence the late receiued overthrow: especially since the number of the Romans that were wounded, was so great, as disabled *Marcellus* from pursuing Hannibal, who dislodged by night. Neuerthelesse it sufficed, that *Fabius* the Consul hereby got leisure, to follow his businesse at *Tarentum* without any disturbance. *Q. Fulvius* the other Consul, about the same time, tooke in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Yolcentes*, that willingly yeelded themselves, and betrayed the Garrisons of Hannibal that lay in their Townes: whom *Fulvius* entertained in louing fort; gently rebuking them for their errors past, without punishing those that had ben authors, or buie doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* theues, which *Lexinius* had lately brought from *Agaturna*, was then also set on work to besiege *Caulonia*, a towne of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might serue to diuert Hannibal, from the succour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius the Consul, hauing taken *Manduria* a Towne of the *Salentines*, late downe before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that seemed needfull to carrie it, either by assault or long siege. Of the Garrisons in the Towne a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by Hannibal, vnder a Captaine of their owne Nation. This Captaine fell in loue with a *Tarentine* wench; whose brother serued vnder *Fabius*. Hereof, shee gaue notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the Roman side; by telling him how rich, and of what great accompt her loue was. But her brother made the Consul acquainted with these newes: and said, that if the *Brutian* were farre in loue, hee might perhaps be wonne, by intreatie of his Mistress, to doe what shee would haue him. The Consul hearing this: and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his souldier to conuey himselfe into the Towne as a fugitive; and trie what good might be done. It fell out, according to his desire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captaine: and partly by his owne persuasions, partly by the flattering entreatie of his sister; wanne him to betray the Towne to the Romans. When they had agreed vpon the businesse, and resolved how to order it; the same souldier got out of the Towne by night, and acquainted the Consul with his proceedings: telling him, in which part that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conueniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gaue an alarme to the Citie; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captaines in the Towne, prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himselfe, with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captaine, helped the Romans to get vp, and breake open the next gate; whereat the Armie was let in. The *Tarentines*, and *Carthaginian* souldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market-place: but as hapneth in like cases, where the maine confidence is already taken away; not very obstinately. *Nico*, *Democrates*, and *Philomenes*, with those that before had let in Hannibal, vsed now the last of their courage in dying against the Romans. *Carthalo*, who commanded the Garrison within the Towne, offered himselfe prisoner: hoping to be well vsed, because of hospitality that had passed betwene his Father and the Consul. But he was slaine by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The Romans did put all indifferently to the sword: in such sort, that they spared few of the *Brutians*. This slaughter of the *Brutians*, was thought to haue beene made by appointment of the Consul, to the end that hee might seeme to haue wonne the Towne by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glorie which he expected, nor preferred his reputation of faithfull dealing, and keeping his word. The bootie found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the Roman Treasurie, whither it was carried, had great neede. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities, that were in the Citie, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and

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being told of some Idols, that seemed worthier to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in such habit and posture as if they were fighting: he said, Let vs leave vnto the *Tarentines* their angrie gods.

Hannibal being gotten cleare from *Marcellus*, fell vpon those that besieged *Canlonia*. They fled at his coming: but hee was so neere, that they were faine to be take them to a Hill, which serued to no other purpose, than to beare off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yielded. When this businesse was done, hee hasted away to relieue *Tarentum*. But when hee came within fiew miles of the Citie, he had newes that it was lost. This grieved him: yet hee said no more than this, *The Romans haue also their HANNIBAL*; we haue lost 10 *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seeme to turne back amazed, or in any feare of the victorious Consul; he incamped a few daies together, so neere as hee was vnto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himselfe how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chiefe of the *Metapontines* to write vnto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgiue them all offences past. These letters were sent by two yong men of the same Citie: who did their errand so well, that the Consul wrote back by them vnto the *Metapontins*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure, made readie his ambushes for the warie *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were giuen; or whether indeede (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Roman*; the iournie to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were emploied againe: but being apprehended, and threatened with torture, they discovered all.

This yeere was happie to the *Romans*, in all their warres: for they got every where; saue onely at *Canlonia*; where they lost a companie of such lewd fellowes, that it may seeme good fortune, to haue so been rid of them. But their common poertie, and disabilitie to maintaine their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thurtie *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italie*: of which, twelue refused to contribute any longer to the warres. For it was considered; that the Legions of *Canna*, and those vnhappie Companies, that had beene beaten vnder the one and the other *Cn. Fuluius*; were transported into *Sicil*; where they liued, in a fort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon vp the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten yeeres together they had beene exhausted with leues of men, and impositions of monie: in euery of which yeeres they had receiued some notable ouerthrow. In this case the least that they could feare; or rather the best which they could hope; was, to fall into the hands of the enemy to bee made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that was raken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to passe within a while, that they should beall consumed: since new Souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Townes; and the old ones neuer did returne. Such talke was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into *Sicil*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Townes, to the number of twelue, That they should boldly denie vnto the *Romans*, their fathers helpe. This was thought the likeliest way to obtaine peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* liued. When the Consuls heard the Embassadors of these townes make such declaration, and protest their disabilitie of giuing any further help; they were much amazed. They willed the Embassadors to returne home, and bring a 50 better answer, forasmuch as this was none other than treason: they bade them to consider, that the people were not *Campanians*, or *Tarentines*, but the off-spring of the *Romans*; and no lesse partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-Citie. But all would not serue: the Embassadors continuing to protest, that they

they had already done what they could; and that they had remaying, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eightene Colonies did not imitate these twelue; but shewed themselves willing to vndergoe whatsoever should be layed vpon them, without thinking vnder the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls; that the Embassadors of those faithfull Colonies, were brought vnto the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good seruises, this their present loue vnto the State was magnified, & thanks accordingly bestowed vpon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadors of those twelue Colonies, that refused to contribute; it was thought best, neither to retaine them in the Citie, nor yet to dismisse them nor take any notice of them at all; but leave them to their owne consideration of their ill delerung.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelue people would haue wrought, in those that were so willing to helpe the State, if *Asdrubal* had been then coming into *Italie*. For then must the *Romans* haue betaken themselves wholly to their owne defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subiects, they employed their forces in the conquest of *Italie*, with hopefull and fortunate successe. Neuerthelesse, they were faine to open their most priue treasure; and thence take out the golde, that had beene layed vp to serue them in cases of greatest extremitie. 20 Of the mony thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to *Fabius* the Consul, to set him well out against the *Tarentines*; all the rest was sent into *Spaine* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Armie; and to prouide, that *Asdrubal* might not passe from thence into *Italie*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not spend all his money; finding such easie successe at *Tarentum*, as was shewed before. But to stop the iourney of *Asdrubal*; neither the money sent into *Spaine*, nor any victories wonne by *Scipio* could suffice. Neuerthelesse it fell out happily for the People of *Rome*, that this yeare, and the next, were spent, before his coming; and they better prepared, than at lesse warning they could haue beene, to entertaine him. Here it were not amisse to note, That since the *Romans*, being in so great necessity of money, were driuen to furnish 30 the Armie in *Spaine*, with the greatest part of all their stocke that was left: it must needs bee, thareither the bootie taken in new *Carthage*, was farre lesse then fame had reported it; or else that *Scipio* had not as yet wonne it: howsoeuer *Liue* rather inclines to those, who say that he got it soone after his arriuall.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintus Crispinus*, were chosen Consuls after *Fabius* and *Fuluius*. In their yeere it was, that *Asdrubal* tooke his iourney out of *Spaine*, though he came not into *Italie* vntill the yeere following. After the great battaile at *Canna*, *Hannibal* had lost much time about *Canna* and *Naples*, in seeking to make himselfe Master of a good haue, for the landing of those succours that were promised from *Carthage*. The hope that he reposed in *Philip*, caused him to turne his principall care to the Easterne parts of *Italie*; where he made readie a faire entrance for the *Macedonian*, if hee had beene readie to come. But since his hope was vanished, and the long promised succour of *Asdrubal* was (though farre later then had beene expedient) readie to arriue: he began to deale with the people of *Hetruria*, through whose Countries his brother was to passe, that therein hee might make a partie against the *Romans*. The losse of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Townes, might haue terrified all other of the *Italian* Townes, from harkening to any solicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the pouerty of the *Roman*, and the wearines of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Armie coming, then that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italie*, did embolden many of the *Hetrurians*, especially the *Arretines*, to take such counsel as they thought most expedient for themselves, without regard of their fidelitie to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senat, hearing the rumour of their conspiracie, sent *Marcellus* the new chosen Consul into *Hetruria*: whose coming did so terrifie them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the yeere following they were 50

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deuiling how to breake out: as contrariwise the *Roman* Propretors; partly by terror of seuerer iudgements and inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wills; and tooke many Hottages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest desire, to make strong warre vpon *Hannibal* without more temporising; perswading themselves, that in battaile they should be too strong for him. *Crispinus* had further his particular desire, to make his Consulship notable by the winning of some good Towne: as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the siege of *Locri*; one of the best Cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italie*: and brought thither all sorts of engines; sending for a fleet out of *Sicily* to helpe him. But *Hannibal* was not slow to relieue the Citie: the fame of whose approach, made *Crispinus* desist from his enterprise and retire vnto his Colleague, that lay at *Venusia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*; to whom the Consuls daily offered battaile. This great man of warre had no neede to stand vpon his reputation; which was already confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed vnto feare; but rather deemed as part of his wisdom. He entertained the Consuls with many light skirmishes, and sought to take them at some aduantage; reseruing his owne numbers as full as he could, vnto a time of greater employment. In this lingering manner of Warre, *Marcellus* tooke no pleasure: but sought to compell the Enemy to battaile, whether he would or no. The Admirall of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicily*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded againe to assaile the Towne of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he beganne to trifle away the time at *Venusia*. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to goe by Land to the assistance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behinde him. He laid an ambush in the way, betwene *Tarentum* and *Locri*; whereinto the *Romans* fell; and hauing lost about three thousand of their companie, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprise, and saue their owne hues within *Tarentum*. As for the Consuls, it was the desire of *Hannibal*, to waste their Armie by little and little: which to doe, he neglected no aduantage. There lay betwene him and them an Hillock, over-grown with wood, that seemed fit to cover a number of men: who lying there vndiscovered, might fall vpon such, as should straggle from the *Roman* campe; and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of *Numidians*: whom hee would keepe themselves close, and attend their best aduantage. To this piece of ground, the Consuls thought it fit to remoue their Campe: *Marcellus* thinking that he neuer lay neerer enough vnto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the sonne of *Marcellus*, a few Colonells, and other principall men; and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinell gaue warning of their approach to his fellows; who discouered not themselves, vntill they had surrounded the Consuls and their traine. The Consuls, as necessitie compelled them, defended themselves: hoping to be quickly relieved from their campe that was neere at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ranne away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger, to the weake assistance of no more than fortie horse-men, that were of the Colonie of *Fregellæ*. These *Fregellans* abode by the Consuls; and did what they could to haue brought them safe off. But when *Marcellus* was stricken thorow with a Lance, and fell downe dead; then became euerie one to shift for himselfe, and escape as they might. *Crispinus* the other Consull, had his death wound, being stricken with two Darts; and yong *Marcellus* was likewise wounded; yet these two recovered their campe: The rest of the Colonells and Officers; together with the Lictors that carried the bundles of Rods and Axes before the Consuls, were all slaine or taken. To the dead bodie of the Consull *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gaue honourable Funerall, according to the custome of those times: and bestowing

bestowing his ashes in a siluer pot, couered it with a crowne of gold; and so sent them to yong *Marcellus*, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Presently after this, *Crispinus* bethought himselfe, how that the ligner Ring of *Marcellus* was fallen into the custodie of *Hannibal*; who might vse it, to his owne purposes, ere that which had hapned were well knowne abroad. Wherefore hee sent word vnto all the Townes about; that his Colleague was slaine, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: wishing them in that regard, to giue no credit vnto any letters therewithall signed. This prouidence of *Crispinus* was not more than requisite. For his Messenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, when another Messenger arriued there sent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and sealed with the captiue Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpose to come the same night vnto *Salapia*; where hee willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readinesse, for such employment as he should thinke needfull. The deuice was plaine: and no lesse plaine was the reuengefull minde, which he bare against that Citie; because of his braue *Numidian* companies, that had therein bene betrayed. The *Salapians* hereupon bethought themselves, how to take their Enemy in his owne snare. They sent back the Messenger which was a *Roman* fugitiue; without letting him perceiue any signe of distrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readinesse, for the entertainment of such a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of *Roman* fugitiues armed *Roman*-like, leading the way. These all talking Latine together, called vnto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Consul was there. The gate was opened, faire and leifurely, and the Port-cullis drawne vp no higher than needes it must bee, to let them enter. But when sixe hundred of them were gotten in, downe fell the Port-cullis againe: and they that thought to haue taken others, were taken themselves; being laied at on all hands by the *Salapians*, that quickly made an ende with them.

Hannibal being thus ouer-reached with this stratageme, halied away to *Locri*; whereunto *Cincius* the Admirall of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicily*, did lay hard siege. The first appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal* his Vantcursors, made the *Romans* in all confused haste, runne to their ships: leauing all their engines, and whatsoeuer was in their campe, to the enemies disposition.

The *Roman* Senate hearing of these accidents, sent vnto *Crispinus* the suruiuing Consul, and requested him to name a Dictator, that might take charge of the Commonwealth, and dispatch the election of new Magistrates, with other business; whereunto himselfe was disabled by his hurrs. Hee did so: and scone after died. Then was it thought needfull, that new Consuls should be chosen out of hand: forasmuch as two *Roman* Armies lay so neere vnto the Enemy, without any Generall. Especially it was desired, that Election should be made of such men, as were not onely valiant, but well aduised: since the best, and most fortunate of their great Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by loosing himselfe so strangely, had giuen them a faire warning, not to commit their Armie vnto rash heads. Among those that stood for the Consulship, *C. Claudius Nero*, was the most eminent. Hee was of great Nobilitie, a good Souldier, and one, whose many seruices in this present warre, did forcibly commend vnto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, whose temper needed the allay of a more stayed wit. The fathers therefore endeouored to ioine vnto him in the Consulship *M. Liuius*: one that had borne the same Office, long before. This *M. Liuius* had been Consul with *L. Æmilius Paulus*, in the yere foregoing the beginning of this warre. After their Consulship, wherein they did good seruice, they had both of them bin called into iudgement by the People: and this *Liuius* condemned; *Æmilius* hardly elcaping. Though it hath bin once already noted; yet I cannot forbear to remember it againe: how it pleased God, to vprайд the vthankfull *Romans*, with the malicious iudgement, giuen by their multitude vpon honorable men: for in the battaile of *Cannæ*, it was apparant, what lamentable

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effects, the memorie of their iniustice wrought: when *L. Aemilius* rather chose to yeeld to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and after ward to die in the greatest ouerthrow, that euer fell vpon the State of *Rome*, than by resisting the pernicious courses of *Terentius Varro*, to cast himselfe answ vpon the danger of the popular furie. As for *M. Linius*, he is euen now readie, and will so continue, to tell the People of their faultis in a diuers manner. Eight yecres together after his condemnation had hee bene absent out of the Citie, and liued in his Countrie Grange; vexing himselfe with the indignitie of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Launus*, being Consuls two or three yecres agoe, had brought him into *Rome*: where he liued priuate in discontented sort as might appeare, both by his carelesnesse in apparell, and by the wearing of his long haire and beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Verelately he was compelled by the Cenfors, to poll his haire, and come into the Senate: where hee vsed to sit silent, and signifie his assent or dislike to what was proposed; either in short formall words, or in passing from side to side, when the houle was diuided. At length it hapned, that in some busines weightily concerning one that was his kinsman, he stood vp, and made a set speech: whereby he drew all the *Fathers* to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had bene. The Senate was much altered since he had left it; many braue men were lost; new ones were choosen; such as rather serued to fill vp the number, than to answere to the dignitie of the place: and they that were left of ancient standing, had euen spent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore, all began to say; that it was great pittie, so worthy and able a man, as this *Linius*, had bene all this while forgotten; one, of whom the Common-wealth stood in great neede, yet had not vied in this dangerous warre. Now seeing that the Consuls ought, one of them, to be choosen a *Patrician*, the other, of necessitie a *Plebeian*: and since, neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Laetinus*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be ioyned with *Claudius Nero*: euery one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Linius*. But *Linius* would not endure to heare of this. He said it was vnreasonable, that one condemned as a dishonest man, should afterwards be choosen 30 Ruier of the Citie. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consulship, what meant they then to offer him another? With these, and the like phrases he resisted their desires: till by perswasions, and examples rehearsed, of such as had patiently digested iniuries done by the People, and repaid good for euill; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Embleme, with which *Themistocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: resembling himselfe to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughes whereof men breake in faire weather; but runne vnder it for shelter in a storme. Such vnthankfulnesse, to well-deseruing men, is not rarely found in the outrageous multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much vnlike, of *Philip* the second King of *Spaine* his dealing with the Duke of *Alsa*. For although he had committed the Duke to prison, vpon some small offence conceived, without all regard of his former defects: yet when his intended conquest of *Portugal*, required the seruice of a man, more then ordinarily sufficient; hee stood no longer vpon the Canning of late displeasures, but employed the same Duke, whom he had newly disgraced. This is wisdom often taught by necessitie.

It was a dangerous yecre to ward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Linius* were choosen Consuls. *Asdrubal* was alreadye come into *France*, and waited only, to haue the waies of the *Alpes* thawed by warme weather, for his passage into *Italy*. The *Romans* vied at this time the seruice of three and twentie Legions: and wanted not employment, for many more, if they had knowne how to leuie and maintaine them. Of these which they had, foure serued in *Spaine*, two in *Sicil* and two in *Sardinia*: the rest were so disposed, in severall parts of *Italy*, where need seemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Consuls. But the Consuls were men of execution,

execution: and would not be tied to the punctuall obseruance of what the *S.* name thought fit. *M. Linius* would not stirre out of *Rome*, against so mightie a power as followed *Asdrubal*; vntill he had first obtained, that hee might carry with him as many as could well be spared from other imployments; and those, or the most of them, choosen Companies. It was true, that two Legions, appointed to serue vnder *Lucius Porcius* a Pretor of that yere, among the *Stilpine Gauls*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Linius*; to whom the warre against *Asdrubal* was allotted. So might also two other Legions, that were among the *Salentine*, nere vnto *Tarentum*, vnder another of the Pretors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Armie; that was sent against *Hannibal*. Neuertheless the Consuls, by the especiall instance of *Linius*, did obtaine, that all might be left to their owne discretion. For newes came, that *Asdrubal* was alreadye passing the *Alpes*; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the Countrie about *Genoa*, with their Neighbour people, were in readinesse to ioyne with him; and *L. Porcius* sent word, that he would adventure no further, then hee fairly might. When all was ordered, as themselves thought best, the two Consuls went forth of the Citie; each, his seuerall way. The People of *Rome* were now quite otherwise affected, than they had bene, when *L. Aemilius Paulus* and *C. Terentius Varro*, were sent against *Hannibal*. They did no longer take vpon them, to direct their Generals; or bid them dispatch, and winne the victorie betimes: but rather they stood in feare; lest all diligence, wisdom and valour should proue too little. For since few yecres had passed, wherein some one of their Generals had not bene slaine; and since it was manifest, that if either of these present Consuls were defeated, or put to the worst; the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith ioyne, and make short worke with the other: it seemed a greater happinesse than could be expected, that each of them should returne home Victors; and come off with honour, from such mightie opposition, as he was like to finde. With extreme difficultie had *Rome* held vp her head, euer since the battaile of *Cannae*; though it were so, that *Hannibal* alone, with little helpe from *Carthage*, had continued the warre in *Italy*. But there was now arriued another sonne of *Amilcar*, and one, that in his present Expedition, had seemed a man of more sufficiencie than *Hannibal* himselfe. For, where as in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, over great Rivers, and Mountaines, that were thought vnpassable, *Hannibal* had lost a great part of his Armie: this *Asdrubal*, in the same places, had multiplied his numbers; and gathering the people that he found in the way, descended from the *Alpes* like a rowling Snow-ball, farre greater than he came over the *Pyrennees* at his first setting out of *Spaine*. These considerations and the like, of which feare presented many vnto them; caused the People of *Rome*, to wait vpon their Consuls out of the Towne; like a penfue traine of Mourners: thinking vpon *Marcellus* & *Crispinus*, vpon whom in the like sort they had giuen attendance the last yere; but saw neither of them returne aliae, from a lesse dangerous warre. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gaue his accustomed aduice to *M. Linius*, that he should abstaine from giuing, or taking battaile, vntill he well vnderstood the Enemies condition. But the Consul made him a froward answer, and said, That he would fight the very first day: for that he thought it long, till he should either recover his honour by victorie; or by seeing the ouerthrow of his owne vnjust Citizens, satisfie himselfe with the ioy of a great, though not an honest, reuenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the ouerthrow that *Asdrubal* receiued in *Spaine*, by *Scipio*, a little before hee tooke his iourne into *Italy*; such mention hath alreadye been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Historian *Linius*. Yet I thinke it not amisse to adde in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his historie concerning that accident. *Asdrubal* had wrestled with many difficulties in *Spaine*; by reason of those Capitaines that were sent from the Citie of *Carthage*, to ioyne with him in the administration of that Province: they being, as it may seme, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to say, thus farre forth Traitors, that they preferred the ad-

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uantage of their own side, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthe soane of *Amilcar*, and how they hindred his courtes vnder taken, it cannot bee knowne: since of those bookes, wherein *Polihins* hath exactly handled these matters, there are to vs remaining onely a few broken pieces. But by the sightfull dealing of *Hannoin Stiel* with *Antimes*, a better man of warre than himselfe, whom *Hannibal* had sent into the Land: we may conceiue, that against the brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needfull, by these mischieuous Partisans of *Hanno*, to vie the violent opposition of more earnest malice. Neuertheless *Asdrubal* was a good Patriot: and therefore endured patiently such indignities, as *Antimes* could not long digest. His iourne into *Italie* being resolved vpon: he lay with part of the Armie at *Betula*, not farre from the mines of silver; whence he was to furnish his Expedition. Thither came *Scipio*: and draue him out of his Campe, though he were strongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captaines could, or would, come to his assistance. The overthrow seemes not to haue beene so great, as it must haue been supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appeares, that *Asdrubal* dealt like a prudent man, and seeing that his Campe was likely to be forced, sent away all his monie, with his Elephants before him: but staid behinde himselfe to sustaine the *Romans* awhile, vntill his carriages might bee out of danger. Herein he had his desire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troups together: and retired in such sort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to pursue him, and so passed ouer *Tagus*. Then taking vnto him the forces assigned for his Expedition, he marched away toward the *Pyrenes*: leauing the care of *Spaine* vnto his brother *Stago*, and to *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gegeo*; that thought himselfe the fittest man for the administration thereof. Faine would *Scipio* haue stopped him on his iourne, by sending to defend against him the ordinarie way of the Mountaines. But whether *Asdrubal* tooke another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had set to keepe the *Pyrenes* (as the defence of hard passages commonly forts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voiage by any such impediment. Comming into *Gaule*, and following the steps of his brother *Hannibal*; he found the Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or to his monie, that no passages were defended against him, nor any sort of resistance made; but he, and his Armie, well entertained, and their numbers much increased, by access of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choice: for that he was driven to Winter in their Countrey; whilst that the passages of the *Alpes* were closed vp with Ice and Snow. The Mountaines likewise, that had so greatly molested *Hannibal* in his iourne ouer the *Alpes*; were easily won to take part with *Asdrubal*, when he trauailed through their Countrey. For these poore men, at the first comming of *Hannibal*, were verily perswaded, that it was his purpose to robbe them of their cattails; and to make spoile of that little wealth, which they had painefully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in proccesse of time, they were better informed. Therefore vnderstanding, that there were two mightie Cities, farre disioyned asunder, which made warre vpon each other, by Land, and Sea; and that the *Alpes* did only lie in their way: they gladly condescended, to take their part in the fortune of the Inuaders. The like affection, vpon greater cause, was afterward found in the *Cisalpine Gaules*. The *Ligurians* also ioyined with *Asdrubal*: and so would the *Hetrurians* haue done; if he had arriued in their Countrey. There was no other *Roman* Armie neere, then *L. Porcius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great feare. Therefore did *Asdrubal* set vpon *Placentia* a *Roman* Colonie; in hope to make his comming the more terrible, by the destruction of that Towne. But there hee lost a great deale of time, and finally was driven to quit the enterprise: by vnder taking which, he gaue the *Roman* Consuls leisure to make readie for him; and caused his brother *Hannibal* (who vpon the first bruit of *Asdrubal* his so timely, and easily passing the *Alpes*, was about to leaue his wintering camps, and go forth to meet with him) to sit still awhile, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haste.

C. Claudius

C. Claudius Nero the Roman Consul, made what speede hee could, to meet with *Hannibal*, and stop him from ioyning with his brother. He had about fortie thousand foot, and fise hundred horse: with which he daily offered battaile to the *Carthaginian*; and had of him the better in many skirmishes. *Hannibal* was once driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salentines* and *Apulians*, into the Countrey of the *Brutians*, there to encrease his forces; which were otherwise too weak for the iourne intended. Afterward comming to *Grunceturum*, a Towne of the *Lucans*; he there fought vnprosperously with Nero the Consul. Neuertheless he got off, and marched away to *Peoncia*. But Nero followed him; and had there againe the better of him. Wherefore he was driven to returne to *Metapontum*: where ioyning with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Armie, he called againe to make way by force to his brother. So he passed on ward, and came againe to *Peoncia*, hauing Nero still at his heeles. Thence went he ouer the Ruer *Anficus* to *Canusium*, where he fate downe, not farre from the place, in which he had obtained his most memorable victorie. There also did Nero sit downe by him: and both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps vnto *Hannibal*, who knew the Countrey very well; that his brother might, with little impediment, overcome the way to *Canusium*: where if he could once againe deale with both the Consuls, and all the *Roman* forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victorie, as once he had gotten in the same open Countrey. If this had so fallen out; *Rome* would haue beene vndone for euer. But the *Carthaginians* should not haue needed to wish any second victorie, in the naked Champons about *Cannae*; if such an armie, as this which *Asdrubal* now brings, had come to second *Hannibal*, when hee was in his full strength; and the *Romans* not able to keepe the field. Wherefore this worthy Generall had good reason afterward to say, that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the supply, did beat him out of *Italie*; which else no power of the *Romans* could haue done.

Whilst Nero waited vpon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Armie that was comming to their succour: he was aduertised of *Asdrubal* his approach; by Letters and Messengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. These gaue notice, that *Asdrubal* had left the siege of *Placentia*, and drew on wards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his brother; notwithstanding all opposition that could bee made by *Linus* the Consul. Of these newes *Claudius Nero* was nothing ioyfull. For if *Hannibal* could once be ioynd as head, vnto that great body of an Armie, which *Asdrubal* brought with him: it was most apparrant, that howeouer the fortune of *Rome* should auoid, for the present, any great calamitie; yet the very continuance of so strong a warre at home, would enforce the *Latines*, and other faithfull Associates, to faint vnder the burden; as twelue of the thirtie *Roman* Colonies had already done. W herefore hee resolved, that it were better to make any desperate aduenture, than to suffer the conjunction of two such malevolent Planets: whose pestilent influence, if not on the suddaine, yet within few yeres, was like to worke most lamentable effect. It seemed apparrant, that his Colleague was vnable to stay the progresse of *Asdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readines, that could doe seruice in such a needfull case; excepting those, that were already employed vnder the two Consuls. Here vpon hee concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tie himselfe to his owne charge, which was the warre against *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoued him, to helpe where more necessitie required; and to carry part of his forces vnto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet since the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* bretheren, was farre more dangerous to the *Roman* Common-wealth; it seemed the best way to put Fortune in truft, with that which was of the lesse importance. Sixe thousand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore tooke, that were the very choice of his Armie: and making these, as if he would only step aside, to doe some small piece of seruice neere at hand; away he posted as fast as hee could, to assist

assist his fellow Consul. His Messengers ranne before him, to giue warning to all Townes by which he was to passe, that they should be ready to meet him, with vituals, and all other necessaries for his Armie. *Linus* the other Consul, at that time, lay incamped, nere vnto *Sena Gallica*; and *Asdrubal* within halfe a mile of him. In fixe daies *Nero* had finished his iourne thither; and when he drew nere, sent Messengers before him, to giue notice of his comming. *Linus* thought it fittest that he should stay in some place of couert vntill darke night, and then enter secretly into the campe: lest the Enemy, perceiving this accesse of strength, should accordingly frame his counsailes. This was done; and as token giuen, that the Colonells, Captaines, and all Souldiers, as foot, as horse, that *Nero* had brought with him; should bee lodged and entertained by men of their owne fort. Their Companie was somewhat increased by Voluntaries that joyned with them on the way. Neuerthelesse, it was not needfull, that the Quarter which receiued them, should bee enlarged; since they had brought with them nothing but their armes. The next day they held a Counsaile of warre: wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for these new-arrived Companies, to refresh themselves a few daies after their wearie iourne, before they should be drawne forth to battaile. But against this, *Nero* was very earnest: and besought his Colleague, to make vse of him out of hand; that he might betimes returne to his owne Campe, ere *Hannibal* should haue notice of his absence. The souldiers also of *Nero*, were full of spirit; perceiving that the honour of the victorie was like to be theirs: forasmuch as the battaile would not haue beene vnderaken, without this their comming to helpe. Finally, it was agreed when the Counsaile brake vp, that the signe of battaile should be hung out; which was commonly a purple coate ouer the Generalls pavilion.

Asdrubal was no lesse willing than the *Romans* to come to battaile, hauing long desired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Armie, to behold the Enemies countenance: it seemed to him, that they were more than they had beene; and some of their armes and horses looked as though they had wanted dressing, after a long iourne. Hereupon he beganne to draw his Armie backe into the Campe: and gaue order, that if no prisoners could be taken, by whom he might bee certified of the truth; yet should there good obseruation be made, whether the enemies campe were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might shew their forces to be increased. The campe, as hath beene said, was not extended: but the trumpeter, that sounded only once in the quarter of *L. Porcius* the Pretor, did now, contrary to former custome, found twice in the quarter of *Linus* the Consul. Hereat *Asdrubal* greatly mused: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* orders; held this for a sure token, that the other Consul was there arrived. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were aliue, and in good case, he was not able to coniecture: but thought it the best way, to goe leisurely to worke; till he might be better informed. Vpon confidence in his owne forces, he had not cared hitherto, how nere he lay to the *Romans*; nor troubled himselfe perhaps with ouer-strongly fortifying his owne Campe. Yet when hee now perceived, that somewhat was fallen out beside his expectation, hee changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remove a little further off. So hee dislodged secretly by night, intending to get ouer the *Riuer Metaurus*; whereby to keepe himselfe as long as he could, from necessity of battaile. But whether it were so, that his guides did sleale away from him in the dark, so that he could not finde the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too heauie, and hindered his speede: farre hee had not gone, ere the Consul *Nero* was at his heeles with all the *Roman* horse, and staid him from passing any further. Soone after came *L. Porcius* with the light armature: whom the other Consul followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and ready for battaile. *Asdrubal*, seeing himselfe ouer-taken with necessity to fight; omitted no care and circumspection. His *Gaules*, in whom he reposed least confidence, hee placed in his left wing vpon a Hill,

which

which the Enemy should not, without much difficultie, be able to climbe: in the right wing he stood himselfe, with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*; his *Ligurians* he placed in the midst; and his Elephants, hee bestowed in the front of his battailes. On the *Roman* side, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing; *Linus* of the left; and *Porcius* of the battaile. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well vnderstood, how much depended vpon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of safetie there was vnto the vanquished. Only the *Romans* herein seemed to haue had the beter in conceipt, and opinion; That they were to fight with men delirious to haue fled from them. And, according to this presumption, came *Linus* the Consul with a proud brauery, to giue charge on the *Africans*: by whom he was so sharpe entertained, that the victorie seemed very doubtfull. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were stout soldiers; and well acquainted with the maner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* also were a hardy Nation, and not accustomed to giue ground; which they needed the lesse, or were able now to doe, being placed in the midst. *Linus* therefore, and *Porcius*, found strong opposition: and with great slaughter on both sides, preuailed little or nothing. Besides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants; that brake their first ranks; and put them in such disorder, as the *Roman* Ensignes were driuen to fall backe. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vaine against a steepe Hill, was vnable to come to blowes with the *Gaules*; that stood opposite vnto him, but out of danger. This made *Asdrubal* the more confident; who seeing his owne left wing safe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impression on the other side, vpon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero*, perceiving that the place wherein he stood, was such as would compell him to remaine idle till the fight were ended; tooke a part of his forces, and led them round behinde the forces of *Porcius* and *Linus*: which hauing compassed, he fell vpon *Asdrubal*, and charged him in the flanke. Here beganne the victorie to be manifest on the *Roman* side. For *Nero*, finding none to resist him in front, ranne all along the depth of *Asdrubal* his battaile: and falling vpon the skirts thereof, disordered the Enemies, and put all to rowt. Of the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on euery side, the greatest part was slaine. The *Ligurians* and *Gaules* escaped as they could; and saved themselves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, foure were taken aliue: the rest were slaine; some by the Enemies weapons; others by their owne guides that rode them. For when any of them, being sore wounded, beganne to waxe vnruly, and rush backe vpon their owne battailes following them: the guide had in readinesse a Mallet, and a Chizzell, wherewith he gaue them a stroke betweene the eares, in the joynt of the necke, next vnto the head; wherewith hee killed the beast vpon the suddaine. This speedy way of preventing such harme as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to doe to the squadrons following them; is said to haue bene the deuice of *Asdrubal* himselfe; who died in this battaile.

Great commendations are giuen to *Asdrubal*, both by *Polybius*, and by *Linus*. He is said at all times to haue shewed himselfe worthy of *Amilcar* his father, and *Hannibal* his brother; to haue striuen with great patience, against many difficulties, wherinto he fell by the meanes of those Captaines, that were sent from *Carthage* into *Spain*; to haue performed in this last battaile all duties of a worthy Generall; and finally when hee saw the losse irreparable, to haue ridden manfully into the thickest of his Enemies; where fighting branely, hee was slaine. Of the number that died with him in this battaile, the report of *Linus*, and of *Polybius*, doe very much disagree. For *Linus* saith, that the *Carthaginians* had no lesse an ouerthrow, than was that, which they gaue to the *Romans* at *Canna*; that fiftie fixe thousand of them were slaine, fixe thousand & foure hundred taken prisoners; and aboute foure thousand *Roman* Citizens, whom they had captiues with them, deliuered, and set at libertie. He saith also, that of the *Romans* and their Associates there were slaine eight thousand: and of the bootie, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kindes; but in gold and siluer. Concerning the bootie; *Polybius* hath no mention of it.

Likely

Likely it is to haue bene as rich as *Luie* reporteth it; for *Asdrubal* came well fortified with monie. But *Polybius* (who had no desire to make this battaile of *Metaurus*, a parale vnto that of *Cannæ*) reports no more than about ten thousand of the *Carthaginian* side, and two thousand of the *Roman*, to haue bene slaine. The number of the prisoners he doeth not mention: but only saith, That some of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken aliuie; and that all the rest died in the battaile. Whereby it may seeme, that they were all *Barchines*: forasmuch as they preferred the honour of themselves, and of their Countie, about their liues.

The joy of this victorie was no lesse in *Rome*, than had bene the feare of the euent. For euer since it was knowne in what *Rome* had left his Armie; the whole Citie was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his coming thither. Men thought it strange, that the Consul should make such a great aduenture, as thus to put the one halfe of all the *Roman* forces, vnto hazard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chance to haue notice of this his departure; and either pursue him, or set vpon the Armie that staid behinde, much weakned, and without a General? Thus did they talke: yet referring their censure vnto the successe; with libertie to approve or condemn, according to the issue. In the meane while the People filled the Market-place; the Women ranne to the Temples, with Vowes and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counsaile, waiting still ready at hand vpon the Magistrats: as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would require euery ones helpe. In briefe, they were all so full of melancholy, that when first newes of the victorie came, there were not many that would beleue it. Afterwards when Messengers arriued from the Consuls, with Letters containyng all that had passed: there was not only great and joyfull concourse of all sorts of men vnto the Temples, but the very face of the Citie was altered; and men from thenceforth beganne to follow their private businesse; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborne to doe) and attending their owne affaires in such wise, as if *Hannibal* were already driuen out of *Italie*.

Nero returning to his campe, threw forth openly the head of *Asdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*: and producing his *African* prisoners bound; sent two of them loof to giue *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners might haue serued well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of this misaduenture, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Asdrubal*: especially since *Hannibal*, in honourable, and farre different manner, had giuen buriall to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea to all the *Roman* Generalls, whose carcases fell into his hands. But it may seeme, that howsoever the People of *Carthage* wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their loue vnto the Commonweale; yet in dealing with Enemies, they were farre more ciuill, and lesse prone to the insolencie of reuenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that hee hoped much more by the sudden terrour of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which had passed, to make a deepe impression of feare into the *Carthaginians*. It may also be said, That he forgot himselfe, being ouer-joyed with the greatnesse of his prosperitie. For it was the battaile of *Metaurus* that weighed downe the balance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. *Hannibal* hauing lost in this vnhappy fight (besides that worthy Gentleman his Brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in *Italie*; with-drew himselfe into the Countie of the *Brutians*: and thither hee caused all the *Lucans* that were of his partie to remoue; as likewise all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men to defend in many places as he held at the present, because they lay too farre asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a lesser compasse in the vmoost corner of *Italie*; it being a Countie of much fastnesse, and the people exceedingly deuoted to his seruice. In this businesse *Nero* gave him no memorable impediment: either because *Hannibal* was too strong for him, hauing all his forces vnited; or because it is likely

likely that this remoue of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Summer, when their haruest was gathered in; at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Luinius* the other Consul tarried among the *Cisalpine Gaules* vntill the end of Summer; there to set things in such order as he thought requisite: which done, hee wrote vnto the Senate, that there was no more neede of him and his Armie in that Province; but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause, hee desired leaue to returne home; and that he might bring his Armie with him. The Senate well vnderstood his meaning: which was, to haue the honour of triumph, as he well deserved. But forasmuch as it was well knowne, what interest *Nero* had in the late victorie: order was giuen, that not only *Luie* with his Armie should come home; but likewise *Nero*; though leauing his Armie behinde him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pompe whereof *Luie* made the greater shew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; because in his Province, and vpon his day of command, the victorie was gotten; his Armie also being present at the triumph. But *Nero* that rode on horse-backe, and without such attendance, was the more extolled both by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victorie was in a manner wholly ascribed vnto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. P. Sulpicius* *Piso*, and *Q. Caelius* *Metellus*, Lieutenants to the Generalls, the due acknowledgement of their good seruice. For they were commended vnto the People, as men worthy to be chosen Consuls: and Consuls they were chosen for the yeere following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memorie, in their Consulship. Neither indeede from this yeere, which was the thirteenth of the present warre, vntill the eighteenth yeere wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italie*; save only the taking of *Laetri* from the *Carthaginians* by surpris. For *Hannibal* wanted strength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the *Romans* had little minde to prouoke him; but thought it well that hee was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him; that though all about him went to ruine, yet in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold him selfe vpright. And surely very notable are the commendations giuen vnto him by *Polybius*; whom *Luie* therein followes: That making warre vpon a People, of all other the most warlike, hee obtained so many victories by his owne good conduct: and that leading an Armie, compounded of so many sundry Nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, and *Greekes*; which were, neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; hee held them all in such good order, that they neuer fell to sedition among themselves, or against their General. But that which *Luie* addes hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he sustained his Armie, without helpe from other places, from this time forward, vpon the hungry soile of the *Brutians*: which, when it was best manured in time of peace, could hardly suffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Armie in such order and obedience, rather than by any greatnesse of reward and bootie: since, after the death of *Asdrubal*, he made no inuasion vpon the wealthier parts of *Italie*; but held himselfe still among the poore *Brutians*. Where we must leaue him, vntill he be drawne into *Africa* by *Scipio*; whose doings will henceforth entertaine, and leade vs, vnto the end of this Warre.

p. XVII.

How P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO the Roman, made entire conquest
of Spaine.

¶. I.

How the Carthaginians were drinen by SCIPIO from the Continent into
the Isle of Gades.

MAGO, & ASDRUBAL the sonne of GESCO, tooke vpon them the charge
of Spaine, when ASDRUBAL the sonne of AMILCAR departed thence into
Italie. These agreed together, that MAGO should make a voiage to the
Baleares; there to leuie a supply of men and ASDRUBAL with-draw him-
selfe into *Lusitania* (which is now *Portugal*) whither the *Romans* had
ill meanes to follow; being altogether vnacquainted in those parts. MAGO had soone
ended his businesse, and returned into *Spaine*: where hee met with one *Hanno* (the
same perhaps that had lately beene employed in *Scythia*) who brought new forces out
of *Africa*, and came to succcede in place of ASDRUBAL the *Barchine*. It is not vnlike-
ly 20 that *Spaine* was now the better, and more readily furnished with men, and all things
needfull from *Carthage*; when that sonne of AMILCAR, whose authoritie had beene
greatest, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno*
aproue it selfe, against that noble race of Warriors; when it should appeare, that
things did prosper much the better by being left vnto the handling of other men.
Whether it were vpon desire to make good some such opinion raised of him at
home, or whether vpon confidence in the forces that he brought over: *Hanno* tooke
the field, and led MAGO with him; as purposing afresh to set vpon the *Romans*. So
he entered into the Countrie of the *Celiberians*, not very farre from new *Carthage*:
where, by monie, and other perswasions, he leuied about nine thousand men.

P. SCIPIO in the meane while contained himselfe in the Easterne parts of *Spaine*:
attentive, as it may seeme, to the proceedings of ASDRUBAL the sonne of AMILCAR;
against whom, he is reported by some Writers to haue sent part of his forces into *Ita-
lie*, to the assistance of C. CLAUDIUS NERO, and M. LINIUS the Consuls. But hearing of
the leuie made by *Hanno* and MAGO, among the *Celiberians*: he sent M. SYLLANUS the
Propretor, with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. SYLLANUS got intelligence
by some fugitiue *Celiberians*, who became his guides, that their Countreimen en-
camped apart from the *Carthaginians* in great disorder: as men fearing no danger,
because they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew neere to
these *Celiberians*: and falling vpon them on the suddaine, gaue them such an ouer-
throw, that *Hanno* and MAGO coming to their succour, in stead of heartning & re-
inforcing them, became partakers of the losse. MAGO saued himselfe, with all the
horse, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thousand: and in ten
daies iourney brought them safeto ASDRUBAL. The rest of the *African* were either
slaine or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill lucke to be taken prisoner; though
he kept himselfe out of the fight until all was lost. As for the *Celiberians*, they knew
better how to make shift, & saued most of themselves by running into the woods.

It could no otherwise bee, but that SCIPIO was much troubled with the danger
wherein *Italie* stood, by the coming thither of ASDRUBAL. Ten thousand foot
and eigheteen hundred horse he did therefore send out of *Spaine* (as it is reported by
some Authors) to the defence of his owne Countrie: or was perhaps about to send
them; and thereupon remained at new *Carthage*, intentiue to the necessity & suc-
cesse of his Countreimen at home. But when he had word of the great victory at *Me-
tanurus*, which fell out long before the end of this Summer, then might hee well ad-
uenture

uenture, to take in hand the entire conquest of *Spaine*; which must needs be much
alienated from the *Carthaginians*, by the report of such an ouerthrow. The *Span-
ish* Souldiers that serued vnder *Hannibal*, and those that had beene sent ouer into
Africa; were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Countrie was held obnoxious
to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noised abroad, That all which had followed
ASDRUBAL into *Italie*, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal*
with his Armie, was closed vp in a streight, whence he could not get out: thend did
it greatly behoue the *Spaniards* to conforme themselves vnto the will of the Vi-
ctors. That it was the successe of things in *Italie*, which gaue such confidence vn-
to SCIPIO; it is the more probable, because hee tooke not this great enterprise in
hand, vntill the Summer was almost spent. ASDRUBAL therefore vied the benefit
of the season; and by disposing his Armie into many Garrisons, hindred the Ene-
mie, from doing any great exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and
the time of the yeere, caused SCIPIO to returne backe: without any other mar-
ter performed, than that his Brother L. SCIPIO tooke by assault the Towne of
Oringis.

Against the next yeeres danger, ASDRUBAL prepared a great Armie: and spared not
cost, nor trauaile, in strengthening himselfe, for the triall of his last fortune in
Spaine. With seuentie thousand foot, foure thousand horse, and two and thirtie
20 Elephants, he tooke the field: which number I beleue, that he could hardly haue
raised, without boldly denying the truth of those reports that came from *Italie*.
SCIPIO thought his *Roman* Legions too weake to encounter with such a multitude.
Wherefore hee iudged it needfull to vse the helpe of his *Spanish* friends. But the
death of his Father and Vncle, that were cast away by the treason of such false
Auxiliaries; made him on the other side very doubtfull, of relying vpon those, that
might perhaps betray him in his greatest neede. Yet since one *Colchus*, that was
Lord of eight & twentie Townes, had promised him the last Winter, to raise three
thousand foot, and five hundred horse for his seruice: hee resolved to make vse of
those, and some few others; that might helpe to make a shew; and yet not bee
30 able to doe great harme, if they would reuolt. So with five and fortie thousand
foot, and three thousand horse, he sought out the Enemy; neere to whom hee in-
camped. At his first coming, MAGO and MASINISSA fell vpon him; with hope to
take him vnprepared, whilst hee was making his lodgings. But hee layed certain
troups of horse in couert: which breaking vpon them vnexpected; caused them to
fall off. They made at first an orderly retreat: but being more hardly pressed, they
shortly betooke themselves to plaine flight. After this encounter, which added
some courage to the *Romans*, and abated the presumption of the *Carthaginians*: there
were daily skirmishes betweene the horse and light armature, on both sides; where-
in was nothing done of importance. ASDRUBAL drew forth his Armie, and arranged
40 it before his Trenches: the like did SCIPIO; each of them to shew that he durst fight,
yet not proceeding any further. Thus they continued many daies: ASDRUBAL being
still the first that issued forth in the morning, and the first that, in the euening, with-
drew himselfe into his Trenches. The *Spanish Auxiliaries* were placed on both
sides in the wings; the *Carthaginians* were in the midst, with their Elephants before
them; and opposite to these on the other side were the *Roman* Legions. When they
had in this order confronted one another, though at farre distance, many daies toge-
ther: it grew to be the common opinion, that they should shortly meet in the same
forme; and be matched on each part, with the Enemies, long before designed. But
SCIPIO, when hee purposed indeed to fight, altered the forme of his Armie; and
50 withall, came forth earlier then he had been wont. He caused his men and horses,
to be well fed betimes in the morning before day: and then sent forth his horse and
light armature, to traîne out the *Carthaginians* with their bellies empty: vying here-
in the same trick, whereby he might remember, that *Hannibal* had beaten his father
in the battaile of *Trebia*. His *Roman* Legions he bestowed in the wings; his *Spaniards*,
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in the battaile. *Aſdrubal* ſent forth his horſe in all haſte, to entertaine the *Romans*; whileſt he himſelfe arranged his men, in their wonted order, at the Hill foot, upon which he encamped. In the ſkirmiſhes of the horſe it could not be diſcerned which part had the better: ſince being over-preſſed on either ſide, they had a ſafe retreat vnto their foot; and one troupe ſeconding another by courſe, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by *Scipio* to a great length: becauſe his men, hauing well fed themſelves, were like to hold out better then the *Enemie*. But about noone, he cauſed his wings to aduance a good pace; leauing their battaile of *Spaniards* farre behinde them, that came on leiſurely, according to direction. The *Spaniſh* Mercenaries that ſtood in *Aſdrubal* his wings, were no way comparable, ſauie only in number, to the *Latine* and *Roman* Souldiers, that came againſt them; for they were freſh 10 ſouldiers, leuied in haſte, and fighting only in reſpect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flanke, at the ſame time, by the *Roman Velites*, and by ſome cohorts, that were appointed to wheele about for the ſame purpoſe: they were ſorely preſſed; and with much difficultie made reſiſtance. The *Carthaginians* would ſaine haue ſuccoured them; but that they durſt not ſtirre out of their places, becauſe of the *Spaniſh* battaile which was coming againſt them; though it were as yet farre off. Thus the beſt part of *Aſdrubal* his Armie ſtood idle, vntill the wings were broken. For, had he aduentured to meet with the *Spaniards*, he muſt haue caſt himſelfe into the open ſpace that lay before him betwene the *Roman* wings: to the depth whereof when he had arriued, he ſhould haue found himſelfe incloſed in ſuch fort, as was the Conſul *Penius*; at the battaile of *Canna*. Wherefore he did onely employ his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harme to his Enemies, than to his Friends. When they were chaſed with wounds, they could no longer be ruled by their guides: but ranne, as chance led them, and troubled both parts for thoſe perhaps the more, that were the more vnwilling to kill them. In proceſſe of the fight: the *Romans*, who had well reſreſhed their bodies in the morning, endured luſtie; when the others beganne to faint with 20 trauell and heate of the day. Wherefore perceiving their aduantage, they followed it the more hotly; and gaue not ouer, till they had ſori the *enemie* to change his pace and runne from him. *Aſdrubal* did his beſt to haue made an orderly retreat; and afterward againe, to haue cauſed his men turne head, at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not ſuffer the victorie to be ſo extorted from them: neither was it ealie to put freſh courage into the vanquiſhed; led by the obſtinate paſſion of feare which harkens to no perſwaſion. The Campe of *Aſdrubal* had that day bene taken; if a ſtorme of raine, which fell violently on the ſuddaine, and bred ſome ſuperſtition in the *Romans*, had not cauſed them to giue 30 ouer.

The ſame night, *Aſdrubal* gaue no reſt to his men: but cauſed them, hungrie, and ouerlaboured as they were, to take paines in fortifying the Campe; wherein hee feared to be aſſaulted. But little aſſurance could he haue in the ſtrength of his Trenches; when he had loſt the hearts of his *Spaniſh* Souldiers. One *Attanes*, that was Lord of the *Turdetani*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his ſubiects: many followed this example; and ſooner after, two ſtrong Townes were yeilded vp to *Scipio*, and the Garrifons betrayed. It ſeemes that the peruerſe fortune of this late battaile, wherupon *Aſdrubal* had ſet his reſt, bred in the *Spaniards* a diſpoſition, to beleue the more eaſily thoſe reports which they heard from *Italy*. For henceforward, they neuer did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Aſdrubal*, perceiving this, withdrew himſelfe, and marched away, faſter than an ordinarie pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning; & ouertaking the *Carthaginians* with his horſe, cauſed them ſo often to make ſtand; that they were at length 40 attached by the *Roman* Legions. Here beganne a cruell ſlaughter: for there was no reſiſtance made, but all fell to rout, ſauie onely ſeuē thouſand, that with *Aſdrubal* himſelfe recouered a very ſtrong piece of ground, which they fortified in haſte.

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This place he made ſhift awhile to defend: but wanting there neceſſaries to ſuſtaine himſelfe long, he was ſoraken by ſome of thoſe few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he reſolued to make ſhift for one; and ſtealing from his Companie by night away to the Sea ſide, that was not farre thence; he tooke ſhipping, and ſet ſaile for *Gades*. When *Scipio* vaderſtood that *Aſdrubal* was thus gone: he left *Syllanus* with ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe to beſiege their Campe (which was not taken in haſte, for *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* ſtaied in it) whileſt he with the reſt of the Armie did what was needful in the Countrey abroad. It was not long ere *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* followed *Aſdrubal* to *Gades*; and their Armie diſperſed 10 it ſelfe; ſome flying ouer to the *Romans*; other taking what way they liked. So vpon all the continent of *Spaine*, there were only three Townes left, *Iliturgi*, *Caſtulo*, and *Aſapa*, that made countenance of warre againſt the *Romans*: of which only *Caſtulo* had in it a *Carthaginian* Garrifon; conſiſting of ſuch as had ſaued themſelves by flight in the late ouerthrowes. Hereby it ſeemes, that the report of thoſe Hiſtorians was ill grounded, who ſaid, that *Caſtulo* yeelded long ſince vnto the *Romans*; though *Hannibal* tooke a wife in that Citie. For this was one of the laſt three Townes that held out on the *Carthaginian* ſide. *Iliturgi* had ſometimes bene inclinable to the *Romans*; if not altogether at their deuotion. Yet after the death of the two elder 20 *Scipio's*, following too earnestly the *Carthaginian* fortune; it not onely rebelled; but with great crueltie betrayed, and ſlue, the poore men that eſcaped thither from the ouerthrowes. *Aſapa* was a Towne, that had ſtill adhered to the *Carthaginians*; and, which was worſe, had thrinen by ſpoile of the *Romans* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not vntill the *Carthaginians* by aſſault, and with a general ſlaughter of the Inhabitants; *Caſtulo*, by treaſon of one *Cerdubelus*. *Aſapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius*; or rather deſtroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raiſed in the Market-place; whereinto was throwne all the gold, and ſiluer, with whatſoeuer 30 elſe was precious; the women and children ſtanding by it vnder a ſure guard; that ſhould kill and burne them if the *Romans* got into the Towne. This prouiſion being made: all the Inhabitants that could beare armes, ruſhed forth deſperately, and fell vpon the *Roman* campe; where ſtriving beyond their power, they were euery one ſlaine. Then was the Towne forth with ſet on fire, by thoſe that had taken charge to doe it: and many of the *Romans* conſumed with the flame; whileſt they ruſhed ouer-haſtily to catch the gold, and ſiluer, which they ſaw lying on the pile readie to melt.

Aſdrubal, being beaten into the Iſland of *Gades*, found no cauſe of long ſtay there: but returned home to *Carthage*, with ſeuē Gallies; leauing *Mago* behinde him, to wait vpon occaſion, if any ſhould be offered. He viſited in his way home, *Syphax* King of the *Maſſiliſſi*, a people of the *Numidians*, hoping to winne him to the friend- 40 ſhip of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his euill Angel, in the Kings Port: who, landing at the ſame time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio*, hauing driuen the *Carthaginians* out of *Spaine*, did forth-with bethinke himſelfe, how to finiſh the warre; by putting them to the like diſtreſſe in *Africke*. Hereunto it ſeemed, that the helpe of *Syphax* would be much auaillable: king that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and ſuſtained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might eaſily be moued to ſeeker reuenge. He had alſo bene beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that ſent him ouer a Captaine into 50 *Africke*; who inſtructed him ſo well in marſhalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Vpon theſe reaſons the *Numidian* King ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, and made league with the Citie, in a time of great extremitie. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceiued hope of laying a good foundation to the warre, which he intended in *Africke*; vpon the friendſhip of this ill Neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cauſe he ſent ouer *C. Lelius* his Embaſſadour, to deale with *Syphax*: who declaring that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italy*, and had nothing now at all to doe

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doe in *Spaine*, easily perswaded the King to take part with those that had the better, and were without question his better friends. Only *Syphax* requested, that the *Roman* Generall should visite him in person, to conclude the League; by which hee was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treatie. Hereto *Scipio* condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not farre distant from *Spaine*, well worthy of the adventure. So with two *Quinquere* Gallies heooke Sea: and arrived in the Kings Port, at the same time, with *Asdrubal*. This would have bene very dangerous to him, had he bene discried by his Enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven, they forbore to make offer one vpon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud; seeing at one time, two such Captaines of two most powerfull Cities, came to desire his friendship. He would have brought them to treat of peace: but the *Roman* excused himselfe, by want of such commission from the Senate. He feared them together: and shortly dismissed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entred into covenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

†. II.

Funerall games held by *Scipio*. A Duell between two Spanish Princes.
A digression, concerning Duells.

Scipio returning into *Spaine*, and resting that winter, tooke vengeance the next yeere, vpon those of *Uiturgi*, *Cassulo*, and *Aslapi*, as hath bene said before. The Conquest of the Countrie being then in a manner at an end, he performed at new *Carthage*, with great solemnity, some Vowes that he had made, and honoured the memorie of his Father, and Uncle, with funerall games, especially of those that fought at *Tharpe*, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needfull, that he should trouble himselfe with preparing slaues for that spectacle, to hazard their liues as was vsed in the Citie of *Rome*: for there were now, that either offered themselves as voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes; to giue prooffe in single combat, of the valour that was in their severall Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to referre the decilion of their Controversies, to triall of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were, *Corbis*, and *Orfus*, Cosen-germans: that contended for the principality of a Town called *Ibes*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brothers sonne: wherefore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house; after the manner of our *Irish Tanistrie*. But the father of *Orfus* stood lately seized of the Principality: which though himselfe received by the death of his elder brother; yet this his sonne would not let it goe back; but claimed to hold it as heire unto his father, and old enough to rule. Faine would *Scipio* haue compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends, and kindred, had already laboured in vaine, to take up that quarrell; and that neither God, nor Man, but only *Mars*, their God of battaile, should be Vmpire betweene them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skillfull at his weapon, easily vanquished the foole-hardinesse of the younger.

Such combats haue bene very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We reade of many performed before the Warre of *Troy*, by *Theseus*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as also of two at the Warre of *Troy*; the one betweene *Paris* and *Meneleus*; the other, betweene *Hector* and *Alex*. Neither want there examples of them among the *Hebrewes*: whereof that betweene *David* and *Goliath*; and others performed by some of *Dauids* Worthies, against those that challenged them; are greatly celebrated. Vnto the same kinde appertaines the fight, betweene twelve of the Tribe of *Iudas*, and as many of the *Bemamites*. The *Romans*

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had many of them: whereof that was principall, in which they ventured their Dominion vpon the heads of three brethren the *Horatij*, against the three brethren *Curiatij* that were *Albans*. The combat of *Manlius Torquatus*; and shortly after, of *Valerius Corvinus* with two Champions of the *Gauls*, which challenged any *Roman*, were of lesse importance, as hauing only reference to brauerie. In *England* there was a great combat fought, betweene *Edmond Ironside* and *Cnutus the Dane*, for no lesse than the Kingdome. The vs of them was very frequent in the Saxon-times; almost vpon euery occasion, great or small. In the reigne of *Edward the third*, who sustained the party of *Mountfort* against the *Earle of Bloys*, contending for the Duchie

10 of *Brittaine*; there was a fight, for honour of the Nations, betweene thirtie of the *Britons*, and thirtie *English*: two of which *English*, were *Caluerlie* a braue Captaine; and that Sir *Robert Knolles*, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* warres, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *English*, *French*, and *Italian* Histories. Most of them haue bene combats of brauerie, and of gayetie de cure, as the *French* terme it; for honour of severall Nations; for loue of Mistresses; or whatsoeuer else gaue occasion vnto men, desirous to set out themselves. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either vpon accusation for life; or vpon triall of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*.

20 And of this latter kinde, was that, of which wee spake euen now, betweene *Corbis* and *Orfus*. Vnto these (me thinkes) may bee added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat vpon Wager; such as were that betweene *David* and *Goliath*; or that betweene the *Horatij* and *Curiatij*: in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one ouer the other, is aduentured vpon the head of Champions. Vpon an accusation for life, there was a combat appointed betweene the Lord *Hen-* 30
rie of *Boulbrooke* Duke of *Hereford*, and *Moubray* Duke of *Norfolk*. There was a combat performed by Sir *Iohn Anley* and one *Cattington*: whom *Anley* charged with treason; and proued it vpon him, by being victorious. The like was fought betweene *Robert of Mountfort* and *Henrie of Essex*. The like also, betweene a *Nauar-* 40
rois, and one *Welch of Grimsby*, who the *Nauarrois* accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that hee had belied him; and was therefore drawne and hanged. Whether our triall by battell doe determine, that the false accuser, if hee be vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had bene due to the offender, if the accusation had bene proued; I cannot affirme. But we euery where find, That if he which is accused of treason, or, according to the customes of *Normandie*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of Places (offences punished by death) bee out-come, He shall suffer the paines appointed for those crimes. In combats for triall of right, it is not so: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but hee may trie it by his Champion, as did *Paramor* and *Lewes*, or offered to doe, in the

40 reigne of Queene *Elizabeth*. And in this case, he that is beaten, or yeeldeth, looeth only his cause, not his life. Neither are the combats, vpon accusation, or triall of right, fought in open field, as are those of brauerie; but in *Campe close*, that is, within railes. Now this triall by combat was so ordinarie in *France*, before the time of *St. Lewes*, and *Philip the faire* his grand-child, as euery Lord of Fee, Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, had power to grant it within his owne Iurisdiction. And it seemeth, that the *French* Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the * *Me-* 50
moriales of the Chamber of accounts, is found an Article to this effect: That if a combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken vp, each of the parties should pay two shillings fixe pence; but if it were performed, then should the partie vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelue shillings. And vpon this custome grew the *French* Prouerbe, which they vs when any man hath had an hard or vn- iudgement; saying, That hee was tried by the Law of *Loray*, or *Berne*, on le battu paye l'amende, where he that is beaten giues the recompence. Of these frequent trialls by battaile, that great learned man *Ysa*, Bishop of *Chartres*, did often complaine, and

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specially

*clericus ueltri
super alio non
veritate, qui
cuius conatus
Theobaldi Au-
relianus interfe-
cit, ut dicitur, quod
quidam miles
Dominus Rodol-
phi quondam
nobilitatem conatus
ad Monasterium
promouerat, et
hanc promouerat
necesse ecclesie
uolunt iudicio
conferuauerit.*

Specially against the French Church-men: as appears by * his letters to the Bishop of Orleans, to the Arch-deacon of Paris, to Rembert Arch-bishop of Sens, and to others; wherein he rebukes the iudgement of their Churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this libertie, and kinde of triall, was retrencht by Saint Lewis, and Philip the faire; so that no man should decree, or grant it, saue the King himselfe. It hath since beene granted, though more sparingly, by the French Kings; as to the Lord of Carouges against Jacques le Gris; and to Julian Romero the Spaniard, against Moro, his Countreiman: wherein Sir Henrie Kneut, Father of the Lord Kneut now liuing, was Patron to Romero that had the victorie, and lastly to the Lord of Chast. Now in those Challenges, vpon accusation of Treason, Murder, or other offence deseruing death, (and in those only) the rule held, That *le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ses defenses per uoe dementir*; The Defendant was bound to pleade not guilty, by giuing the accuser the Lie: otherwise it was concluded, that the Defendant did *taiblement confesser le crime*; silently confesse the crime. But alter such time as Francis the French King, vpon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the Lie vnto the Emperour Charles the first, thereby to draw him to a personall combat: euery pettie Companion in France, in imitation of their Master, made the giuing of the Lie mortallitie it selfe; holding it a matter of no small glorie, to haue it said, That the meane Gentleman in France, would not put vp, what the great Emperour Charles the first had patiently endured.

From this beginning is deriued a challenge of combat, grounded vpon none of those occasions that were knowne to the Ancient, For, the Honour of Nations, the Triall of Right, the Wager vpon Champions, or the Obicction and Refutation of capitall offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of halfe so many Duells, as are founded vpon mere priuate Anger, yea or vpon matter seeming worthe of anger in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these daies, wherein euery man takes vnto himselfe a Kingly libertie, to offer, accept, and appoint personall combats; the giuing of the Lie, which ought to be the Negation only in accusations for life, is become the most fruitfull root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word so terrible, and a wrong so vnpardonable, as will admit no other recopence, 30 than the blood of him that giues it. T hus the fashon, taken vp in haste by the French Gentlemen, after the patterne of their King, is grown to be a custome: whence we haue deriued a kinde of Arte and Philosophie of quarrell; with certaine grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yea there are (among many other no lesse ridiculous) some so myssicall curiosities herein, as that it is held a farre greater dishonour, to receiue from an enemy a slight touch with a Cane, than a found blow with a Sword: the one, hauing relation to a flauie; the other to a fouldier. I confesse that the difference is pretie: though, for my owne part, if I had had any such Italianated enemy in former times, I should willingly haue made with him such an exchange; and haue giuen him the point of honour to boot.

But let vs examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the Lie; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiving it. I say, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that giue it them; vse nothing so much in their conuersation and course of life, as to speake and sweare falsely. Yea it is thereby, that they thrust and shuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, hauing assumed & sworn to pay the monies and other things they borrow, doe not breake their word and promise, as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not *Liers by Record*, by being sued in some Court or other of Inficte, vpon breach of word or bond? For he which hath promised, that he will pay monie by a day; or promised any thing else, wherein he faileth; hath directly lied to him, to whom the promise hath bene made. Nay, what is the profession of loue that men make now-a-daies? What is the vowing of their seruice, and of all they haue, vied in their ordi- 50 ninarie

dinarie complements, and (in effect) to euery man whom they bid but good-morrow, or salute, other than a courteous and courtdlike kinde of lying? It is (saith a wise French-man, deriding therein the Apollit custome of his Countrey) *une marche & complot fait ensemble le se maquier, mentir, & piper les uns les autres*; a kinde of merchandize, and complot made among them, to mock, belie, and deuide each other: and so farre now-a-daies in fashon, and in vize; as he that vlieth it not, is accounted either dull, or Cynicall. True it is notwithstanding (omitting the old distinctions) that there is great difference betwene these mannerly & complementall lies, with those which are sometime perswaded by necessity vpon breach of promise, and those which men 10 vse out of cowardize and feare: the latter confessing themselves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other filled the most villainous. But now for the Lie it selfe, as it is made the subject of all our deadly quarrells in effect: to it I say, That who so giues another man the Lie, when it is manifest that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainously taken, than to tell him, that he hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made. For he that promisseth any thing, tells him, to whom he hath promised, that hee will performe it; and, in not performing it, he hath made himselfe a Lier. On the other side, He that giues any man the Lie, when himselfe knows that he, to whom it is giuen, hath not lied; doth therein giue the Lie directly to himselfe. And what cause haue I, if I say that the Sunne shines when it doth shine, and that another fellow tells me I lie, for it's mid-night; to prosecute such an one to death, for making himselfe a foolish Ruffian, and a Lier in his owne knowledge? For he that giues the Lie in any other dispute, than in defence of his Loyaltie, or Life; giues it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not denie but it is an extreme rudenesse to taxe any man in publike with an vntruth: (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice against whom the vntruth is vttered) but all that is rude, ought not to be civilized with death. That were, more to admire and imitate a French custome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counsaile of God. But you will say, That these discourses fauour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize, to feare God or Hell: whereas he that is truly wise, and truly valiant, knows that there is nothing else to be feared. For against an Enemies sword wee shall finde ten thousand such penie-men (waged at 30 that price in the warres) that feare it as little, and perchance lesse, than any profest Sword-man in the World. *Diligentissima in tutela sui Fortitudo*; Fortitude is a diligent preseruer of it selfe. It is (saith Aristotle) a mediocritie between doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martyrem perire: sic nec fortem pugnare; sed causam*; As it is not the punishment that makes the Martyr: so it is not fighting that declares a valiant man; but fighting in a good cause. In which whofoeuer shall resolutely end his life, resolutely in respect of the cause, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countrey: as hee may iustly be numbred among the Martyrs of God; so may those that die with malicious 40 hearts, in priuate combats, be called the Martyrs of the Deuill. Neither doe weindeede take our owne reuenge, or punish the injuries offered vs, by the death of the injurious. For the true conquest of reuenge is, to giue him, of whom we would be reuenged, cause to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death on our owne consciences; *Animasque in vulnere ponere; et ad diuinae nostrae salutis in the wounds and blood of our enemies*. Hereupon you will againe aske me, if I condemne in generous and noble spirits the defence of their honours, being prest with injuries? I say that I doe not; if the injuries bee violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the eternall Law: and the Lawes of all Christian Kings and States; doe fauour him that is assailed, in the laughter of the Assailant. You will secondly aske 50 me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentle-man, being challenged by Cardt by one of like qualitie, bee not bound in point of honour to satisfie the challenger in priuate combat? I answer that he is not: because (omitting the greatest, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrarie and opposit to that, which they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion on cr it, which can iudge

iudge it, which can destroy it; except you will stile those Actes honourable, where the Hang-man giues the Garland. For seeing the Lawes of this Land haue appointed the Hang-man to second the Conqueror; and the Lawes of God appointed the Devil to second the conquered dying in malice: I say that he is both base, and a foole, that accepts of any *Cartel* so accompanied. To this perchance it will be answered, That the Kings of *England*, and other Christian Kings, haue seldome taken any such aduantage ouer men of qualitie; who vpon euen termes haue slaine their priuate enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combustion they haue not often done it; so did our Noble-men and Gentle-men in former ages, in all important injuries, sue vnto the King, to approue themselves by battaile and publique combat. For as they dared not to braue the Law: so did they disdain to submit themselves to the shamefull reuenge thereof; the same reuenge (because it detesteth murder) that it hath declared against a common Cut-purse or other Theeves. Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for such offenders; Yet is not the Manslaier freed by his pardon. For these two remedies hath the partie grieved notwithstanding; that is, to require iustice by Grand Assize, or by battaile, vpon his appeal, which (saith *S. Thomas Smith*) is not denied; and he further saith (for I vse his owne wordes) That if the Defendant (to wit, the Man slaier) be conuicted either by Great Assize or by Battaille, vpon that appeal; the Man slaier shall die, notwithstanding the Princes pardon. So fauourable (saith the same learned Gentleman) 20 are our Princes, and the law of our Realme, to iustice, and to the punishment of blood violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noble-men & Gentle-men shall be repaired in honour, where an enemy, taking the start either in wordes or blowes, shall lay on them an infamie vn-sufferable? I say that a Marshalls Court will easily giue satisfaction in both. And if wee hold it no disgrace to submit our selues for the recouerie of four Debts, Goods, and Lands, and for all things else, by which the liues of our selues, our wiues, and children, are sustained, to the Iudges of the Law; because it may bee felonie, to take by violence euen that which is our owne: why should we not submit our selues to the Iudges of honour in cases of honour; because to recouer our reputation by strong hand, may be murder? But yet 30 againe it may be objected, That the losse of honour ought to be more fearefull vnto vs, than either the losse of our goods, of our lands, or of our liues; and I say so too. But what is this honour, I meane honour indeede, and that which ought to bee so deare vnto vs, other than a kinde of historie, or fame following actions of verue, actions accompanied with difficultie or danger, and vnder-taken for the publique good? In these he that is imploied and trusted, if he faile in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affection; it is true that he looeth his honor. But the acting of a priuate combat, for a priuate respect, and most commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of verue; because it is contrarie to the law of God, and of all Christian Kings: neither is it difficult; because euen and equall in persons and 40 armes: Neither for a publique good, but tending to the contrarie; because the losse or mutilation of an able man, is also a losse to the Common-weale.

Now that a Marshall of *England* hath power to saue every mans fame and reputation, as farre as reputation may sustaine iniurie by wordes, I thinke no man doubteth. For to repent vs of any ill words that we haue giuen, and to confesse that we haue done him wrong to whom we haue giuen them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For hee that giues ill words in choller, and suddenly denies them, or repents himselfe of them vpon aduilement; hath the disaduantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeede not to be giuen but to those that are seruile, whether their recompence will be made for them, it shall appeare by a notable example of a most worthy Gentleman *Adou-fieur de Plessis*, that was stricken in *France* not long since by a Baron of the same Nation. The satisfaction which was giuen him by a iudgement of the Constable and Marshalls of *France*, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Constable gaue iudgement,

Sir Thomas
Smith in his
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ment, *M. de Plessis* was set in a chaire vnder the degrees where the Constable and Marshalls sat: the Baron, who had giuen him the blow, did kneele before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a sword with the point towards himselfe; and in his left hand the like cudgell or battinado, wherewith he had stricken *M. de Plessis*; both which weapons he deliuered into *Plessis* hands, submitting himselfe to such reuenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons; the Constable and Marshalls hauing formerly left it to the will of *Plessis*, to vse his owne discretion in the reuenge of his owne wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reason to please himselfe, as one beforehand in point of honour, who stricke *M. de Plessis*, like 10 a Russian coming behinde him, and (hauing aduantage of companie, and his horses ready) shifted himselfe away on the suddaine, but being afterward taken, was taught to repent him (selfe in this shamefull manner; Or whether *Monsieur de Plessis* (of whole valour no man doubted) had not farre iust cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure haue beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgave him; let any wise man iudge. To this if it be said, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission; that his repentance was enforced and not voluntarie; and therefore no disgrace vnto him: I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no disgrace to a Theefe, when he is brought to the Gallows, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that en- 20 forced repentance is no disgrace in respect of the force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our finnes to God) makes all repentance shamefull; because all forced repentance is inflicted vpon vs for somewhat vnworthy of a Gentleman and of an honest man. Nay voluntarie repentance is selfe, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the feare of the ill that may befall vs, or out of the acknowledgement of our owne weakenesse. Certainly, as wise men, and valiant men, doe rather deride pettie iniuries or suddaine iniuries, that are not offered from malice forthought, then reuenge them: so men, apt to quarrell, doe commonly suspect their owne valour; and rather desire, that thereby the world should beleue them to be of great daring, than know any such resolution in themselves. For he that knowes himselfe 30 indeede to be a valiant man, comes to hunt after the opinion.

Now the same power which the Constable and Marshalls of *France* haue, hath also a Marshall of *England*, or his Deputies; by whose iudgement, in all disputes of honour, every mans reputation may be preferred; wee may therefore as well submit our selues to the Iudge of honour in all disputes of honour, as wee doe submit our selues in all controuerfies of liuelihood and life, to the Iudges of the Law. And 40 out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Cheualrie in *England*, in *France*, and elsewhere; was no lesse charitable than politike. For the blood of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth *honey-bees*, as that of Bulls doth, which sting but the fingers or the face: but it produceth that monstrous Beast, *Reuenge*, which hath stung to death, and eaten vp of seuerall Nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatening the wrath of God vpon supreme 50 Gouvernours, than the permission.

His Majestie therefore (which *Henrie* the fourth of *France* also endeouored) hath done a most Kingly and Christian-like deede in *Scotland*, which the most renowned of all his Predecessours could neuer doe: in beating downe, and extinguishing, that hereditarie prosecution of malice, called the *deadly feud*; a conquest, which shall giue him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power, for ever more. And we haue cause to hope, that his royall care shall be no lesse happy in preventing the like mischief, which threatens *England*, by the audacious, common, and braue, yet outrageous va- 50 nities of Duellists.

Vnto this that I haue spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must be added, That each of these are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproofe and vengeance proportionably, more or lesse, in their seuerall degrees. There is much difference betweene Lies of necessitie vpon breach of promise; or complementall lies; and such

such pernicious lies, as proceed from feare and cowardize, or are vttered by false witnesses: the former sort, being excusable by weaknesse or leuitie; the latter, being altogether detestable. No lesse, if not more, difference there is, betwene killing of a man in open field, with euen weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile*, *à la parricide*; though our Lawes doe not much distinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his owne priuiledge, commandeth, that the *guilefull* murderer bee drawne by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is euery guilefull murder performed by the sword, nor by *euert* violence: but there is a guilefull murder also, by poisoning; and by the pen, or by practice. For such distinction is found, betwene committing *presumptuously* vpon a man, *to slay him with guile*; and *lying in wait for blood*, *pruently*, for the innocent, without a cause, vpon hope of spoile, after such manner as the net is spread before the eyes of the birds. Francis the first, *Queene Marie of England*, and the Kings Majestie now reigning, haue giuen notable testimonie of their iustice, vpon three Noble men, who committed *guilefull* murder. Of the first kinde, King Francis vpon the Lord of Talar: who being (saith the French Historian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & supporteur de plusieurs grandes alliances; who being of high and ancient linage, and supported by diuers great alliances*, of which the Cardinall of Bellay (in especiall fauor with the King) was one, was notwithstanding delivered ouer into the hands of the Hang-man. *Queene Marie*, vpon a noble man of her owne Religion, and in many other respects very deare vnto her. *His Majestie*, vpon a Baron of Scotland; whose house was no lesse ancient and faithfull, than himselfe valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poison, and of punishment following such wicked Artisans; euery Age hath had too many examples. Of guilefull killing by the pen (that I may not speake of any *English* Iudge) the Authour of the French *Recherches* giues vs two notable instances: the one of *des Esbars*, who (saith Pasquiere) *fit mourir Montaigne grand Maître de France, pour contenter l'opinion de celui dont il estoit lors idolâtre; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut pendu & estranglé; Who caused Montaigne great Master of France to die, to content his minde (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) whom at that time Esbars worshipped as his Idol: but God permitted, that he himselfe was soone after hanged and strangled*. The other was of the Great Francis the first, vpon his Chancellor Poyet: who, to satisfie the Kings passion, practised the destruction of the Admirall Chabot, a man most nobly descended, and of great seruice. For as in other men, so in Kings, the passion of loue growes old, and wearies out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admirall, hee charged him with some offences which hee had formerly committed. The Admirall, presuming vpon the great good seruice which hee had done the King in *Piemont*, and in the defence of *Mar seilles* against the Emperour; gaue the King other language than became him; and desired nothing so much, as a publike triall. Here vpon the King (it being easie to prouoke an ill disposition) gaue commission to the Chancellor, as President, and other Iudges, vpon an information of the Kings Advocate, to question the Admiralls life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conscience, (which is rare in men towards the Law) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with some of the Iudges with so great cunning; with others, with so sharpe threats; and with the rest, with so faire promises; as, albeit nothing could be proued against the Admirall, worthy of the Kings displeasure; yet the Chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Libertie; though not able to preuaile against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating falsehood in so great a Magistrate) other than his owne degradation, arraignment, and condemnation? *Belle leçon certes (saith Pasquiere) à tout Iudge pour demourer toujours en soy, & ne laisser fluctuer sa conscience dedans les vagues d'une imaginaire faueur, qui pour fin de ten le submerger; & faire lesson to all Iudges, to dwell alwaies in themselves, and not to suffer their consciences to float vpon the waves of imaginaire faueur, which in the end ouerwhelmes them*. And as for the Admirall: though it might haue bene answered

answered vnto his friends, if any bewailed his calamitie as vnderseuered, That hee was tried, according to his owne desire, by the Lawes of his Countrie, and by the Iudges of Parliament; yet the Kings iustice, surmounting all other his passions, gaue backe vnto him his Honour, his Offices, his Libertie, and his Estate.

†. III.

The last Acts of Scipio in Spaine. His returne to Rome where he is chosen Consul.

The last busines that troubled Scipio in Spaine, grew by the rebellion of the People, and mutinie of his Souldiers. He fell dangerously sicke, in such sort, that the rumor of his death ranne currant throughout Spaine. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, pettie Kings, that had forsaken the Carthaginians, and followed Scipio awhile before, to take armes against the Romans. They were vainely perswaded, that after the Carthaginians were driuen out, they themselves should become the mightiest in all Spaine. But seeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatnesse of their hopes; they thought it best, to take the present aduantage, and hammer out their owne fortunes. So they rashly fell vpon the *Suesetani* and *Seletani*, Confederates of the Romans; and wasted their Countrie. Part of the Roman Armie lying at *Suro*, in stead of making head against these Rebels, grew to be affected with the like dis temper. They had not reaped such profit of their Roman conquests, as might satisfie their desires; or as they thought ealie to bee gotten, if they might be their owne Caruers. Wherefore, when the death of Scipio was reported, they thought, that the time serued very well, to enrich themselves with spoile of the Countrie. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatest of all, driving away their Colonells, that should haue bridled their furie; they chose out of their owne number two base fellows, *Albius Calenus*, and *Atrius Vmber*, to be their Commanders. These tooke vpon them all the Ensignes of Proconsuls, or Propretors; as if this their election had bene like to that, wherein *Lucius Martius* was chosen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two Scipios. But whilst they were deuising, what exploits they might do, for the enriching of themselves, in a time of such combustion, as was expected; there arriued more certaine newes, that Scipio was both aliue, and in good health. There came also new Colonells, sent vnto them from their General: who mildly rebuking their want of consideration, and seeming to bee glad that they had no further ouer-shot themselves; led them to Carthage, there to recieue their pay. Before their coming, Scipio had resolved to doe exemplary iustice on the principall offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in feare, of what they had deserued. Therefore hee caused Syllanus to make readie the Companies which lay before in the Towne, as it were to make an Expedition againe *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*; Hee caused *Albius* and *Atrius* with some thirtie or other of their Complices, to be secretly apprehended in their lodgings; Hee called the Mutiners to assembly; and hauing them vnarmed as they were, encircled round by Syllanus and his Companies, prepared for the purpose; hee bitterly inueighed against them all, as Traitors. This done; *Albius*, and *Atrius*, with the other prisoners, were haled to the stake; where they were whipt, and beheaded, as was the Roman custome toward such offenders. The rest of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thousand, were caused to take their oath of obedience anew; and recieued euerie man his pay when he was sworn.

Mandonius and *Indibilis* continued in armes; notwithstanding that they had certaine word of Scipios life and health. Well they could haue bene contented to be quiet: but by the securitie vsed to the Roman Souldiers; they stood in feare, as being

being *Spaniards*, and greater offenders, of harder measure. *Scipio* went against them; and found them in a Valley, that was scarce large enough to hold all their Armie. In the entrance thereof hee fought with them: and sending *Lelius* with all his horle to fetch a compasse about the Hills, and charge them in reare; he ouerthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this no hope remaining, to persueue themselves and their estates, otherwise than by making submission. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and humbly craving pardon, both for himselfe, and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his request; yet so, that they were taught to acknowledge themselves lesse free Princes, then they formerly had bene.

Afterward *Scipio* went toward *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Masaniissa* 10 who secretly promised to doe him all seruice, if the People of *Rome* would lend him to make Warre in *Africk*. Vnto *Mago* that lay in *Gades*, came directions from *Carthage*; that letting all care of *Spaine* alone, he should thence depart with his fleet into *Italie*; and there wage an Armie of *Gauls*, and *Ligurians*, to joyne with *Hannibal*. For this purpose, was monie sent vnto him from *Carthage*; and he himselfe laid hold vpon all that he could finde in the Towne of *Gades*; without sparing either priuate men, the common treasure, or the Temples. In his voyage thence, hee landed at *Cartagena*; hoping to haue taken it by surpris. But hee failed in the attempt; and was fo beaten to his ships, that he returned back to repose himselfe awhile at *Gades*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the robberies and spoile that hee had made at his taking leaue of them, would not suffer him to enter againe into their Citie. By this hee foresaw, that it would not bee long ere they became *Roman*. Wherefore sending Messengers into the Towne, to complaine of this vncourteous dealing, hee alured their Magistrates forth vnto him; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse that they could make, he whipt, and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voyage; bidding *Spaine* farewell for euer.

The Isle and Citie of *Gades*, was yeelded to the *Romans*, presently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliuer vp the Province, to those that were sent from *Rome* to succcede him therein: and himselfe with ten ships returned home. At his comming to *Rome* he made suite for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet bene granted vnto no Proconsul, excepting to such, as receiued that dignitie after a Consulship, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulse: the election of new Consuls being then in hand, by generall voice of the Citie *P. Cornelius Scipio* was chosen Consul; and *P. Licinius Crassus* joyne with him. This *Crassus*, being high Priest, or Bishop of the *Romans*; might not, by the custome of those times, goe farre from the Citie; as being to intend the matters of their superstition: though *Casar*, and others, who in ages following held the same Office, were slayed by no such religious impediment, from being farre, and long absent. Hereby it came to passe, that *Scipio* desiring to haue the Warre transferred into *Africk*, was in no danger to loose that honourable charge, by any mischance of lot, in the diuision of Provinces; for that his Colleague was not ca- 40 pable of employment so farre off.

¶ XVIII.

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¶ XVIII.

Scipio obtaines leaue to make warre in *Africk*. His preparations. Of *Masaniissa* who joyne with *Scipio*. The victories against *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*.

P *V. Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, entering into their Consulship, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that *Scipio* should bee allowed, to bestow part of the money which he had brought out of *Spaine* into the treasure; vpon the setting forth of solemne plaies, that he had vowed to make, 10 whilest he was busied in his *Spanish* warres. This helped well to reuieue the memorie of his victories already gotten; and to giue hope vnto the People of greater victories in the warre, which he intended to make in *Africk*. To the same purpose, did the *Spanish* embassages auail much in the Senate, especially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions, highly and deservingly; saying, That they were the most happie of all their Countymen, since they being present, had seene him chosen Consul, and should carry home such joyfull newes. The *Saguntine* Embassadors were lovingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to *Rome*, though costly it were both to them, and to the *Romans*, had well deserved. Neuertheless, when *Scipio* 20 proposed, that *Africk* might be decreed vnto him for his Province: there wanted not many, euen of the principall men, that vehemently gainesaid him. Of these was *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the chiefe: who seemed to haue been troubled with that dislike; which too often causeth men renowned for long approved vertue, to looke asquint vpon the actions of those, that follow them in the same kinde. Hee alleged many reasons against the purpose of the Consul: whereof the chiefe were, That the treasure was vnable to sustaine the charges of a warre in *Africk*; and that it was extremely perillous to hazard so great forces, where they could not at pleasure be recalled vnto the defence of *Rome* it selfe, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein *Italie* stood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* 30 his brother, that was arming the *Ligurians*: as also concerning the honour of the Consul; which would (he said) be greater in setting *Italie* free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harme to *Africk*. Neither did he forget, both to elucate the *Spanish* warres, as of lesse moment than the intended voiage against *Carthage*; nor withall to lay great blame vpon *Scipio*, for hauing suffered *Asdrubal* to passe into *Italie*: shewing, that it was greatly to be feared, lest the like might happen againe; and that a new Armie, notwithstanding the good successe of *Scipio* (if it hapned to bee good) might be sent from *Carthage*, to the vtter endangering of *Rome*, whilst the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the maine point which he vrged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africk* to be that yere 40 a Province: which the Consul neuertheless propounded in such wise, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other side, insisted vpon this one point; That it was better to make an offensive, than a defensive warre: especially against such as the *Carthaginians*; who being ill provided of able men at home, did furnish themselves by helpe of money, with leues made abroad. As for the care of *Italie*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague would bee as well able to discharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promising to draw *Hannibal* into *Africk*, for defence of his owne home: and taxing as ciuilly as he could, the enuy of *Fabius*, which withstood such a gallant enterprise; he proposed the matter againe vnto the Senate. Much altercation there was about the manner of his proceeding: so far as much as it was noyced abroad, that if he could not 50 bring the Senate to his minde, he would carry it by the People. This offended many of the Ancients: who resented in this honourable man a little spice of that arrogancie, which in following ages, grew to be much hotter in those that had commanded long abroad. But in conclusion, *Scipio* referred himselfe wholly vnto the Senates

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good.

good will and pleasure; whereby hee obtained thus much, That the Isle of *Sicill* might be appointed vnto him for his Province; with leaue to passe ouer into *Africke*, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the *Roman* Senate haue little care to furnish out *Scipio* to the warre, by him intended vpon *Africke*. Here-withall it fell out, that *Atigo*, comming on the suddaine from the *Baleares* to *Genoa*, and winning the Towne, bred a feare of no lesse terrible inuasion vpon *Italie*, than that which *Asdrubal* had lately made. He could not indeed raise any great Armie of the *Ligurians*; for that he found them distracted with ciuill warres. Therefore he was drun to make choice of his partie; and to helpe those whom hee thought fittest for his turne, against the others. This troublesome businesse, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly haue spared; yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the vntowardie *Gauls* readie to enter into his pay. Hereupon the disperfed Legions of the *Romans*, that vnder Proconsuls, and Pretors, lay readie to be employed where need should require; were directed vnto the borders of *Lombardie* and *Liguria*, there to make head against *Alago*. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a fleet, either comming to his aide from *Carthage*, or by him sent thither (the report is vncertaine) laden with the bootie that he had taken; fell into the hands of the *Roman* Pretor, that gouerned in *Sardinia*. This did much displease him: and though after a while, there came letters from *Carthage*, together with store of money, heartning him in his proceedings; yet some impediments which he found, and that fatal voyage of *Scipio* into *Africke*, disturbed all; and made him be recalled home.

Against *Hannibal*, was nothing done this yeere. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Historians haue bene pleased to take notice. Onely it is said, that he spent the Summer by the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, where hee raised an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, grauen in *Punike*, and *Greeke* letters. Such account of winnings past, is commonly in Gamesters that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission, and carelesnesse; in those that are vpon the losing hand, a cause both of the same for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they finde a notable change. A great pestilence, infelling both the *Carthaginian* and the *Roman* Campe, is said to haue bene the occasion of this yeeres idlenesse, which fell not our much amiss for the Citie of *Rome*, that was maruailously empouerished by this warre; and had already tried the utmost way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieue the present necessitie, it was well thought vpon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many yeeres since confiscated) should be sold, or let out: in which bargain, that the Citie might receive no lesse than the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, vnto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other money, none was giuen to *Scipio*. Neither was hee allowed to make presse of Souldiers for his *African* voyage; neither did hee ouer-much labour to obtaine it. That which the Senate refused, the People did for him: or rather they did it for themselves; that were therein wiser than the Senate. It is vsually found in Councells of estate, that the busie, or obstinate heads of a few, doe carrie all the rest. And many times men make a surrender of their owne iudgements, to the wisdom that hath gotten it selfe a name, by giuing happie direction in troubles forepast. Therefore, hee that repose himselfe vpon the aduice of many, shall often finde himselfe deceived: the counsaile of those many being wholly directed by the empire of a few, that ouer-ruay the rest. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time; for his warie nature sorted well with the businesse, that fell out in the chiefe of his employment. Vnto him therefore *Q. Fuluius* adhered, with other of the Senators, that were growne olde in following one course, from which they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well aduise, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend

apprehend) embraced the needfull resolution of *Scipio*: in such sort, that besides his *Roman* forces, he had from diuers parts of *Italie* about seven thousand Voluntaries. Hee had also prouision from the leuerall Townes; Corne, Iron, Canuas for sailes, Axes, Beede-hooks, Hand-mills, and the like implements, furre for building of ships, many thousands of Targets, Helmes, and Spears of all kinds: eury place furnishing him with that commoditie, which it best could afford. Vnto this willingness of the People, the diligence of *Scipio* was correspondent. In the compasse of lue and fortie daies, hee had both feld his Timber, built, and lanced twentie *Trireme*, and ten *Quinquereme* Gallies; wherewith hee transported his Armie into *Sicill*. In *Sicill* he found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had serued at *Canna*: which were olde Souldiers, and (as hee himselfe well knew) not guiltie of the overthrow; for which they had long vnder-gone a heauie censure. They had serued vnder *Marcellus* and *Laetius*, at the taking of many Cities, and strong peeces: in which regard, they were like to be of good vnto him in *Africke*, where would be store of such employment. For increasing the number of his horie, hee pressed three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthie young men, and such as loued well their ease. These he afterwards discharged from the Warre, highly to their contentment: but with condition, that they should deliuer their Horie and Armes, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen, which he brought ouer with him for the purpose. Whilest hee was prouiding, to haue things in a readinesse for *Africke*, the banished *Locrians* that followed the *Roman* side, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recouer their Citie. Some handicrafts men, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadells of *Leori* (for there were two in the Towne) being taken prisoners by the *Romans*, promised to betray the place, if they might be ransomed, and rewarded. *Scipio* being aduertised of this, gaue order to haue the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded; and that Citadell was surprized. The other Citadell was strongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison, which sent to *Hannibal* for aide. The *Romans* in like sort, fearing lest their owne paucitie should make them too weake for *Hannibal*, craued helpe of the Consul *Scipio*. The Townesmen were doubtfully affected: but the best, and most of them inclining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the comming of *Scipio* caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the *Carthaginian* Garrison to abandon the other Citadell. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in custodie of the Towne. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* vnto the *Roman* Senate; not onely against those of the Garrison: but much more against *Pleminius* the Captaine, who gaue bad example, and was worse than all the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other Villanies: the Temple of *Proserpina*, that had a great fame of sanctitie, was spoiled by these barbarous Thieues. The *Locrians* therefore aduised the Senate to make present amends to the Goddesse for this sacriledge: saying, that the like had neuer been committed, without notorious vengeance by her taken vpon the Authors. The Senate gaue good care to this complaint, comforted the *Locrians*, and redressed the injuries done vnto them, sent for *Pleminius*, with other principall offenders, whom they cast into prison, & vled according to their deserts: as also they rellorred vnto *Proserpina* her money twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was not herewithall contented. He laid much of the blame vpon *Scipio*, that had placed such a man in *Leori*; and had not carefully harkened to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to runne on in these wicked courses. By the sharp inuective that *Fabius* made, others tooke courage to speak what they pleased, as well against the demeanor of *Scipio*, as against the dissolutenesse of his Armie, which lay, as they said, idle in *Sicill*, neither mindfull of any seruice toward, nor fit for it if neede should require. Finally, things were so farre vrged, that ten Legates were sent ouer into *Sicill*, together with the Pretor appointed for that Iland; two of the *Tribunes*, and one of the *Ediles*; who should examine these matters; and either cause the Generall to returne into *Italie*, or con-

tinue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was: they found him so well prepared against *Carthage*, as that they halsted him on his journey, and gaue him high commendations at their returne.

Scipio had already employed *Lutius* in *Africa*; rather to make discouerie, than to worke any other great effect of warre. He tooke a great bootie: and truck no little terrour into the *Carthaginians*; who law their affaires to bee vpon termes of change. But the greatest fruit of his journey was, That speaking with *Masanissa*, he will informed him selfe of the state of *Africa*; and knew what was to bee expected of those two Kings, that had promised to ioyne with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Masanissa* his reuolt from the *Carthaginians*; and his compact made 10 vnder-hand with the *Romans*: *Luie* doth proteste, That there was no such euident cause thereof at the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constancie, in following times, must helpe to proue, that this his change was not without some good cause. But *Appianus* (an Historian farre inferior to *Luie*, both in Worth and Time) giues one reason so probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessary truth. Only the doubt is, How it could any way come to passe; that the knowledge of such a matter should haue escaped the diligence of *Luie*; if it had beene true: vlesse we should beleue, that he wilfully forbore to rehearse a Tragedie; the sorrow whereof would cause

men to thinke amiss of *Scipio*. How soeuer it was, thus *Appian* tells it; and many 20 circumstances of things done confirme it. *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisio*, had a faire daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Masanissa* loued. *Masanissa*, being brought vp at *Carthage*, and being withall a goodly gentle man of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by *Asdrubal* to be his sonne-in-law. When the virgin was betrothed vnto him, he went into *Spaine*, and there did great seruice. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the marriage of *Asdrubals* daughter to be a matter of State: and bestowed her vpon *Syphax*; without standing to acquaint her father or *Masanissa* therewithall. This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mightie Prince; and for that the indignitie of the repulse, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Masanissa* was aduertised: and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, secretly as he 30 thought; yet not so secretly, but that some notice was taken of it: which would haue cost him his life, had he not with great circumspection conueighed himselfe home into his fathers Kingdome. Thus farre forth we may beleue *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things past, and following. Only it seemes, that how soeuer *Sophonisba* the daughter of *Asdrubal*, was promised by the *Carthaginians* vnto *Syphax*: yet since this their courtellie proceeded from feare, He thought it wisdom to continue and increase the same: their feare, by making faire promises to the *Romans*; vntill

Asdrubal had sent for his daughter from *Carthage*, and the marriage was consummated. In other matters concerning the warre it selfe, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Luie*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appears by the broken pieces of his works 40 remaining) *Luie* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed vnto his reports.

Masanissa was the sonne of *Gala*, a King of the *Numidians*: whose father dying, the Crown descended by order of the Country, vnto *Deufales* the brother, not vnto *Masanissa* the sonne. But this Vncle of *Masanissa* shortly died: and his elder sonne, who tooke possession of the Kingdome, was vanquished, and slaine in battaile by a Rebel, that made himselfe Protector ouer the younger which was a child. The Traitor fortified himselfe against *Masanissa*, whose returne hee feared; by Alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not serue: He, and his Pupil, were dispossessed of their Estates by *Masanissa*; that was a skillfull Warriour, and well beloued for the memorie of his father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians* in reason should haue bene 50 glad, that *Masanissa*, who had done them notable seruice, was done vnto him; whilst his Estate: had they not bene guiltie of the iniurie by them done vnto him; whilst his Vncle or Cousin reigned, and hee seemed vnlike to stand them in any need. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his owne malice towards his Cornuall, warred

warred vpon him; and ouer-charging him with numbers, draue him out of his Kingdome. Neuertheless *Masanissa* still retayned the hearts of his people: and thereby remained strong enough, to infect both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*; though he was often put in distresse, by great forces that were sent against him. He therefore keeping much about the lesser *Syrtis*, betwene the borders of the *Carthaginians* and the Nation of the *Garamants*, expected the coming of the *Romans*: yet so, as he made long roades ouer all the Countrie, euen as farre as to *Hippo*; and when *Lutius* arriued thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to hasten on *Scipio* to the inuasion of *Africa*.

10 But *Syphax*, in whose great aide and succour was reposed more hope of good success, than could be expected from the good will of poore *Masanissa*; sent an Embassage into *Sicily* about the same time, which was little pleasing vnto *Scipio*. He excused himselfe of his promise lately made; and signified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, That hee could not choosie but fight for the defence of *Africa*, wherein he was borne and reigned; and for defence of his beloued wifes Countrie, if it were invaded. Neuertheless hee promised to remaine a Neuter; so long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held warre abroad, farre enough from *Africa*; as hitherto they had done. This message hastened *Scipio* in his Expedition, much more than any perswasion could haue done. For the promised assistance of *Syphax* had not a 20 little aduanced his enterprise; in procuring both the assent of the Senate, and the forwardesse of many Aduenturers. Left therefore the fayling of this hope, should worke too great a change in common opinion; He thought it the best way to preuent all discouers, and set the warre vnder taken immediately on foot. The Embassadors hee dismissed in all haste, with letters to their King: wherein hee willed him to consider, that what hee had promised hee had also sworne; and therefore should doe well to make it good. Having sent them away, Hee called his Souldiers together, and bade them make ready for the voyage; which hee intended no longer to deferre. For, said he; *Masanissa* hath bene with *Lutius*: and *Syphax* hath newly sent to me; greatly wondering vpon what I should thus stay; and saying, that they will 30 prouide for themselves, if I faile their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale prevented all further inquisition, that might else haue bene made concerning the message of these Embassadors; whose followers had bene scene walking vp and downe *Syracuse*. And lest any thing should afterwards breake out; that might hinder the business, *Scipio* immediately sent about his fleet vnto *Lilybeum*: and requesting by letters *M. Pomponius*, that was Pretor in *Sicily*, to meete him there; halsted thither with his Armie. At *Lilybeum* hee agreed with the Pretor, about the diuision of the Legions betwene them; which to leaue behinde for defence of the Iland; and which to carrie with him into *Africa*. What numbers hee transported, it is not certaine: some Historians reckoning only ten thousand foot, and two and twentie 40 hundred horse; others increasing them to five and thirtie thousand, horse and foot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters belonging to their course, I holde it needlesse to set them downe: since they were points of ordinarie care, and which it is like that neither he, when hee tooke his voyage into *Spaine*, nor others vpon like occasions, haue omitted; they being also word for word set downe by an Historian, who borrowed them from *Luie*, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This Roman Armie landed in *Africa*, neare vnto a Fore-land then called the faire Promontorie: which how farre it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the 50 Compass, I cannot precisely affirme; because it is vncertaine, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercurie*, and lay to the North-east of *Carthage*; or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*, and by West. The coming of *Masanissa* vnto *Scipio* at his first arriuall, helpes to confirme the opinion of *Xylander*: who thinke the faire Promontorie to haue bene the same, that was also called *Mercuries Cape*, since with little difficultie *Masanissa* might come

thither from the lesser *Syrus*, whereabout was his common abiding. But forasmuch as without any memorable impediment, soone after his arrival, *Scipio* encamped before *Vtica*, that flood Weltward from *Carthage* beyond the Riuer *Bagradas*: it may rather seeme, that hee landed within the Promontorie of *Apollo*, whence the way to *Vtica* was not long. This is also strongly proued; for that out of *Carthage* were sent, the next day, nine hundred horse to trouble him in his disembarking. Neither was it so hard for *Masaniissa*, that routed about the Countrey with a troupe of horse, to finde out the *Romans*, though they landed farre from the place to the which hee vifually resorted, like as before he had met with *Lalius* at *Hippo* that was farther off: as it would haue bene for *Scipio*, with his Armie and Carriages, to ouer-come the trouble of a long iourney, and fetch a great compass to *Vtica*, by Land; when he might haue disembarked nearer vnto it. Neuerthelesse it may passe as a conjecture, That *Scipio* came first of all to *Emporia*, a plentifull Region about the lesser *Syrus*; since he gaue charge to the Masters of his ships, at the letting forth from *Lilybæum*, to shapeth their course for that coast. The Countrey thereabout was very rich, and fit for sustentance of an Armie: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps *Masaniissa* had signified vnto *Lalius*, when he spake with him at *Hippo*: thinking that the *Romans*, howsoeuer they made braue promises, would not come strong enough to fight at hand. But when hee saw their fleet and Armie to be such, as not only serued to invade the Lands of *Carthage*, but also threatned a conquest of the Citie, and whole Estate: then might hee better aduise them to set saile for *Vtica*, and make warre vpon the Enemies at their owne doores.

The *Carthaginians* had at that time neither any Captaine of great worth at home, nor better Armie than of raw Souldiers; that were leuied, or to be leuied in haste. *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, the same that had lately bene chased out of *Spain* by *Scipio*, was their best man of warre. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his fellows, of whose faction he was: or it ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobilitie, together with the affinity of King *Syphax*, made him passeable. He was at that present with the King his sonne-in-law, working him (no doubt) against the *Romans*: when letters were brought from *Carthage*, both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the Inuasion: entreating the one of them to giue assistance; and commanding the other to make his repaire vnto the Citie, where he was choſen Generall. But ere these could be readie, *Scipio* had beaten the troupe of *Carthaginian* horse, that were sent out of the Citie to disturbe his landing; and slaine *Hanno* a yong Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Towne of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, besides other bootie, hee tooke eight thousand prisoners; all which hee conueighed aboard his Hulks or ships of burden, and sent them backe loaden into *Sicily*. Hee tooke likewise a Towne called *Salera*; which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with foure thousand *Nu-
miſian* horse: whose seruice being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places; made *Scipio* to perceiue the vnskillfulness of their Leader, that had thus bouſed them. Wherefore he sent *Masaniissa* before him: who rode vp to the gates; and, by making a Brauto, trained out the improuident *Hanno* so farre, that hee drew him vnto a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victorie was easily gotten; and *Hanno* either taken, or slaine. With those that fled, the *Romans* entred pell-mell into the Towne; which presently they made their owne. Thence went *Scipio* to *Vtica*, a Citie of great importance, * of which mention hath bene formerly made; and fate downe before it. Fortie dayes he spent about it: assailing it both by Land and Sea, and vsing all his engines of batterie whereof he had plenty; yet was in no likelihood of preuailling. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to chooſe a place, and fortifie his Winter-campe; which must be well forced against the yeere following. Whilest thus necessitie vrged him to leaue *Vtica*; and shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprize, rather than any hope of better successe, caused him to flay there: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* gaue him the honour

* lib. 5. cap. 2.
§ 18.

of a faire pretence to leaue the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a Leuie of thistle about a thousand foot, and three thousand horse; yet aduentured not with this ill-trained Armie to draw neere vnto the *Romans*, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him vnto *Carthage* thie thousand foot, and tenn thousand horse: which joyning vnto the forces of *Asdrubal*, they marched brauely toward *Scipio*; who there by tooke occasion to disloge. He chose for his Winter-campe the banks of an Inlet, that had good harbour for his Naue. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontorie, joyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horse-men he bestowed vpon lower ground, on the other shore: in the bottome of the Creeke he moored his ships; and there hee quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged vnto the fleet. The whole Campe he strongly fortified; and so attended the season of the yeere, when it should serue him againe to fight. O cattale and other bootie *Masaniissa* had brought in great stores; by drining the Countrey, before the coming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. Come also he had gotten some; and great store was sent him from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. Likewise apprell for his Souldiers, was sent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though scarce enough to serue turne; for that it was a matter of more cost. The ships that brought these things, he freighted homewards with such part of his bootie, as hee could best spare; especially with Captiues to be sold for slaves. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped neere vnto *Scipio*: so strongly fortifying themselves, as did the *Romans*; either for that they wanted the secure initiation, which the *Romans* vied in discipline of Warre; or for that they presumed vpon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to assue tooth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without action.

When Spring drew neere; *Scipio* thought it good to assay his old friend the *Nu-
miſian* King, if perhaps he might bee wonne by perswasions to forsake the *Carthaginians*. It was considered, that those *Barbarians* were naturally vnconstant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had giuen proofe of before this of his much leuitie. It might therefore be hoped, That hauing wearied himselfe, by lodging a whole Winter in the Campe: and being peradventure no lesse wearie with fardie of his wife, who had caused him to enter into this warre: Hee might bee moued with a little entreatie to with-draw himselfe home into his Kingdome, and rest a *Nether*. But it is not vnlikely, that such a friend as this King, had bene highly entertained and honored in the Citie of *Carthage*, which was neere at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had bene invited, to make a stop thither and repose himselfe a while; his wife *Queene Sophonisba* lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. Howsoeuer it were, *Syphax* did only make an ouerture of peace; propounding it as reasonable, That *Annibal* should bee recalled out of *Italy* by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like sort should quietly depart out of *Africk*; and so make an end of the Warre, wherewith now both *Africk* and *Europe* were disquieted. Vnto this would not *Scipio* at the first giue care: yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from *Syphax*, and desiring to continue the inter-courte of Embassadors: He beganne to make these, as if he would consider of the motion. He was giuen to vnderstand by those whom he had sent vnto the King, That the Enemies had their Campes without any great defence of earth, full of wooden Cabins, and covered with boughes: and that the *Nu-
miſians*, such of them as came first with *Syphax*, vied coverings of Mats and Reedes; others, that camelater, had chatched their lodgings with drie boughes and leanes: vnder which they lay carefully without their Trenches. Vpon this advertisement he bethought himselfe, That it would not be hard for him to set their camps on fire; and thereby giue them a notable ouerthrow. Without helpe of some such stratageme, Hee foresaw that it would be a worke of great difficultie for him, to proceede in his warres when time should serue. It was a plaine open Countrey wherein hee lay; and the Enemies had great advantage of him in number, especially in horse; which, vpon such ground, could not be refitted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought

upon the matter; the more needfull he found it for himselfe, to make some sudden attempt upon their Campe. To this end he sent many Embassadors, vnder pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeede of purpose to discouer all that might concerne the intended surpris. With these Embassadors he sent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers disguised like slaues; that wandering (as it were) idly vp and downe the Campe, might obscure the waies and entrances, with whatsoeuer else was needfull. When hee had learned as much as hee desired: vpon the sudden hee sent word to *Syphax*, that it was vaine to hold any longer Treatie, forasmuch as hee could not get the consent of his Councell of warre; without whose approbation, all that himselfe could doe was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, hee might put his designe in execution. The Truce being thus cut off: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were very peniue; as hauing lately perswaded themselves, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better, they beganne to deuise, by what arte they might draw *Scipio* out of his campe; and prouoke him to battaile in those Plains. This it they could doe; they hoped to make his Councell of warre repent as greatly the refusal of peace, as did *M. Attius* alter the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches: what else remained than to besiege him; which they themselves were well able to doe by Land; and the *Carthaginian* fleet should doe by Sea, that was making readie for the purpose. By such discourses these two comforted themselves; 20 recompensing in conceit the losse of their hopes past, with that of victorie to come. But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed: for that, consulting about the future, they provided not against present danger; but continued in the same negligence, which was growne vpon them by the long discourse of peace. As for *Scipio*, hee was not idle; but made preparation out of hand, as if were to doe somewhat against *Pica*. Two thousand Souldiers he had made readie; and appointed to take the same peece of ground, whereon hee lay against *Pica* before. This he did, partly to keepe secret that which he had in hand, lest being suspected by his owne Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to haue notice of it; partly to hinder those of *Pica* from setting vpon the few, that hee purposed to leaue behinde him in 30 his campe. He caused his men that night to suppe well and betimes; that they might be readie for the iourne. After supper, he appointed such Companies as he thought fit, vnto the defence of his Campe; all the rest of his Armie he led forth, about nine of the clocke at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him seuen miles and an halfe: whom he purposed to vndertake himselfe with the one halfe of his armie; the other halfe he committed vnto *Lelius* and *Masaniissa*, whom hee sent before him to set vpon the Campe of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the campe of *Syphax* should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might seeme to haue taken hold by casualtie vpon the *Numidians*, that lay farther off: whereas if it first appeared in that que *Syphax* warning to looke vnto himselfe. 40 acted as the doing of enemies; and gae *Syphax* warning to looke vnto himselfe. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched faire and softly; that *Lelius* and *Masaniissa*, who had a longer iourne, and were to fetch a compasse about for feare of being discouered, might haue time to get before him, and doe their feat. It was about two or three of the clock in the morning, when the campe of *Syphax* beganne to blaze: which not only the *Numidians*, but their King himselfe, imputed vnto casualtie; as thinking themselves safe enough from Enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interposed betwene them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, some, starting halfe asleepe; and others, that had sitten vp late at drinking; ranne out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But such was the tumult, that they neither could 50 rightly vnderstand in what case they were; nor giue remedie to the mischance, as it was supposed. Many were smothered, and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for feare of the sudden mischance, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped the

the fire, fell vpon the Enemies sword, which was readie to receiue them. Especially *Masaniissa*, that be it knew the Countrey, did great execution vpon them; hauing laid all the waies, by which he forelaw that they would seeke to escape. The *Carthaginians* perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittifull mischance: so that some ranne out to helpe the poore *Numidians*; carrying only what would serue to quench the fire. Others ranne vp to the Rampart: where, fearelesse of any danger towards themselves, they stood beholding the greatnesse of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would haue it. Hee therefore lost no time: but setting vpon those that were running towards the *Numidians*, 10 he killed some, and pursued the rest back into their campe; which in a litle while he made to burne as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Asdrubal* seeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not stand to make resistance, but (slighted onely for himselfe, and escaped with a few of his horse about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had bene taken in such a manner: it is more than probable, that old *Hannus* would haue judged him worthy to be crucified. It would then haue been said, that with lesse than one halfe of thirtie thousand men, hee might at least haue giuen some bad recompence, to them that were taking paines in kindling the fires, had he not bene only carefull how to saue his owne fearful head. Neuertheless 20 *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to haue bene true, That if *Asdrubal*, Except. Vol. 1.14. or any of those about him, would haue shruen to shew valour, when the campe was once on fire: He should not thereby haue done any manner of good, because of the tumult and contention. I shall not neede to tell what a fearful thing it was, to heare the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold the cruell flame that consumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirms) none that hath be- 30 ing is able to describe. It is enough to say, That of those many thousands very few did escape; which accompanied *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* in their feuerall waies of flight. Besides these also there were some scatterers, especially of the *Numidians*, that saued themselves in the darke: but they were not many; as after shall appeare. Surely it must needs haue bene very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made 30 away; and what numbers escaped in the darke of night. Wherefore *Luius*, who in the rest of this Relation, as often elsewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may seeme to haue followed some lesse wor: by Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in calling vp the summe. For hee reckons onely two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to haue escaped; fortie thousand to haue perished by sword or fire; and about fixe thousand to haue bene taken prisoners: the whole number of all which together, is farre short of fourscore and thirteene thousand, which were in these two Campes.

Asdrubal, putting himselfe into the next Towne that was very strongly fortified; thought there to finde the *Romans* worke, vntill the *Carthaginians* at good 40 sure might repaire their Armie. He had with him no more than two thousand foot, and five hundred horse: which he thought sufficient to defend the Towne; if the Townsmen would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yeeld. Vnto this disputation, hee well forelaw that the arriuall of *Scipio* would soone giue an end. Wherefore, lest they should lay hold vpon him, and seeke the Victors fauour by deliuering him vp; He shrunke away betimes, and made all harte to *Carthage*. As for the Towne, which hee left, it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his first coming: and thereby preferred it selfe from all manner of losse. The two next 50 Townes adioyning would needs bee valiant, and make countenance of warre: but their strength not being answerable, they were soone taken by *Scipio*; who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Souldiers. This done, hee returned to the siege of *Pica*.

The *Carthaginians* were sore troubled, as they had good reason; when, in stead of either Peace or Victorie, which they lately hoped for, they heard newes of such a lamentable

lamentable ouerthrow. Necessitie enforced them to make hastie prouision for the future: but how to doe it, few of them saw any meanes. Some gaue aduice to craue peace of *Scipio*: others, to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italie*; but the most, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion, That notwithstanding the losse of this Armie, they might well defend themselves against the *Romans*, by rayling new forces: especially, if *Syphax* would not leaue them. It was therefore concluded. That they should bend all their care this way, leuying in, all haste another Armie; and sending Embassadors to deale with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Towne called *Abba*, not passing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the same their unfortunate Commander, *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, was employed to make new leuies of men: and Queene *Sophonisba* went forth with Embassadors to her husband *Syphax*; who hauing gathered together as many as he could of his subjects that had escaped from the late slaughter, was thinking to returne into his owne Kingdome. *Sophonisba* laboured so with her husband, that at length the wonne him to her owne desire. And it fell out at the same time, that foure thousand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*, were brought ouer to serue in *Africk*. Of these were made such braue reports; as if their courage, and the armes which they vsed, were not to be resisted. Euen the multitude within *Carthage* beleeeued these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be; which is great wonder, since in one Age, the whole Countrie of *Spain* had bene twice conquered: first, by the *Carthaginians* themselves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* these tales prevailed much: which the *Carthaginian* Embassadors helped with a lie; saying, that there were come ten thousand of these terrible *Spaniards*. Vpon this confidence, the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered such spirit, that in thirte daies they made vp an Armie, consisting well-near of thirtie thousand men; reckoning the *Spaniards*, and *Syphax* with his *Numidians*, in the number. So they encamped in a Region called the great fields, about fise daies iourne from *Vtica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Vtica* thither, to visit them: leauing behinde him his impediments, with some part of his Armie; to make a shew of continuing the siege. Two or three daies after the meeting of both Armies, passed away in skirmish; without any great thing done. It had now bene time for *Asdrubal* to follow the example of the *Roman*, *Fabius*, and seeke to weare out the Enemy by delaies. But either (which is likely) he was a faire worse Commander, or else it was not in his power to giue such directions as best pleased himselfe. The fourth day the Armies met in battaile: wherein the *Romans* were marshalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner; hauing their *Italian* horse in the right wing; and *Masaniissa* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrarie side, *Asdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax*, the left; and the *Spaniards*, the Battaille. The victorie was gotten without many blowes: for the vntrained followers of *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, could not sustain the first charge of the *Italians*, or of *Masaniissa*. Onely the *Spaniards* fought a long time, euen till they were all in a manner slain: rather as men desperat, and not hoping for mercie, since they were thus come ouer to fight against *Scipio*, who had otherwise deserued of them; than vpon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their oblinacy was beneficiall vnto those that fled; for that it hindered the *Romans* from making any great pursuit. Hereby *Asdrubal*, and *Syphax* escaped: *Asdrubal*, to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home, to his owne Kingdome: whether his wife was either gone before, or immediatly followed him.

Scipio, hauing thus gotten the matter of the field, tooke counsaile about the prosecution of the Warre. It was resolu'd vpon as the best course, That hee himselfe, with part of the Armie, should attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Masaniissa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Lelius*, with some of the *Roman* Legions, should follow after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take rest within his owne Kingdome, where easily else hee might repaire his forces, and put them to new trouble. This aduice it seemes that *Masaniissa* gaue: who knew best the qualitie of the *Numidians*; and

and what good might bee done among them, by the reputation of a victorie. The least that could be expected, was his restitution into his owne Kingdome, vsurped by *Syphax*: which to accomplish, it no lesse concerned the *Romans* at the present, than it did himselfe. According to this order concluded, *Lelius* was sent away with *Masaniissa*: and *Scipio* stayed behinde, carrying the warre from Towne to Towne. Many places yielded for feare: many were taken by force: and all the subjects of *Carthage* wauered in their fidelitie, as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of those vnreasonable burdens, which their proud Masters had laid vpon them for maintenance of the warre in *Spain* and *Italie*. What to doe in this case the

Carthaginians could hardly resolute. Fortune was their Enemy: they had lost their Armies, and many of their Townes: neither durst they make bold to trouble their owne subjects with any violent exaction of men or money; who neuertheless of their owne free will were likely to giue little helpe. Very much it grieved them, to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italie*: yet since there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Armie; it was decreed, that Embassadors should bee forthwith sent to call him home. Some there were that gaue aduice, to set out a fleet against that of *Scipio*, that rode before *Vtica*, weakly manned, and easie to be taken, whilst *Scipio* himselfe was busied in the Inland Countreies. Some were of opinion, That it should be their principall care, to fortifie by all meanes the Citie of *Carthage*: vpon the safetie whereof they said that all depended; adding, that whilst they were true, and at vnitie among themselves, they might well enough subsist, and expect those opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtlesse) would present them. These counsailes were not rejected: but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning defence of the Citie, and for the attempt vpon the *Roman* fleet at *Vtica*. Neuertheless it was considered, that hereby they should onely protract the warre: without any way advancing their owne affaires towards likelihood of victorie; no, though it should fall out, that all the shippes at *Vtica* might be taken or destroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, That he should immediatly come ouer into *Africk*, as the last refuge of *Carthage*. The Councell was no sooner broken vp, than all the Senators betooke themselves to the execution of that which was decreed: some, to fortification of the Towne: some, to make readie the Fleet; and some, appointed thereunto, forthwith to imbarque themselves for *Italie*. In this their trepidation *Scipio* comes to *Tunes*, a Citie in those daies very strong, and standing in prospect almost of euery part of *Carthage*. Thither hee, or rather some defensible piece adjoining, he easily tooke; the Garrison forsaking it, and running away as soone as he drew nere. But whilst hee was about there to incampe, and fortifie himselfe against the Citie, He might perceiue the *Carthaginian* fleet setting forth, and making towards *Vtica*: What this meant, he readily conceiued: and stood in great feare, lest his owne shippes, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heauily laden with engines of batterie, and wholly disposed in such order, as was most conuenient for assailing the Towne) should make bad resistance, against a fleet appointed for that speciall seruice. Wherefore hee hastied away towards *Vtica*, to assit with his presence in this needfull case. It fell out well, that hee had sent his carriages, and all the great bootie which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, he should haue come too late. Neither could hee decide haue bene there in due time, if the *Carthaginians* had vsed such diligence as was conuenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way: and at their coming to *Vtica*, they tarried awhile to make a brado; presenting themselves in order of battaile, as if the *Romans* would haue put forth to Sea against them. But *Scipio* had no such intent: He thought it would be sufficient, if hee could preferre his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their brauerie at Sea; it should little auail the *Carthaginians*, if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole Estate by Land. Wherefore hee took his shippes of burden, and fastning them together with cables, in foure ranks, one behind another, made a four-fold bridge over

the Channell of the Hauen; whereon he placed a thousand of his choice men, with store of Darts and other casting weapons, to make defence. Some open spaces hee left, whereat his Frigots, and other small Vessells, might runne out and back againe vpon any aduantage or neede: but these he covered with planks; vsing the masts and yards of his ships in stead of rafters, to joyne all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge itselfe not be torne asunder. Scarce was this worke finished, when the *Carthaginians*, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the Hauen. The fight betweene them and the *Romans*, that were in the Hulkes, was rather like to the assaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that stood vpon the bridge, had sure footing, and threw their weapons downwards toward their whole strength and violence, which the *Carthaginians* out of their Gallies, that were lower and vnleadey, could not doe. But the *Roman* Frigots and long Boats, aduenturing forth from behinde the Bridge, were greatly ouer-borne by the force of the Gallies; and were one occasion of that small losse which followed. They that stood vpon the Bridge were neither able to relieue them: nor yet could freely bestow their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before; for feare of hurting these their friends, that were entangled and mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grappling hookes, hanging at Iron chaines. These they threw vpon the masts and yards which serued as Arches to joyne the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all asunder; in such sort that one ship followed another, and all the first ranke was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to save themselves as hastily as they could, by shifing into the next ranke of ships, that lay behinde them vntouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themselves any further in this laborious worke; but having baled away sixe ships of burden, and towed them out of the Hauen, returned home to *Carthage*. Their wel-come was greater then their victorie: because among so many grieuous losses, onely this exploit had succeeded well; though it were of small importance.

Whilest things thus passed about *Carthage*, *Lalius* and *Masanissa*, in their iourne against *Syphax*, found as good successe as could be desired. The fame of the victories already gotten, restored *Masanissa* to his Kingdome, without further contention: 30 the *Masafisi*, his subjects, joyfully receiuing him; and forsaking the Vsurper. But here they stayed not: neither indeede would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. Hee had such abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past: and, therefore being solicited by *Asdrubal* and *Sophonisba*, hee prepared againe for warre. But beside the instigation of his beloued wife; the losse of the *Masafisi* would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of *Lalius* and *Masanissa*, to giue him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no lesse vnwillingly from that which they haue gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance: but to thinke all alike their owne, whereof they are in possession; be the title vnto some part neuer so vnjust. Hereunto alludes the fable of the young Kite; which 40 thought that hee had vomited vp her owne guts, when it was onely the garbage of some other fowle, that she had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, beleued the Kingdome of the *Masafisi* to be part of his entrailes: *Lalius* and *Masanissa* will shortly giue him somewhat, that shall make him calke his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come so farre. It concerned the *Romans* to dispossesse (if it might be) that King: whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had beene converted into strong enmitie; as also to set in his place another, who might doe them such good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done vnto the *Carthaginians*. How easily this might be effected, *Masanissa* knew best: as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries; wherein, even to this day, though there be many strong Townes, yet the fortune of a battell is enough, to translate the Kingdome from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came against them with no lesse an Armie, than his former, and marshalled in the *Roman* order; according to the skill, which he had learned of the *Roman*

Centurion,

Centurion, long agoe sent vnto him out of *Spaine* (on *Cn. Scipio*). But though hee could teach his men how to march in order; yet could hee not teach them to fight courageously. They were a rabble of all sorts, gathered vp in haite; and few of them had scene warre before. Encamping neare vnto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that some small Troupes of Horse on both sides, encountered one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worst, were seconded by other of their fellows. By continuance of the skirmish, more and more were drawne out from either Campe: so that at length *Syphax*, vnwilling to dishearten his men by taking any foile at their first meeting with the Enemy, came vp with all his Horse, which 10 were the best part of his forces, and therewith ouercharged *Masanissa*, whose numbers were farre lesse. But whilest he was prosecuting his hope of victorie: some *Roman* Squadrons of Foot came against him through their owne Troupes of Horse, which fell to the sides, and made a lane for them. So their Battail standing now more firme, than a little before; *Syphax* was vnable, though hee laboured much in vaine, to make them giue ground. *Masanissa* likewise, and his Troupes, grew confident vpon this assistance: and charging afresh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, caused him to giue backe. Herewithall the Legions came in fight: which terrified so the Numidian Horse, that they beganne presently to disband. Faine would *Syphax* haue stayed them from flight: and to that end made head in person 20 against the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be ashamed to leaue him. But it fell out vnhappy, that he was cast from his Horse, which receiued a wound; and so taken prisoner. Of others that were slaine or taken, the multitude was not great. It sufficed, that they forooke the place, and fled: and that their King, vpon whom all depended, was in the *Romans* hand. *Masanissa* told *Lalius*, That this victorie should make an end of the Numidian warre, if presently they hasted away to *Cirta*: the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome; whither hee himselfe desired to bee sent before with the Horse, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Lalius* agreed. *Masanissa* coming to *Cirta*, before any newes of the Kings mischance was there arrived, called out the chiefe of the Citie to parlee: wherein by many faire promises and threats, but 30 specially by shewing vnto them *Syphax* bound, he prevailed so far, that the gates were forthwith opened vnto him; and euery one strove to get his fauour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the rest, Queene *Sophonisba* yielded her selfe into his hands: and vehemently besought him, that shee might not be deliuered vp vnto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beautie, so commended her suit, that *Masanissa* forthwith granted it; and to make good his promise, married her himselfe that very day: thereby to preuent *Lalius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwise of her, since she was his wife. But *Lalius*, when he came thither, tooke the matter hainously; so that at first he would haue baled her away, together with *Syphax* and other prisoners, and haue sent her vnto *Scipio*. But being ouer-entreated by *Masanissa*, he 40 suffered the matter to rest a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio*'s discretion: to whom hee sent away *Syphax* and other Captiues immediately; following shortly after himselfe with *Masanissa*, when they had done what was needfull in the Kingdome.

At the coming of *Syphax* there was great ioy in the *Roman* Campe: the mightie Armies which he had lately brought into the field: and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Asdrubal*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together sought his friendship: with such other commemoration of his past and present fortune; ministering to euery one a large argument of discourse. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moued him, not only to forsake the *Roman* friendship, but to make warre vpon 50 them, vnprovoked. He briefly answered, That his wife had moued him so to doe: calling her a Furie, and a pestilent creature: and saying, That *Masanissa* was no wifer than himselfe; since hee had now taken the same woman to his wife, who would shortly draw him to the same courses. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and

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stood

stood in great doubt, lest this perillous woman should deprive him of *Masanissa*, as shee had done of *Syphax*. It was not long ere *Masanissa* and *Lalius* came vnto him: both of whom together hee louingly welcommed; and highly commended in publique, for their notable seruice in this Expedition. Then taking *Masanissa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him vnderstand, that the *Romans* had title to her head; and that she was a milchicuous enemy of theirs. Wherefore hee entreated him to moderate his afflictions: and not to deface the memorie of his great seruices already done; (for which he should be highly rewarded to his owne contentment) by committing a great offence vpon little reason. *Masanissa* bluieth, and wept: and finally promised to be gouerned by *Scipio*; whom hee neuertheless 10 entreated, to thinke vpon his faith giuen to *Sophonisba*, that she should not be deliuered into the *Roman* power. So he departed to his owne Tent, where, after some time spent in agonie, he called vnto him a seruant of his that had the custodie of his poison (which Princes then vsed to haue in readines, against all mishances that might make them vnwilling to liue); and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, sent it vnto her with this message; That gladly he would haue had her to liue with him as his wife: but since they who had power to hinder him of his desire, would not yeild thereto, he sent her a cup, that should preferre her from falling aloue into the handes of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order for her selfe. 20

At the recit of this Message and Present, shee onely said, That if her Husband had no better token to send vnto his new wife, she must accept of this; adding, That she might haue died more honourably, if shee had not wedded so lately before her Funerall. And here withall shee boldly dranke off the poison. Thus *Luie* reports. But *Appian* varies from this; and lets it downe agreeably to that which hath bene spoken before, concerning the pracontract betwene *Masanissa* and *Sophonisba*. Hee saith, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embassadors from *Cirta* met with *Lalius* and *Masanissa* vpon their way thither, yeelding vp their Citie, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her owne priuate, sent messengers to excuse her marriage with *Syphax*; as made against her will, by compulsion of those in 30 whose power she was. *Masanissa* readily admitted this excuse; and accepted her to wile. But when *Scipio* had received information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perswasion *Sophonisba* was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*; he fell out about her with *Masanissa* at his returne; and challenged her, as a part of the bootie belonging to the *Romans*. *Masanissa* said, she was his owne wife, and vnto him betrothed many yeares before. But *Scipio* would not heare of this: or if it were true; yet he said it was no reason, that *Masanissa* should keepe her in possession, as long as it was disputable, vnto whom she might appertaine. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claime vnto her; wherein he should haue no wrong. Here withall he sent to fetch her away: 40 and *Masanissa* accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliuer her; but making her acquainted with the necessity, gaue vnto her a cup of poison, wherewith shee ended her life, before they came that should haue apprehended her. So hee shewed vnto the *Romans* her dead bodie; which he royally entered. The sudden violence of *Masanissa* his loue, and the readie consent of *Sophonisba* to marrie with him; adde not so much credit vnto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other euident cause (which *Luie* notes) of the sudden falling out betwene him and the *Carthaginians*; vnder whom he had bin trained vp, & done them great seruice. Howseuer it were: *Scipio*, hearing of this tragick accident, sent for *Masanissa*, and comforted him as well as he could; lest his melancholic should lead him to some inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashnesse, he brought him forth in presence of the Armie; where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had deserued of the Citie of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King; and gaue vnto 50

a Lib. 25.

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to him a Crowne of gold, with other royall ornaments. This was indeed the readie way to diuert his thoughts from the sadde remembrance of that which was past, vnto the more cheerefull contemplation of good fortune, that beganne to smile vpon him.

This was the first time that the *Romans* tooke vpon them to create or proclaime a King. Which honour though *Masanissa* well deserued; yet would not the Title haue redounded vnto his great benefit; neither should hee haue bene much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their meanes recovered possession of his Countrey, together with the greatest part of *Syphax* his Dominions. It seemes not vnlike 10 lie, that had he remained a Neuter in these warres, and sustained himselfe with his Troupe of Horse, in such sort as hee did before the coming of the *Romans*; hee might neuertheless haue recovered his proper inheritance, by the loue of his owne subiects, without other helpe, when *Syphax* had once or twice bene vanquished. As for the enlargement of his Kingdome, it was not more than hee deserued: neither were the *Romans* then in case, to make a conquest of *Numidia* for themselves; neither could they haue wished a fitter opportunitie, than of such a man, vpon whom to bestow it that was their assured friend, and passable withall among the *Numidians*, as being (for the *Masasyls* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberallie of the *Romans*, was noyled abroad as very glorious; and the *Romans* themselves, in a politicke sort of grauitie, tooke highly vpon them; as if euen 20 their saluting him by the name of King, had bene a matter of great consequence. Hee thrived indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, encroaching vpon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all vpon the State of *Carthage*, whereto they were little displeased. Hence it grew that *Perminia* the sonne of *Syphax* (of whom wee shall shortly speake more) which held some piece of his Fathers Kingdome, desiring friendship of the *Romans*, and promising by all means to deserue their loue, requested therewithall, that they would call him King. But though it were so, that neuer any before him had made this a matter of suit: yet the *Roman* Senate was *punitious* herein; and answered very grauely, That 30 it was not their custome to giue the honour of that appellation, save onely vnto such Kings, as had greatly deserued of their Citie. Thus they made it a matter of State; and in proceesse of time grew so proud of this their imaginarie prerogative, that they imputed as a singular benefit vnto Kings, that no way depended vpon them, the consultation by *that name*; though it were not accompanied with any other fauour or profit thence redounding. Lib. 31.

b Ensuper. d. 15. lib. 31.

§. XIX.

The Carthaginians desire Truce: and breake it.

THe *Carthaginians* were extremely dismayed, when they heard of the great calamitie, that was befalling their good friend *Syphax*; and vnderstood that *Masanissa*, the ir mortall enemy, had got possession of his Kingdome. To increase their feare, *Scipio* returned againe to *Tunes* in view of their Citie: where hee made an end of that Fortification, which hee had begunne at his last being there. The *Carthaginians* had neither forces, nor courage, to withstand him: but their hearts lo failed them, that they sent forth vnto them thirtie Embassadors, Princes of the Citie, which were their 50 Priue Councell, to make suit for peace. The being admitted into the presence of *Scipio* did not only prostrate them/clues on the ground; but kissed the feet of him, and of those that sat in Councell with him.

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed

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c Ensuper. d. 15. lib. 31.

feſſed themſelves to haue vniuſſly broken the Peace betwene them and Rome; and to haue deſerued whatſoeuer puniſhment it ſhould pleaſe the Romans to inflict vpon them. Yet they humbly beſought *Scipio* and the reſt, that in common regard of thoſe miſfortunes, whereto all men are ſubiect, they would ſhew mercie vnto the Citie of *Carthage*, and let it remaine, as a Monument of their clemencie; which, by the ſollie of her Citizens, had now twice deſerued to be ouerthrowne. Herewithall they did not forget, to lay the blame vpon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had begonne the warre; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole Citie. By this it appeares, that theſe Embaſſadors were no *Barchines*: but rather, that they were *Hannos* and the choiſe of his companie; who had now their long deſired worke in hand, of ſuing vnto the Romans for peace. Whatſoeuer they were, it muſt needs be that they were moſt insolent men ouer thoſe that were ſubiect vnto their power: for they would not haue made ſuch adoration vnto the Romans, in their owne neceſſitie; vnleſſe they themſelves had expected the like, where they had the advantage.

It was not vnknewne to *Scipio*, or to his aſſiſtants, in what poore caſe the Citie of Rome then was; and how vnable to deſraie the charges of continuing the warre. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the loſſe of ſo many Armies, in ſuch ill caſe, as the Romans themſelves had very lately bene. For they had monie enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a Citie farre ſtronger than Rome; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the Roman reſolution: and therefore diſtruſted the walls of *Carthage*; though *Ptolemy*, a weaker Citie, had all this while held out againſt *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Armie, though ſo often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their ſubmiſſion, and told them, That though he came into *Aſſyria*, to make a Conqueſt, and not a Peace; yet hauing the Conqueſt as it were in his hand, hee would not denie to grant them the Peace, which they deſired; for thereby ſhould all Nations vnderſtand, that the people of Rome did follow the rule of iuſtice, both in making warre, and in concluding it. The conditions which he impoſed vpon them, were theſe: That they ſhould render vnto him all priſoners that they had taken, together with all Renegado's and fugitiue ſlaues: That they ſhould withdraw their Armies out of *Italy* and *Gaul*: That they ſhould not meddle in *Spain*, nor yet in any Iland between *Italy* & *Aſſyria*: That they ſhould deliuer vp all their ſhips of warre, ſaue twentie; and That they ſhould pay a great ſumme of monie, with certaine hundred thouſand buſhels of Wheat and Barlie. To conſider of theſe Articles, hee gaue them three dayes: and when they had approued them, hee granted a Truce; that they might ſend Embaſſadors vnto the Roman Senate.

This done, *Masaniſſa* was diſmiſſed, and went home into his Kingdome, as if the warre had bene already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before ſent with *Lelius* vnto Rome: where the fame of theſe victories filled men with ioy; and gaue hope, that the long endured miſeries would be ſhortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were fet open, and an holy day appointed for thankſgiving and ſupplication to their Gods. *Lelius* was accompanied with Embaſſadors from King *Masaniſſa*: who gratulating the happie ſucceſſe of the Romans in their *African* Warre, and giuing thanks vnto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* vnto their Maſter, made request for the *Numidians*, ſuch as were now his ſubiects and priſoners in Rome, that they might be beſtowed vpon him; who by rendering them to libertie, ſhould doe an act very pleaſurable, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reigne. The Roman Senate were not behinde with *Masaniſſa* in complement: but ſhewing themſelves to be highly pleaſed with all that *Scipio* had done, and ſhould doe for him; they called him King againe; releaſed his *Numidians* that were captiues; and ſent him two purple Caſſocks, that had each of them one gold button; with ſuch other Preſents, as in time of their pouerty might ſerue to reſtiſie their good will.

will. Scarcely were theſe and *Lelius* gone from Rome; when the newes came, that Embaſſadors from *Carthage* were arrived to deſire peace. Theſe Embaſſadors were not admitted into the Citie, but were lodged without: vntill *Lelius* being ſent for, came backe from *Oſſus*, to bee preſent when their demands were to bee heard. Then was audience giuen them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that ſtood in the ſuburbs. The errand of theſe Embaſſadors, was Peace: but the meaning of them and of their Citie, was onely to winne time, and get reſpite from warre; vntill *Hannibal* and *Mago* ſhould come out of *Italy*, either to chace the Romans out of *Aſſyria*; or to obtaine peace for *Carthage*, by terror of their great names and Armies, vpon more eaſie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle diſcourſe of the League, that was concluded betwene them and *Lutetius Catulus*, at the end of the former warre. This League they ſaid, all things well conſidered, did ſtill remaine in force: neither had there ſince bene any warre at all, betwene the people of Rome and the *Carthaginians*. For it was onely *Hannibal*, that, without any leave from *Carthage*, had of his owne head beſieged and razed the Towne of *Saguntum*; and after that aduentured in like ſort, without Commiſſion, to paſſe the *Alpes*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italy*. This being ſo: their Meſſage was none other, than to deſire, that the League before ſpoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter ſtand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to doe. The Senators had cauſe to wonder at this tale; hearing theſe Embaſſadors make (as it were) a jeſt of a warre, that had bene ſo terrible. Wherefore they aſked them a great many queſtions, concerning that Peace made by *Lutetius*, and other paſſages following betwene the two Cities. But they excuſed themſelves by their age: (for they were all yong men) and ſaid, That thoſe things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but colluſion, and that they fought no other than to gaine time; vntill they might repaire the warre. Wherefore they were ſent home in companie of *Lelius*; without any conſeſſion at all of peace; and, in effect, without anſwere. This notwithstanding, we finde in *Polybius*, That the Senate receiuing aduertiment from *Scipio*, of that which had paſſed betwene him and the *Carthaginians* in this

10 Treatie of peace, approued the conditions by him propounded; and gaue him licence thereupon, to proceede vnto conſeſſion. This may with good reaſon bee beleued: ſince it was not vnknewne, that if the warre continued, all theſe goodly hopes muſt reſt vpon the moſt vncertaine iſſue of one battaile betwene *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune ſhould beauerſe to them, their forces in *Aſſyria* were no better than quite loſt.

Matters thus hanging in ſuſpence, before the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors came backe from Rome: a Fleet out of *Sicily*, wherein were two hundred ſhips of burden, and thirtie Gallies, being bound for *Aſſyria* to victualle the Roman Campe, was overtaken by ſoule weather at Sea; and hardly eſcaping wracke, was diſperſed, and driuen aground in diuers parts of the Bay of *Carthage*, euen in view, and vnder command of the Citie. There was at that time, as we finde in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victuals in *Carthage*: which cauſed the people to crie out vpon their Magiſtrates, that they ſhould not let ſuch a booteie eſcape them; ſaying, that the danger of famine was greater and worſe, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were ſo that hunger vrged them, or that they yeelded to their owne greedie deſires: the multitude in *Carthage* vnderſtood (as it ſeemes) that all this diſcouſe of peace in hand, was no better than meere mockerie; and therefore cared not for obſervation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in *Carthage*, as likewiſe in *Alexandria*, for all the Racaſitie, together with women and boyes, to be meddling in vprores: the clamours of the boyes being in ſuch tumults no leſſe violent, than of the men. Wherefore it is no maruaile, if little regard were had of reaſon, or of honour, in any ſuch commotion. A Fleet was ſent out vnder *Aſdrubal*, to gather vp the diſperſed Roman ſhips of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recouered the ſtation whereto their Campe adioyned) and

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Excerpt. 2. Polyb. l. 15.

App. de bello Punico.

Excerpt. 2. Polyb. l. 15.

bring them into *Carthage*: which was done. *Scipio* was herest much offended: not only for the losse, and for that the Towne was thereby releued; but for that by this breach of truce, he foresaw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he sent Embassadors vnto them: both to require satisfaction for the iniurie done; and to deterre them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gaue the *Carthaginians* to vnderstand, That Letters were come from *Rome* vnto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the peace; vpon those conditions which hee had propounded. But (said they) *we hold it strange, That yee, who so lately haue call your selues to the ground before vs, and kissed our feet, after an vnusuall manner of humilitie, confessing your selues to haue perfiously broken the league that was betwene vs, and thereby to haue deserued such punishment as is due vnto Rebels; should so soone forget what yee then vttered, and runne headlong againe into the same crimes, for which yee acknowledged your selues worthe to be destroyed, hauing only recourse vnto our mercie. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repose in HANNIBAL that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amisse, that yee should consider, how long hee hath bene pent up in a corner of Italie, among the Brutians; where he is in a manner besieged, and unable to stirre: so that yee are like to finde his helpe wanting in your greatest need. Or let it bee supposed, that he were now in *Africke*, and ready to giue vs battaile; yet should it well agree with your wisdom, to doubt what might befall, remembering that he is a man, and not invincible. Now if it should happen that he were overcome; what refuse haue yee left vnto your selues against hereafter? What gods will yee either sweare by, to bee beleued, or call vpon in your miserie? What wordes, and lamentable gesture will yee henceforth vse, to moue compassion? Surely yee haue already wasted all your forces of perswasion, and shall not againe deceiue vs, if ye refuse the grace, whereof at the present ye are capable. It is no maruell though the *Carthaginians* were angrie, when they heard themselves vbraided with the base demeanour of their Embassadors. For it was not the generall opinion of the Citie, that the Truce was broken by themselves: though it had pleased *Hanno*, or such as were of his faction, to gratifie the *Romans* with all manner of submission; and to renounce not onely their hope of the future, but all iustification of matters past. And indeed it seemes, that 30 the *Roman* Embassadors were very much delighted, in the rehearfall of that point which was yeelded vnto them; as knowing that thereon depended the iustice of the quarrell. But the *Carthaginians* tooke this in so ill part, that hardly they could reframe from doing violence vnto the men, who had vied vnto them such insolent speeches. Yet the furie of the multitude was in some sort appeased; either by *Hanno*, whom *Appian* (I know not why) calls *Hanno the great*; or by the very recurrence, due vnto the place of those that had vttered such liberrall words. So they were dismissed in friendly sort, though it were without answer to their Proposition. There were also two *Gallies* appointed for their safe Conuoy home; though with little intent of good vnto their persons. *Asdrubal* was then in the mid-way, as men failed from 40 *Carthage* towards *Vtica*. Hee, whether onely desirous to please the Multitude, of whose disposition he was informed; or whether directed by publike order, to cut off these Embassadors in their way homeward: lay waiting for them behinde a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the Riuer *Bagradas*. Their Conuoy hauing brought them on the way, as farre as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, wished them a good Voyage; and so tooke leaue of them, as if they had bene then in safety; since the *Roman* Campe was euen in sight. The Embassadors tooke this in ill part; not as fearing any danger toward; but thinking themselves too much neglected, forasmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leaue them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Asdrubal* fell vpon them in such manner, as they might well so discern his purpose; which was to haue stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a Quinquereme, that had more bankes of Oares, than had any *Gallie* of *Asdrubal*; they slippt away, and made him ouer-thoot himselfe. Yet he gaue them chase; and had well-nere surprisid them. But they discouered some*

Roman

Roman Companies on the shore ouer against them, and therefore aduentured to run their vessell aground: whereby they saued their owne liues; though a great part of their companie were slaine, or hurt. This practise of the *Carthaginians* was inexcusable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartened in such a dishonourable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the warre; that thereby they might be driuen to studie nothing else, than how to get the victorie, as hauing no other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the same feare, which had caused them to make such earnest suit for peace, would also haue caused them to be better aduised, than thus to abandon all hope of Treatie: had they not bene giuen to vnderstand, that *Hannibal* was already landed in *Africk* in whom they reposed no small confidence; but verily perswaded themselves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with more easie conditions, than were those that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

§. XX.

In what sort HANNIBAL spent the time after the battaile of Metaurus. The doings of MAGO in Italie. HANNIBAL and MAGO called out of Italie. How the Romans were diuersly affected by HANNIBALS departure.

Ver since the losse of that battaile at *Metaurus*, *Hannibal* remained in the Countrey of the *Brutians*; waiting for another supplie from *Carthage*. The *Roman* Consuls that succeeded vnto *Clauus* and *Linus*, by whom *Asdrubal* was overcome and slaine, were contented to bee quiet all their yeare. Neither did *Licinius* the Colleague of *Scipio* ought worthe of remembrance against *Hannibal*: being hindered by the pestilence that was in his Armie. *Sempronius* the Consul who followed *Licinius*, and *Cn. Seruius Capius*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earnestly bent to haue done somewhat; but their diligence was in a manner fruitlesse. In some skirmishes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in some, the worse: and a few poore Townes they got from him, as it were by stealth; his care being more to preclude his Armie, than to keepe those places that were weak.

The *Romans* had at this time so many great pieces of worke in hand, that their chiefe enemy was become, not the chiefe part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent vpon *Africk*, wherein they were at no smal charges to maintaine the Armie, which (as was hoped) should bring the warre to a short and happie conclusion. They stood neuertheless in much feare of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*: who tooke exceeding paine among the *Ligurians* and *Gauls* to raise an Armie, wherewith to kindle anew the warre in *Italie*, that beganne to waxe colde. *Mago* solicited also the *Hetrurians*; and found them so ready to stirre in his behalfe, that if he could haue entred their Countrey strong, it might haue proued no lesse needfull for *Scipio* to returne home out of *Africk*, than shortly it was for *Hannibal*, to make speed vnto the defence of *Carthage*. These dangers caused the *Romans* to employ one of their Consuls or Proconsuls, with an Armie, among the *Hetrurians*; another among the *Gauls*; and a third among the *Ligurians*: forasmuch as it was vncertaine, vpon which side *Mago* would breake out. Being thus busied, it is no wonder though they forbore to overcharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*; when things were in some readines for his setting forwards, he met in the Countrey of the *Insubrians*, which is about *Milan*, with *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Proconsul, and *P. Quintilius Varus* one of the Prators. With these hee fought a battaile, wherein though his vertue shewed it selfe worthe of his father and brethren; yet his fortune was *Carthaginian*. The fight continued a long while doubtfull;

full; in such sort that the *Roman* Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Prætor, taking vnto him all the *Roman* Horse, thought to haue 'haken the Enemies to peeces. The Legions at the same time gaue a loud shout: and strained themselves hard; as if at that brunt the victorie should haue beene carried before them. But *Mago* opposed his Elephants to the Horse: the seruice of those beaſts being fitter for such vic, than against the Squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent, and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and were scattered ouer the field; their Riders being vnable to manage them. Hereby the *Numidian*s got aduantage vpon them: whose manner of fight was more available against those that were loofe, than against the Troupes that were close and thick. Then set the Elephants vpon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a shoure of darts, and killed foure of them; causing all the rest to giue backe. This notwithstanding, the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemy; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. The Proconsul therefore brought vp those forces, which he had kept vnto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these *Mago* employed some of his *Gauls*, whom hee had in readinesse for the like occasion. But these *Gauls* discharged their parts very ill. They were soone beaten off; and recoiled so hastily, that they brought feare vpon all the rest. When *Mago* saw that his men began to shrink, hee put himselfe in the head of his 20 Armie; and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a faire Retreat, with their faces toward the Enemy. But at length he received a grievous wound in his thigh; whereof shortly after hee dyed. He was taken vp, and carried out of danger by some of his owne men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, provided euery one for himselfe: So the *Romans* obtained victorie, not without great cost; as purchasing the death of about five thousand enemies, with the losse of two thousand and three hundred of the Prætors Armie, besides those that dyed of the Proconsuls Legions; also besides diuers Colonells, Captaines, and Gentlemen of marke, that fell in this horrible peeces of seruice. Neither were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seeme that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. 30 How euer it were, this victorie would haue much imported for the assurance of *Italie*, if the State of *Carthage* could longer haue permitted these valiant sonnes of *Aenobar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with drawing himselfe (by easie iournies, because of his wound) into *Liguria*, found thre Embassadors from *Carthage* attending him: who gaue him to vnderstand the pleasure of their Citie, which was, That both he and *Hannibal* should presently repaire home with all their forces; not staying any longer to thinke vpon the conquest of *Italie*, since *Carthage* it selfe was ready to bee lost. He obeyed this Commandement, and embarked shortly his Armie; but dyed of this wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homeward.

About the same time *Hannibal* receiued the like command from *Carthage* to returne into *Africk*. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groining, and hardly keeping in the teares, that were ready to burst out, whilst the Embassadors were deliuering their errand. When their message was done; hee told them, That this was yet plaine dealing. For, said he, They that now directly bid mee come home, haue long agoe done their best to hale mee out of *Italie*; though more closely and crookedly they went to worke, by stopping the supply, that should haue enabled mee to manage the Warre here. So 10 therefore shall not neede to bragge, that hee hath drayne me home by the beeles: it is *HANNIBAL*, that hath wrought this noble feat, and overwhelmed the House of the *Barchins*, for lacke of other meanes to doe it, with the wine of *Carthage*. He had before prepared a Fleet in readinesse doubting that which after came to passe: wherein he embarked, besides his owne men, as many of the *Italians*, as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were that shrunke backe from him, and refused to doe seruice in this Expedition: of whom such as hee could take

take he flew; not sparing those that fled into the Temple of *Iuno Lucina*, which had been held an inuiolable Sanctuarie vnto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of *Italie* no lesse passionate, than men are wont to bee, when they leaue their owne Countreies to goe into exile. Hee looked backe vnto the shore: accusing both gods and men; and cursing his owne dulnesse, in that he had not led his Armie from *Cannæ*, horte and blouded as it was, directly vnto the wals of *Rome*. With such vexation of spirit hee quitted the possession of *Italie*; wherein he had liued almost halfe his time.

If it could haue beene foretold vnto the *Romans*, in the first beginning of this 10 war, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertaine the newes of *Hannibal*'s departure out of *Italie*: they would (I thinke) lesse earnestly haue pressed the *Carthaginians* to send him ouer thither. When sure aduertisement was brought vnto the Citie, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Armie: an Holiday was appointed for thanksgitiuing vnto their gods; and extraordinary great sacrifices publicly made, for joy of such happie tidings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did still remaine the same, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal*, at his coming into *Africk*, would finde *P. Scipio* other manner of worke, than he had beene troubled with at any time before; and would doe greater matters in his owne Countreie, than euer he was able to performe abroad in a land of strangers. 20 The remove of the warre from their owne doores, and the conceit of that victorie for which they hoped; was enough to make them presume further, than at other times they would haue done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embassadors brought vnto them a great masse of Golde and Siluer, together with some Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spain*: onely the *Carthaginian* prisoners were accepted; the treasure was rendred backe vnto the *Saguntines* that had surprised it. Vpon like confidence of the future, a litle before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monies, that had beene borrowed in time of more necessitie from priuate men. Hence also proceeded the seuer chastisement, laid vpon those twelue Colonies, that for want eyther of meanes, or of good will, had refused to giue aid to the 30 *Romans*. They were commanded, and enforced, to giue double the number of Foot to that which they had beene wont to set out for the warres, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the verie most of their abilitie. So confident were the *Romans* growne (though their wealth were not as yet futable to the greatnesse of their spirit) vpon the good successe of the Battaille at *Metanum*; and the hopes which they reposed in *Scipio*. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more nerely of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Armie, whereof *Italie* had beene few dayes since discharged, was landed safe in *Africk*: they began to reuolue a thousand fearefull matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest *Q. Fabius* (who died about the same time) would bee found a true Prophet. For be- 40 thinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* no specialitie of such great worth, as might promise the like successe against another manner of Generall, followed by other manner of men, than were either of those two. The *Numidian* King had beene wont to bring into the field a rallall multitude of halfe-killions, that were good for nothing; being himselfe a fit Captaine for such souldiors. Likewise *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*, was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate; but otherwise one, that in the field was onely good at sauing himselfe by a swift retreat. But now there came an Armie of men, hardened from their child-hood with incredible patience, rested many hundred times in *Roman* bloud, 50 and wearing the spoiles not onely of good souldiors, but of braue Captaines, by them slaine. Such talke vsed the people of *Rome*, saying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in battaille, with many that had slaine *Roman* Prætors, yea and Consuls, with their owne hands; with many, that had beene first in getting ouer the Trenches of seuerall *Roman* Campes, or in winning the tops of wals at the siege of Townes; briefly, that

that he should now bee opposed by an Armie, as good as had euer serued in warre, and following the dreadfull Name of *Hannibal*.

§. XXI.

HANNIBAL in Africk prepares to fight with SCIPIO; treats with him about peace in vaine; loseth a battaile at Nadagara, and perswades the Carthaginians to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.



HANNIBAL disembarked his Armie at *Leptis*, almost an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eastward from the Headland of *Mercure*, and somewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horse, which it was not easie for him to transport out of *Italie*. Therefore it behoued him to land, as he did, somewhat farre from the Enemy; that hee might furnish himselfe with this and the like needfull helpes, against the day of battaile. From *Leptis* he passed on to *Adrumetum*, and so along through the *Inland* Countrie; gathering friends vnto him by the way. *Tycheus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was said to haue in those dayes the best Horses of seruice, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure vnto his partie: making him vnderstand, that if the *Romans* got the victorie, it should be easie for *Masanissa*, by their countenance and helpe to oppress both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes as hindred his prospect. This Argument, and the fame of him that vsed it, prevailed with *Tycheus*; who shortly after brought vnto the *Carthaginian* two thousand Horse. *Appian* further adds, That *Meczelinus*, (the same who had made himselfe Protector ouer *Masanissa* his Cousins; and was Head of a Family, and aduerser to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought vnto *Hannibal* another thousand Horse: as likewise that *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdome, began at the same time to assaile the places that yielded obedience to *Masanissa*. This *Vermina*, as we finde in *Liuius*, came with more than sixteene thousand men (for he lost more than so manie) to succour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were; that they could not attend the leisure of those preparations, which would haue made the victorie assured. When they considered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatnesse of his Acts: it offended them to thinke, that they had beene so base, as to make humble suit vnto the *Romans* for Peace; whilst they had such a braue Champion alieue, to maintaine their cause by warre. But when they bethought themselves of their owne sufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimity to endure them, appeared greater than indeede they were: then cried they out earnestly, that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad. And to this purpose, they sent their Mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him, without any further protraction, to doe what he could doe out of hand. *Hannibal* made answer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Armie: but since he was General of their forces, He thought it reasonable, that they should suffer him to doe as a General ought to doe; and to choose his owne times. Neuertheless, to giue them satisfaction, He made great marches to *Zama*; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce, made by the *Carthaginians*: The violence, done to his 50 Embassadors: and the newes of *Hannibal* his being landed in *Africk*; made *Scipio* to vnderstand the resolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yield vnto any conditions vnprofitable for themselves, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore hee sent vnto *Masanissa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out;

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praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other bulesse a-part. Ten *Roman* Companies, of Horse and Foot together, *Masanissa* had with him; that were lent vnto him by *Scipio*, to doe him seruice in the establishing and enlarging of his Kingdome. But he well vnderstood, that those and many more belides all his owne forces would little auail him; if *Hannibal* should driue the *Romans* out of *Africk*. Wherefore taking such order as hee could vpon the sudden, for the sake of his owne Kingdome; with foure thousand Horse, and sixe thousand Foot, hee made all haile vnto *Scipio*.

Soone after the beginning of these new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embassadors 10 that had beene at *Rome*, returned backe vnder the conduct of *Leilius* and *Fulcius*; who brought them safe into the *Roman* Campe. There when they arrived, and vnderstood what had lately passed, especially how then Citizens had behaued themselves towards the *Roman* Embassadors: they made little doubt, how their owne heads should answer for such notorious outrage. To confirme them in this opinion.

Attilius one of the late Embassadors that had beene in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Campe, laid hands vpon them, and detained them; sending word vnto his General, who was gone abroad to make warre in the Countrie, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might bee repaid in 20 their owne Coyne, for the iniurie by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to heare of this; and commanded *Attilius* to vie them with all possible courtelie, and send them safe home. By thus doing He brake the hearts of his Enemies; and caused them to acknowledge themselves, (which was a great victorie) farre lesse honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithstanding, He made more cruell warre vpon them than before: taking their Townes by force; and putting them to sacke, without hearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they tooke a Towne by assault, to put all that came in their way to the sword, whatsoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselves terrible: and the better to worke such impression in the mindes of those, with whom they 30 had to doe, they vsed oftentimes to kill the very Dogges and other Beasts, that ranne athwart them in the streets; hewing their bodies alunder, as men delighted in shedding of blood. This being their practise at other times: it is likely, that now they omitted no peece of crueltie; when they meant to giue proofe of their vehement indignation, and reuengefull mindes, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were so earnest in pressing *Hannibal* to fight.

Hannibal being encamped at *Zama*, sent forth his Scouts and Spies, to discouer where the *Romans* lay; what they were doing; and as much as might be of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, and brought vnto *Scipio*: who in stead of trusting them vp, gaue them free leave to view his Campe at pleasure; appointing one 40 to conduct them vp and downe, and shew them whatsoever they desired. This done, He gaue them libertie to depart; and sent them away safe vnto their General. *Hannibal* vnderstanding this, admired the brauerie and courage of his Enemy: with whom on the sudden he grew desirous to haue an Enter-view, and personall conference; and signified so much vnto him, by a messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well: and returned answer, that Hee would meet him shortly in place conuenient. The next day *Masanissa* came with his Armie: whom *Scipio* taking with him, remoued vnto a Towne called *Nadagara*; neare vnto which hee lay 50 downe, in a place otherwise commodious, and close by a water that might opportunely serue his Campe. Thence he sent word vnto the *Carthaginian*, That the time and place did fitly serue, if He had ought to say to him. *Hannibal* thereupon remoued from *Zama*, and came within foure miles of the Enemy: where hee encamped well to his owne good liking in all things else; excepting that his men were drawn to take much paines, in fetching their water somewhat farre off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals, each of them with a troupe of Horse,

Excerpt 2 p. 45, lib. 10.

Horse, rode forth of their Campes, till they came vnto a peece of ground; which was before well searched, for feare of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off: and themselves, with each of them one Interpreter, encountered each other in the mid-way betwene their Companies. They remained a while silent, viewing one the other with mutual admiration. Then beganne the Carthaginian, saluting the Roman, to deliuer his minde to this effect: That it had bene better both for Carthage and for Rome, if they could haue limited and contained their ambition within the shores of *Africke* and of *Italie*; for that the Countreys of *Sicil* and of *Spaine*, about which their fathers and themselves had striven, were no sufficient recompence for so many Fleets as had bene lost, and of so much blood as had bene shed, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not bee recalled: He said, That it was meet for them to consider, vnto what extreme dangers their owne Cities had bene exposed, by the greedie desire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was euen time for them now at length, to make an end of their obdurate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisdom hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition He affirmed that his owne yeares, and long trial of Fortune both good and euill, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience might rather fixe his minde vpon vn certaine hopes, than vpon the contemplation of that mutabilitie, whereto all humane affaires are subiect. Yet (said He) mine owne example may peraduenture suffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that same *HANNIBAL*, who after my victorie at *Cannae* wonne the greatest part of *Italie*: and denised with my selfe, what I should doe with your Citie of *Rome*; which I hoped verily to haue taken. Once I brought mine Armie to your wailes, as thou hast since brought thine to ours of *Carthage*: but now, see the change! I stand here entreating thee to grant vs peace. This may serue as a document of Fortunes instabilitie. I fought with thy father, *Scipio*: Hee was the first of the Roman Generals, that euer met mee in the field. I did then little thinke; that the time would come, that I should haue such businesse, as now at the present, with his Sonne. But this is euen one of Fortunes Pageants, whereof shee hath many. And thou must haue experience of the like in thy selfe, who knowes how soone? Thinke vpon *M. ATTILIVS*. If hee would haue hearkened vnto such persuasions, as I now use to thee; hee might haue returned home to *Rome* an happy man. And so maist thou doe now, if any reasonable offer will give thee satisfaction. How saist thou? Canst thou be contented, that all *Spaine*, *Sicil*, *Sardinia*, and whatsoeuer Islands else are situate betwene *Italie* and *Africke*, be abandoned by the Carthaginians for euer; and left vnto the Romans, to beare Dominion therein? Thou shalt haue glorie enough by effecting thus much: and the Romans may well be glad of such a bargain. As for vs: our owne quiet shall henceforth give vs contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make vs faithfully observe the Peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too little, I must desire thee to pander well how great an hazard and thou must vndergoe, for the obtaining of a very little more, than that which thou must haue without contention. It is now in thine owne power, to lay holde vpon good Fortune, if it please thee: stay but till to morrow night; and thou must take such fortune, as it shall please the gods. The issue of battaile is vn certaine, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and Steele we shall each of vs bring into the field: but of the victorie, neither of vs hath assurance. Let vs therefore without more adoe, make peace. And doe not tell me, that some false-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like Treatie: it is I *HANNIBAL* that now desire peace with thee, which I would neuer doe, if I thought it not expedient for my Countrey. And thinking it expedient, I will alwayes maintaine it: like as I haue maintained vnto my power, as long as the gods did not enuie mee, the Warre by me begunne. Hereunto *Scipio* made answer, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in *Sicil* and in *Spaine*, which had moued the Romans to enter into this or the former Warre: but that the defence of the *Mamertines*, and afterwards of the *Saguntines*, their confederates, had caused them to put on those armes; which the gods by the final issue of the Warres had approued, and would approue to bee most iust. As for the mutabilitie of Fortune: he said, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that with-

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out any note of insolence, or ouer-weening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. For was it not plaine, that all these Countreys, with which the Carthaginians now so willingly departed, were already wonne from them by the Romans? If, said He, these Conditions had bene propounded whilest as yet wee detained some part of *Italie*, they might peraduenture not haue bene reiected. But as the case now stand, I see no reason, why I should remit vnto you any one peece of those my former demands; to which the Carthaginians haue yielded already, and thought mee to deale graciously in being so moderate. Rather I say, that the iniuries which they haue done me since, haue made them vnworthie of obtaining peace vpon so friendly termes. But I cannot blame thee, *HANNIBAL*, though thou wouldst be glad to make thy Citizens vnderstand, from how much of their burden they are by thy meanes eased. Onely thou must thinke, that in like sort it concerns me in honour, not to let them be gainers or losers by the wrongs which they haue done of late. Thou knowest well, that, besides those offers which thou here hast made, they were well contented to restore vnto vs some-free all prisoners that they haue of ours; to pay vs five thousand Talents; to deliuer up their Cities; and to deliuer hostages for assurance of faire dealing. And must they now be discharged of all this, by their breach of Truce; their spoiling of our Fleet; and their violating our Embassadors? Not so. But if they can be contented, besides al this, to make such an end as I shall require, for the injuries newly done: then will I take aduice with my Council what an answer to give you; otherwise, you may euen prepare for warre, and blame you 20 owne fautes, for that I haue denied you peace.

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his owne Campe, with no other newes than warre; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battaile, wherein should be decided the quarrell between *Rome* and *Carthage*. The next morning at brake of day they issued into the field; a notable Match, and such as hath very seldom bene found; whether we regard the Generals; their Armies; the two Cities that contended; or the great importance of the battaile at hand. *Scipio* ordered his men after the Roman manner: placing first the *Habstaty*, diuided into their Maniples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable distance betwene them: Not farre behind thes followed the *Principes*, likewise diuided; and so after them the *Triarij*. But herein 30 *Scipio* altered a little the ordinarie custome of the Romans: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* oppositely vnto the void Spaces between the *Habstaty*, that so the *Habstaty*, as was vsuall, might fall backe betwene the *Principes*; but hee placed them directly one behind another, as it were, in File. This Hee did because of the Elephants; whereof *Hannibal* had many. For of those beasts the danger was lesse, whilest there was open way to let them through. Therefore hee tooke such order, that when they had passed through the spaces between the first Battalions, they should not come vpon the *Principes* in Front. Vnto his *Vates* or those of the light armature, that were to beginne the fight, Hee gaue direction, that when they found themselves ouer-charged, eyther by the Enemies; or (which was most to bee feared) 40 by the Elephants, they should runne backe through those lanes that were betwene the Maniples; and that those which were swift, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, vntill they were got behind all their owne Armie; thereby leaving roome enough vnto those that were wounded, or cast behinde, to saue themselves on the void ground; that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third Battalies, without cloying vp the way betwene the Maniples, which hee desired to keepe open. His Italian Horse hee placed in the left wing vnder *C. Lelius*. In the right wing was *Masaniissa* with his *Numidians*. He himselfe riding vp and downe, exhorted his men to doe valiantly; vnto words not many, but verie forcible. He bade them remember what they had achieved, since their coming 50 into *Africke*. He told them, That if this day were theirs, the warre was at an end: and that their victorie in this warre, should make them Lords of all the World; for that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrary; if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would fly. They were farre from home, yea and farre from their owne standing Campe: neyther was there any place in

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Africk,

As if, that would giue them shelter; if they fell into the Carthaginians hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but Death or Victory: vnlesse they would liue like wretched slaues vnder most mercilesse Enemies. In such necessitie, he said, that they which consider themselves to be, and take resolution answerable thereunto, haue neuer bene knowne to faile of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other side placed his Elephants, that were more than fourecore, in Front of his Battaile. Next behind these, he made his Vanguard all of Mercenaries; *Ligurians, Gaules, Balears, and Moors*. Then followed his Battaile: which was of *Carthaginians and Africans*, more interested in the quarrell than were those Mercenaries; though not so good fouldiers: but to helpe (if it might be) their want 10 of courage, they had with them foure thousand *Macedonians*, lately sent from King *Philip*. More than the space of a furlong behind these came his Rereward, consisting of those braue Souldiers which had serued him in his *Italian* warres; and were the onely men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to *Lalius*, in his owne right wing he bestowed the *Carthaginian* Horle. *Tychæus* and the *Numidians* he placed in his left wing against *Masanißa*. He was indeede farre too weake for the Enemy in Horle, both in number and in goodnesse. For *Tychæus* and *Mexetallus* had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the foure thousand of *Masanißa*. The *Carthaginians* also were no more, nor none other than such as could be leuiued in the harts of a few dayes; and the remainder of those, that 20 had of late bene often vanquished, and accustomed to fly. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neyther had hee perhaps authoritie, to make these his companions alight and serue on foote, setting better men in their saddles. All that he could haue done, was to stay a little longer, and expect more helpe. Had *Vermis* the sonne of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in few dayes after, with sixteene thousand and upwards, the most of them Horle: the advantage of number might haue serued well to supply all other defect. Yet since the Lords of *Carthage* would brooke no delay: *Hannibal* must beaine to comfort himselfe, with the hope that hee reposed in his old *Italian* Souldiers; whose vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their severall 30 conditions: promising vnto the Mercenaries bountifull rewards: threatening the *Carthaginians* with ineuitable seruitude, if they lost that day; but especially animating his old fellow-souldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained against farre greater numbers. He bade them to looke vpon the Enemies; and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like so many, as that huge Armie which they had slaughtered at *Canna*. He willed them to remember, that it was one *P. Scipio*, euen the father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to runne away. He told them, that these Legions which they yonder beheld, were, for the most part of them, the very work of the *Romane* Souldiers; euen such, as for their dastardly flight out of sundry battailes, could no longer be trusted to beare Armes in their owne 40 Countrey. As for the rest: they were yong men, the sonnnes of Cowards, and bred vp in the continuall feare of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slaine or chased. Wherefore he entreated these his old companions, vpon whose vertue he meant wholly to repose himselfe, that they would this day strue to make good their honour; and to purchase the fame of *men invincibles*.

Such exhortations vied the two Generalls before the fight. When they drew neare together: the *Numidian* Horlmen on both sides beganne to skirmish. The Trumpets, and other instruments of warre, sounded to battaile: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to breake vpon the *Romane*. Of these Elephants (as they were alwayes an vncertaine kinde of helpe) those that stood neere vnto the point of 50 the left wing, turned backe for feare: and ranne vpon their owne *Numidian* Horle; which they affrighted and disordered. *Masanißa* espying this, gaue charge vpon the same *Numidians*; and not suffering them to retie themselves, drew them quite out of the field. The rest of those beasts made a great spoile of the *Romane* *Velites*, whom they

they followed into the spaces betweene the Maniples: but without any harme to the Battalions themselves; which gaue them open way, accordingly as *Scipio* had well provided. Diuers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be governed: but ranne backe vpon the right point of their owne battaile, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithall they disordered the *Carthaginian* Horle which were in that wing: against whom they gaue to *Lalius* the same advantage, that *Masanißa* had against the *Numidians*; which hee vied in like sort. In the meane while, the Battels of foote advanced, and drew neere together with a slow and stately pace, till they were almost within a weapons cast: at what 10 time they gaue a shout, and ranne one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time seemed both in audacitie, and in quicknesse, to haue the better of the *Romanes*; wounding many, and doing more harme, than they tooke. But the *Romane* discipline after a while, prevailed against the boisterous violence of these vntrained Barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battell of the *Principes*, following somewhat neere after the *Hasatry*, encouraged their fellows; and shewed themselves readie, if neede were, to relieue them. Contrariwise, the Mercenaries received no manner of helpe or comfort, from those that should haue seconded them. For the new-leuiued *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, when they saw their hired fouldiers giue backe, did also themselves retire. This caused the *Ligurians, Gaules*, and the rest, to thinke 20 themselves betrayed: whereupon they inclined vnto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battaile was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to giue way vnto the Mercenaries for their safe retreat; and yet withall forbore to make head against the Enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Feare and Indignation caused those that were at once chased by the *Romanes*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their owne fellows, to turne their Armes with an heedlesse furie against both the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten downe and slaine, through their owne indiscretion, by their owne Mercenaries. The *Romane* *Hasatry* in like sort, fighting with desperate men in a throng, had their hands so full of worke; that the *Principes* were laine to come vp 30 vnto them, and helpe to ouer-bear this great medley of enemies, that were together by the eares among themselves. In this place was made a great slaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which hindring one another could neither fight, nor easily flye. Such of them as escaped, ranne towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not stirre one foote, to helpe or saue these *Romane* awaies. He caused his men to bend their Pikes at those of his owne side, that would haue rushed vpon him: whom hee thereby compelled to turne aside beyond his Battaile, and saue themselves in the open field. The ground, ouer which the *Romanes* were now to march, ere they could meete with *Hannibal*, was couered with such thicke heapes of dead bodies and weapons, and so slippery with blood: that *Scipio* began to stand 40 in great doubt, lest the orders of his Battalions should be dissolved in passing that way. In such case, if he should fight with that warlike Armie, which he saw before him, remaying yet entire, and without teare expecting him; He might be well assured to receiue a notable overthrow. Hee caused therefore the *Hasatry* to make a stand there where they were, opposite vnto the maine battaile of the *Hanniballians*. Then drawing vp his *Principes* and *Triary*: Hee placed them, when they had ouercome the bad way, all in one Front with the *Hasatry*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he advanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than euer he had bene receiued in his life before. All the dayes vnto ke till now, seemed to haue bene onely a matter of paltime; in regard of the sharpe 50 Conflict, that was maintained betweene these notable Souldiers. The *Romanes* were encouraged, by their hauing prevailed all the day before: They were also farre the more in number. But these old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were fresh; and (perhaps) the better men. They fought with such obstinate resolution, that no man gaue backe one foote; but rather chose to die vpon the ground, whereon he stood. So that, af-

ter a long time, it was vncertaine which part had the worfe: vnlesse it may seeme, that the *Romanes* were beginning to shrinke; for as much as the returne of *Masaniſſa* and *Lelius* from pursuit of the Enemies Horſe, is ſaid to haue bene moſt happye and in a needfull time. Theſe vpon the ſudden charged the *Hanniballians* in Rere; and ouer-bearing them by mere violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

In this Battaille there dyed of the *Romanes* ſitene hundred and vpwads: on the *Carthaginian* ſide, aboue twentie thouſand, beſides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sopater* Captaine of the *Adacechians* was one. The ſingular ſkill that *Hannibal* ſhewed in this his laſt fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*; and was acknowledged, as *Linte* reports, by *Scipio* himſelfe. But the Enemies were too ſtrong 10 for him in Horſe; and being enioyned, as hee was, by the State of *Carthage* to take battaille with ſuch diſadvantage, he could worke no maruells. He ſaued himſelfe with a few Horſe; and ſtayed not in his journey, till he came to *Adrumetum*. Thence was he ſent for to *Carthage*; from which he had bene abſent ſixe and thirtie yeares. At his coming into the Senate He ſaid plainly: That there was none other way left, than to take ſuch peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians*, not knowing what other conſeque to take, reſolved to ſend Embaſſadours againe; and trie the fauour of *Scipio*, whoſe Armes they could not now reſiſt.

Scipio hauing ſpoiled the Enemies Campe, returned backe to *Vtica*: where hee found *P. Lentulus* newly arrived, with ſixtie Gallies and an hundred Shippes of burden. With this Fleet, and that which hee had before, Hee thought it beſt to make towards *Carthage*: rather of purpoſe to terrifie the Citie, than with any hope to take it. His Legions he committed vnto *Cn. Octauius*; whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then ſending *Lelius* away to *Rome* with newes of the victorie, He ſet ſaile from *Vtica* towards *Carthage*. He was encountered on the way by ten Embaſſadours from the Citie: who bearing vp with the Admirall Gallie, beganne to vie the pittifull geſture of ſuppliants. But they receiued none other anſwer, than that they ſhould meet him at *Tunes*, where He would giue them audience. So rowing along before the Citie: and viewing it more in brauerie, than with meaning to attempt it; He returned backe to *Vtica*, and called backe *Octauius* thither, with whom 30 in perſon Hee ſet forwards to *Tunes*. As they were in their iourne thither, they heard the newes, that *Vermine* the ſonne of *Syphax*, was coming with an Armie of more Horſe than Foot, to the ſuccour of thoſe that were already vanquiſhed. This *Vermine* ſeemes to haue bene both careleſſe of getting intelligence how things paſſed, and very defectiue in all other duties requiſite in the Commander of an Armie. Part of the *Roman* Foot, with all their power of Horſe, was ſent againſt him: which did not onely beat him, but ſo compaſſe him in, that hee hardly eſcaped himſelfe with a few; leauing ſitene thouſand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelue hundred taken priſoners. If this good companie had bene with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*, they ſhould haue bene farre better conducted, and might well haue changed 40 the Fortune of the day; which the *Carthaginian* loſt, by default of Horſe. But God had otherwiſe determined. It is not to bee doubted, that this victorie, though it were no great acceſſe vnto the former; yet ſerued well to daunt the *Carthaginians*, and imprint in them the greater feare of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunes*, there met him thirtie Embaſſadours from *Carthage*: whoſe behauiour though it was more pittifull than it had bene before; yet procured it leſſe commiſeration, by reaſon of their late falſe dealing, after they had in like ſort humbled themſelues. Neuertheleſſe it was conſidered, what a long and laborious worke it would proue, to beſiege the mightie Citie of *Carthage*. And particularly *Scipio* ſtood in great doubt, leſt the honor of this warre, if it were protracted, ſhould bee taken out of his handes; and giuen to 50 one of the Conſuls. *Cn. Seruilus Cæpio*, that Conſul who had charge of the warre againſt *Hannibal*, at ſuch time as he departed out of *Italie*: was bold to paſſe ouer into the Ile of *Sicill* (as it were in chace of *Hannibal* by him terrified and driuen away) with a purpoſe thence to haue proceeded into *Africk*, and taken from *Scipio* the Command

mand of the Armie there. But a Dictator was choſen of purpoſe, to reſtraine the ambition of this Conſul *Seruilus*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made ſuite for the ſame Province of *Africk*: and was therein ſo earneſt, that though neyther the Senate, nor People, would grant him his deſire; yet hee needed would be going, procuring onely leaue of the Senate, that hee being Conſul might ioyne with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equall authoritie. But ere Hee could haue his Fleete and all things in a readineſſe for the journey, wherein no man cared tr further him: Winter came on, and hee was onely toitt at Sea with ſoule weather, firſt vpon the Coaſt of *Hetruria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Conſullſhip 10 expired, and ſo he returned home a priuate mar. Then came the joyfull newes to *Rome*, of the victorie obtained againſt *Hannibal*, and that the warre was now euen at an end. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Conſul fo pationate, in deſiring *Africk* for his Province, That hee ſaid hee would ſuffer nothing to paſſe in the Senate, untill hee had firſt his will. Much adoe there was about this; and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the People, at laſt it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it ſhould be granted by *Scipio*; if the warre continued, *Scipio* ſhould haue command therein by Land, and the Conſul at Sea. The ambition of theſe men, cauſed *Scipio* to giue the more fauourable anſwere vnto the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours. Hee willed them to conſider what they had deſerued: and in regard 20 thereof to thinke themſelues well dealt withall, in that hee was contented to leaue vnto them their libertie and their owne Lawes, without appointing any Gouer-nour ouer them, or Garriſon to hold them in ſubiection; leauing alſo vnto them their poſſeſſions in *Africk*, ſuch as they were at the beginning of this warre. As touching the reſt hee was at a point, That, before hee cyther granted them Peace or truce, they ſhould make ſatisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whileſt the late T reatic was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yeeld; then required Hee That immediately they ſhould deliuer vp vnto the *Romanes* all Priſoners, Fugitives, and Renegados, that they had of theirs: likewiſe all their Gallies, excepting ten: and all their Elephants: That they ſhould make no warre at all thence forth out of *Africk*, neither 30 yet within *Africk*, without licence of the *Romanes*: That the Countreys, Townes, goods whatſoeuer, belonging any wiſe vnto *MA SANIſſA*, or to any of his Anceſſors, which were in their poſſeſſion, ſhould be all by them reſtored vnto him: That they ſhould ſinde corne for the *Romane* Armie, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, untill the Peace were fully concluded: That they ſhould pay ten thouſand Talents of Siluer, in the terme of fifty yeares, by two hundred Talents a yeare; and that for obſeruance of Conditions, they ſhould giue an hundred hoſtages, ſuch as *Scipio* would chooſe, being none of them vnder foure-ſcene yeares of age, nor aboue thirtie.

With theſe conditions the Embaſſadours returned home; and reported them vn-to the Citie. They were verie vnpleaſing; and therefore one *Gyſo* ſtood vp to ſpeake 40 againſt them: and exhorted the People, who gaue good attention, that they ſhould not condeſcend vnto ſuch intolerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiving this and noting withall what fauourable audience was giuen to this vaine Oratour, by the vnquiet yet vnwarlike Multitude; was bold to pull him downe from his ſtanding, by plaine force. Hereat all the People murmured; as if their common libertie were too much wronged, by ſuch inſolence of this preſumptuous Capitaine. Which *Hannibal* perceiving, roſe vp and ſpake vnto them: ſaying, That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwiſe than the cuſtomes of the Citie would allow; for- 50 asmuch as he had bene thence abſent euer ſince he was a Boy of nine yeares old, vntill he was now a man of ſixe and forty. Hauing thus excuſed himſelfe of the diſorder, He diſcourſed vnto them concerning the Peace: and perſwaded them to accept it, as wanting abilitie to defend themſelues; had the demands of the Enemy bene yet more rigorous. Finally vpon good aduice, they reſolved to yeeld vnto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio*: to whom they payed out of hand ſixe and twentie thouſand pound weight of Siluer, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them

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done

done to his Fleet and Embassadours. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three moneths; in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall Hee gaue injunction, that they should neither in the meane while send Embassadours any whither else, nor yet dismisle any Embassadours to them sent; without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wise and honorable men, by the miseries whereinto *Carthage* was fallen through their malicious Counsailes. *Asdrubal*, surnamed the *Kid*, a venerable man, and great friend of *Hanno*, was chiefe of the Embassadours they sent to *Rome* for obtaining peace. They 10 went thither in company of *Scipio* his Embassadours; who related vnto the Senate and People these joyfull newes. About the same time arrived at *Rome* Embassadours from *Philip* King of *Macedon*: who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were faine to wait awhile for audience, till the election of new Consuls then in hand was finished; and order taken, for the Princes of them, and the new Prators. Then were the *Macedonian* Embassadours called into the Senate: who first answering vnto some points, wherein the *Romanes* had lately signified vnto their King that they found themselves grieved; returned the blame vpon those *Greekes* themselves, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accused they *M. Aurelius*: who being one 20 of the three Embassadours, that had lately bene sent from *Rome* vnto King *Philip*, 20 tarried in *Greece* behinde his fellows; and there leuying men, made warre vpon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was betwene him and the *Romanes*. Further they desired of the Senate, That one *Sepater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Countreymen, that had lately serued *Hannibal* for Pay, and being taken Prisoners in *Africk*, were kept in bonds by *Scipio*; might be released, and deliuered vnto them. Vnto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had sent to *Rome* for that purpose, made a sharpe answer. Hee said, that the *Greekes* which were confederate with *Rome*, endured so many iniuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was faine to flay behinde, to help them as he might; which else were like to be brought vnder the Kings subiection. As for *Sepater*: He affirmed him to be one 30 of the Kings Counsaile, and verie inward with him; one that serued not for money, but carried money with him, and foure thousand men, sent from the King to the ayde of *Hannibal*. About these points when the *Macedonian* Embassadours could make vnto the Senate no good answer: they were willing to returne, and tell their Master, That warre hee fought, and warre hee should finde, if hee proceeded as hee had begunne. For in two maine points Hee had broken the League, that was betwene him and the *Romanes*: first, in that hee had wronged their Confederates; and secondly, in that hee had ayded their Enemies against them with men and money.

These quarrells with *Philip*, that promised to open a way into *Greece* and the Easterne Countries, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embassadours in their sollicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reuerend company, when they entred into the Senate: and *Asdrubal* about the rest was much respected, as one, whose good offices had kept the *Romanes* from necessitie of sending Embassadours to *Carthage*, vpon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the iustice of the quarrell had bene wholly on the *Romanes* side; saying that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuse the Citie; that had bene too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsaile. But if *Hanno* and himselfe might haue had their wills: the *Carthaginians*, euen at the best of their Fortune, should haue granted the peace which they now desired. Herewithall hee commended the moderation of the *Romanes*, as no small argument of their valour; by which alwaies they had bene victorious. To the same effect spake therest of the Embassadours: all of them entreating to haue the Peace ratified; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diuersitie of their stile. They had patience enough

enough to endure such reproofe of Perjurie, as they themselves might haue laid vpon the *Romanes*; if their diligence and fortune had bene such as the *Romanes* was. Among the rest, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would sweare to keepe the peace hereafter: *Asdrubal* made answer; *Euen by the same gods, that are so seuer vnto those that violate their Leagues.*

Lentulus the Consul interposing the authoritie of his Office, would haue hindred the Senate from proceeding vnto conclusion of peace; for that hereby Hee was like to lose the honour, which he purposed to get by making warre in *Africk*. But the matter was propounded vnto the people, in whom rested the Soueraigne Command of *Rome*; and by them referred wholly vnto the pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio* with ten Delegates sent vnto him from *Rome* of purpose, should make a League with the *Carthaginians*, vpon such Conditions as seemed best: which were none other, than the same which he had already propounded. For this fauour, the *Carthaginian* Embassadours humbly thanked the Senate; and craved licence, that they might visite their Countreymen, which were prisoners in *Rome*: afterwards, that they might ranfome and carrie home with them some, that were their especiall friends; of whom they gaue in writing almost two hundred names. Wherevpon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embassadours would chooseth, should be sent out into *Africk*, and be freely restored to liberty 20 bertie by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they tooke leaue, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to ioyne with *Scipio* in Commission.

At their coming into *Africk*, the Peace was giuen, and accepted, without any controuersie or disputation. The Prisoners, Fugitiues, and Renegados, were deliuered vnto *Scipio*: likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* tooke more vengeance vpon the Renegados, than vpon the Fugitiues; and vpon those of the *Romanes*, than vpon the *Latines* or other *Italians*. The *Latines* hee beheaded: the *Romanes* hee crucified. About the first payment of their money; the *Carthaginians* were somewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasurie could 30 haue spared two hundred Talents for the present: yet since the pension was annuall, and to continue fiftie yeares; it was thought meete to lay the burden vpon the Citizens. At the collecting of the summe there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Romane* yoke had begunne to pinch them; so as many, euen of the Senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwise *Hannibal* could not refrain from laughter. For which when hee was checked by *Asdrubal* *Hedus* and tolde, That it woud of all bestem him to laugh, since hee had bene the cause why all others did weepe; Hee answered, That laughter did not alwayes proceed from ioy; but sometime from extremitie of indignation. Yet said Hee, My laughter is more reasonable, and lesse 40 absurd, than your teares. For yee should haue wept, when yee gaue up your Shippes and Elephants, and when yee bound your owne hands from the vse of Armes; without the good leaue of the *Romanes* first obtained. This miserable condition keeps vs vnder; and holds vs in assured seruitude. But of these matters yee had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your private purses, yee haue therof some sence. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein yee shall acknowledge, That it was the very least part of your miserie, for which yee haue shed these teares. Thus discoursed *Hannibal* vnto those, who talking the bitter fruits of their owne malicious counsaile, repented when it was too late; and in stead of cursing their owne disorders, which had bred this grievous dilemma, accused that Physicion, whose noble endeauours had bene employed in procuring the remedie.

Scipio being to take leaue of *Africk*, produced *Masaniissa*, and magnified him in presence of the Armie, with high commendations not vnderferred. To him also hee assigned out those Townes of King *Sphax*, which the *Romanes* at that present held: wherein, to lay truth, he gaue him but his due; and that which otherwise hee knew not well how to bestow. But the loue of the *Romanes*, and friendship of

Scipio,

Scipio, was fully answerable, now and hereafter, to all the deferuings of this Numidian King. About *Carthage* there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romanes* embarked themselves for *Sicily*: where when they arrived at *Lilybaeum*, *Scipio* with some part of his Armie tooke his way home to *Rome* by land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His journey through *Italy* was no lesse glorious than any Triumph: all the people thronging out of the Townes and Villages, to doe him honour as he passed along. He entered the Citie in Triumph: neither was there euer before, or after, any Triumph celebrated with so great joy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in brauery of the pompe, there were others in time shortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the Citie in this Triumph; and died soone after in prison: or whether he were dead awhile before; it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be auowed, That it was a barbarous custome of the *Romanes*, to insult ouer the calamities of mightie Princes, by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yea though they were such, as had alwaies made haire and courteous warre. But hereof we shall haue better example, ere the same Age passe. It was neither the person of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that gricuous warre past, whereof the *Romanes* had bene in a manner without hope, that euer they should set *Italy* free. This made them looke cheerefully vpon the Author of so great a conuerſion; and filled them with more joy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gaue to *Scipio* the Title of the *African*: filling him by the name of that Province which he had subdued. This honorable kind of surname, taken from a conquered Province, grew after wards more common, and was vsurped by men of lesse desert: especially by many of the *Cæsars*, who sometimes arrogated vnto themselves the title of Countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if such glorious Attributes could haue made them like in vertue vnto *Scipio* the *African*.

CHAP. IIII.

Of *Philip* the father of *Perseus*, King of *Macedon*; His first Acts and warre with the *Romans*, by whom he was subdued.

§. I.

How the *Romans* grew acquainted in the East Countries, and desirous of warre there. The beginning of many Princes, with great warres, at one time. The *Ætolians* ouerran *Peloponnesus*. *Philip* and his Associates make war against the *Ætolians*. Alteration of the State in *Sparta*. The *Ætolians* invade *Greece* and *Macedon*, and are invaded at home by *Philip*.



Of the great similitude found in worldly euents, the limitation of matter hath bene assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined vnto a subject that is not vnbounded; the workes of Nature must needs be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seeme to haue their whole dependance vpon the will of man, we are lesse to wonder, if we find lesse varietie: since it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious vnto humane power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wills of sundrie men are o-

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uer-ruled, in manning the affaires of our daily life. It may bee obserued in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the *Assyrians* or *Chaldeans* invaded the kingdom of the *Medes*, with two hundred thousand foote and three score thousand horſe: but sayling in their intended conquest, they became subject within a while themselves vnto the *Medes* and *Persians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell vpon the *Greekes* with such numbers of men, as might haue seemed reſiſſible. But after that the *Persians* were beaten home, their Empire was neuer secure of the *Greekes*: who at all times of leisure from intestine warre deuised vpon that conquest thereof, which finally they made vnder the great *Alexander*. If *Nabuchodonosor* with his rough old ſouldiours, had vnder taken the *Medes*; or *Cyrus* with his well trayned Armie, had made the attempt vpon *Greece*; the issue might, in humane reason, haue bene farre different. Yet would it then haue bene expedient for them, to employ the trauell and vertue of their men, rather than the greatnesse of their names, against those people; that were no lesse valiant, though lesse renowned, than their owne. For the menacing wordes vsed by *Cyrus*, and some small displeasures done to the *Greekes* (in which kind it may bee, that *Nabuchodonosor* likewise offended the *Medes* and *Persians*) were not so auailable to victory, as to draw on reuenge in the future. Great Kingdomes, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old *Lyon*, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea and kicked by the Aſſe. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by miſſe-vnderſtanding the language of Fame: and deſpiſing the vertue that makes little noiſe, adventure to prouoke it against themselves; as if it were not poſſible that their owne glory ſhould be ſoyled by any of leſſe-noted excellence. Against the ſame ſtone, wherewith *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Eulmerodach*, had ſtumbled; *Pyrrius* the *Epirus* had dalli his foot. Hee was not indeed the King of all *Greece*; though moſt of marke, and a better ſouldiour than any other *Greekish* King, when he entred into war against the *Romans*. This war he vnderooke as it were for his mindes ſake: hauing received no iniurie; but hoping by the glory of this name, and of the *Greekes* that ſerued vnder him, to preuaile ſo eaſily againſt the barbarous *Romans*, that they ſhould onely ſerue as a ſtep to his further intended conquests, of *Sicily* and *Aſſyria*. But when the *Romans*, by their victory againſt *Pyrrius*, had found their owne vertue to bee of richer metall, than was the more ſhining valour of the *Greekes*; then did all the brauery of the *Epirus* (his Elephants and whatſoeuer elſe had ſerued to make him terrible) ſerue onely to make the *Romans*, in time following, to thinke more highly of themselves. For ſince they had overcome the beſt Warriour in *Greece*, euen Him; that, being beaten by them, could in a yeere after make himſelfe Lord of *Greece* and *Macedon*; what ſhould ſlander them from the conquest of all thoſe vnwarlike Provinces, which in compaſſe of twelue yeeres a *Macedonian* King of late memory had won? Certainly there was hereunto requiſite no more, than to bring to their owne deuotion by ſome good meanes, the whole Country of *Greece*: all the reſt, this done, would follow of it ſelfe. How to deale with the *Greekes*; *Philip* and *Alexander* had ſhewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learne, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

When therefore the firſt *Punic* war was ended, which followed ſoone after the wars of *Pyrrius* and of the *Tarentines*; then were the *Romans* at good leiſure to hearken after newes in *Greece*; and to entertaine any good occaſion, that ſhould bee on that ſide preſented. They had alſo then a ſtrong Fleet; and were become, though not otherwiſe very ſkilfull Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wiſhed, that the *Illyrian* Queene *Tenta* made at the ſame time cruell warre vpon the *Greekes*: waſting their Country, and ſacking their Townes, only becauſe they were vnable to reſiſt, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the *Romans* were deſirous to enter; the Queene was not flow to giue them cauſe. And their happy accompliſhing of that war which they made with

* The King of Spaine pretended imvincible Nauie, being beaten out of the Britiſh ſea; and vsed vs to thoſe of Spaine; and hauing broken the great Fleet that euer the Spaniards gathered together; we neuer made account of any of his preparations after that time.

c. lib. 5. ch. 2.

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Her, was, in their owne opinion, a matter not vnworthy to make their Patronage to be desired by the *Greekes*. But no such thing happened: though they sent Embassadours, as it were to offer themselves; by signifying, that for the loue of *Greece* they had vnderaken this Illyrian warre. This began the first acquaintance betwixt the *Greekes* and *Romans*: which afterwards encreased very hastily, through the indifference of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whose businesse with them being now the subject of our storie, it meett that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reigne, and his first Actions.

It was like to proue a busie time in the world, when, within the space of foure yeares, new Kings began to reigne in the most of all Countries knowne; and three of them yong boyes, in three of the greatest Kingdomes. This happened on the third yeare of the hundred thirty ninth *Olympiad*, vnto the third of the *Olympiad* following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Asia* and *Syria*, in whose roome succeeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called the great. *Ptolemie Philopator* succeeded in the Kingdome of *Egypt* vnto his father *Euergetes*. And *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*, being sixteene or seuentene yeares old, receiued the Kingdome of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Achaens* and most of the *Greekes*; by the decease of his Vncle *Antigonus Isidoron*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the same time also was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedamon*, and the Countries about Mount *Taurus*. For *Antiochus* then beganne his reigne in *Cappadocia*. *Lycurgus* found means to make himselfe King ouer the *Lacedemonians*, whose Common-weale, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headlesse; and *Achaeus*, a kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebell vnto him, occupied the Regions neare vnto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third yeares of the hundred and fortieth *Olympiad* it was, that open war brake out betwixt *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Annibal* began his great Inuasion vpon *Italie*. Those troubles of the Westerne world, which were indeed the greatest, we haue already followed vnto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemie*, and the rest, we shall speake hereafter, when the *Romans* finde them out.

Philip, loone after the beginning of his reigne, came into *Peloponnesus*; greatly desired of the *Achaens*, and many others his dependants. That Country, hauing freed it selfe by the helpe of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an easie subiection vnto *Cleomenes*: was now become no lesse obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it should haue beene to the *Spartans*; and therewithall it lay open vnto the violence of the *Ætolians*, who despised euen the *Macedonian* Kings, that were Patrons thereof. These *Ætolians* were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted to any other Art, than warre. Therefore wanting employment, they fell vpon the *Messenians*: that were their owne Clients, and excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their consanguinitie) the onely good friends which they had at the present in *Peloponnesus*. Their inuasion was no lesse vnexpected, then it was vniust: whereby with greater ease they made spoile of the Countrey; finding none prepared to make resistance. The *Achaens*, were called by the *Messenians* to helpe: which they did the more willingly; because the *Ætolians* passing without leaue through their Territorie, had (as was their manner) done what harme they listed. Olde *Stratus* could ill abide these *Ætolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembering the injuries, wherewith most vngratefully they had required no small benefits done to them by the *Achaens*. He was therefore so hasty to fall vpon this their Armie, that hee could hardly endure to stay a few dayes vntill the time of his owne Office came; being chosen Prætor of the *Achaens* for the yeare following. But his anger was greater than his courage; and he shewed himselfe a man firmer (as hath beene already noted of him) for any other seruice, than leading of an Armie. He suffered them to passe quietly along with their bootie, through a great part of the Countrey, wherein he might easily haue distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so neare, when they had recovered ground of aduantage, that they easily defeated all his Armie.

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So they departed home rich, and well animated to returne againe. As for the *Achaens*; they got hereby onely the friendship of the *Messenians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made confederacie. Shortly after, the *Ætolians* inuaded *Peloponnesus* againe; hauing no more to doe, than to passe ouer the narrow Streights of the Corinthian Bay, called now the Gulfe of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Countrey of the *Eleans*. There ioyned with them in this their second Inuasion a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that condition imposed vpon them by the *Romans*, of setting out no ships of warre vnto the Coast of *Greece*; made bold to seeke aduentures againe, and did great mischief. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of *chap. 3. §. 1.*

10 the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Illyrians*: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdome, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, and fell vpon the Islands of the *Cyclades* in the *Aegean* Sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip* or his friends. The rest of the *Illyrians* vnder *Scerdilaidas*, or *Scordiletus*, hauing gotten what they could else where by roving at Sea, accompanied the *Ætolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater haucke in the Countrey now, than in their former Expedition; and returned home, without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made vnto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because men were desirous to satisfie themselves with some speedie reuenge: 20 there were that vrged to haue some grieuous punishment laid vpon the *Lacedemonians*: who were thought vnder-hand to haue fauoured the *Ætolians*, in mere despite of the *Achaens* and *Macedonians*, by whom themselves had lately beene subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedemonians* had beene so affected: and (which was worse) at the arriuall of *Philip*, they sue such friends of his, as hauing checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to iudgement: but entreated the King, that he would abstaine from comming to them with an Armie: since their Towne was lately much disquieted with ciuill discord, which they hoped soone to appease, and meant alwayes to remaine at his deuotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that 30 he (or rather old *Stratus*, who then wholly gouerned him) did misse vnderhand the *Lacedemonians*: but for that a greater worke was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth*, in presence of the King, the Embassadors of the *Achaens*, *Boeotians*, *Phocians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complaining vpon the *Ætolians*: and desiring to haue warre decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters vnto the *Ætolians*: requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time: if they could alledge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at *Rhium* for that purpose: whither it pleased him to come or send, hee should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to haue bene there at the day.

40 But when the *Ætolians* vnderstood this for certainie, they aduised the Councell vnto a further time: saying, That such weightie matters ought not to be handled, sine in the great Parliament of all *Ætolia*. This trick of Law notwithstanding, open warre was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how well they had deserved it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Prætor, that was Author of these Inuasions made on *Peloponnesus*; and the onely man, in a fort, vpon whom they must haue laid the blame of these actions, if they would haue shifted it from the publike.

50 After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*: where he prepared bully for the warre against the yeeres following. He also assayed the *Illyrian*, *Scerdilaidas*, with faire words and promises: whom he easily won from the *Ætolian* side, forasmuch as the *Ætolians* had coufused him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the *Achaens*, who had first of all others proclaimed the warre in their owne Countrey, sent vnto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Messenians*, and *Lacedemonians*: requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce warre vnto the *Ætolians*; without staying (as it were) to await the euent. Hereunto they receiued

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So they departed home rich, and well animated to returne againe. As for the *Achaens*; they got hereby onely the friendship of the *Messenians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made confederacie. Shortly after, the *Ætolians* inuaded *Peloponnesus* againe; hauing no more to doe, than to passe ouer the narrow Streights of the Corinthian Bay, called now the Gulfe of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Countrey of the *Eleans*. There ioyned with them in this their second Inuasion a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that condition imposed vpon them by the *Romans*, of setting out no ships of warre vnto the Coast of *Greece*; made bold to seeke aduentures againe, and did great mischiefe. *Cimerius Pharus*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Illyrians*; who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdome, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, and fell vpon the Ilands of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* Sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip* or his friends. The rest of the *Illyrians* vnder *Scerdilaides*, or *Scerdilaetes*, hauing gotten what they could else-where by roving at Sea, accompanied the *Ætolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater haucke in the Countre now, than in their former Expedition; and returned home, without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made vnto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because men were desirous to satisfie themselves with some speedy reuenge: there were that vrged to haue some grieuous punishment laid vpon the *Lacedamonians*: who were thought vnder-hand to haue fauoured the *Ætolians*, in mere despight of the *Achaens* and *Macedonians*, by whom themselves had lately bene subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedamonians* had bene so affected; and (which was worse) at the arriual of *Philip*, they sue such friends of his, as hauing checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to iudgement: but entreated the King, that he would abstaine from comming to them with an Armie: since their Towne was lately much disquieted with ciuill discord, which they hoped soone to appeale, and meant alwayes to remaine at his deuotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly governed him) did misse vnderstand the *Lacedamonians*: but for that a greater worke was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth*, in presence of the King, the Embassadours of the *Achaens*, *Boeotians*, *Phocians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complaining vpon the *Ætolians*: and desiring to haue warre decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters vnto the *Ætolians*: requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time; if they could alleadge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at *Rhion* for that purpose: whither if it pleased him to come or send, hee should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to haue bene there at the day. But when the *Ætolians* vnderstood this for certainie, they adiuined the Councell vnto a further time: saying, That such weightie matters ought not to be handled, sine in the great Parliament of all *Ætolia*. This trick of Law notwithstanding, open warre was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how well they had deserved it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Prætor, that was Author of these Inuasions made on *Peloponnesus*; and the onely man, in a sort, vpon whom they must haue laid the blame of these actions, if they would haue shifted it from the publike. After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*, where he prepared bully for the warre against the yeere following. He also assayed the *Illyrians*, *Scerdilaides*, with faire words and promises: whom he easily won from the *Ætolian* side, forasmuch as the *Ætolians* had coulted him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the *Achaens*, who had first of all others proclaimed the warre in their owne Countrey, sent vnto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Messenians*, and *Lacedamonians*: requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce warre vnto the *Ætolians*; without staying (as it were) to await the euent. Hereunto they receiued diuerse

diuerſe anſweres, according to the qualities of thoſe with whom they dealt. The *Acaruanians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a ſmall Nation, and bordering vpon the *Aetolians*, of whom they ſtood in continual danger; ſaid, that they could not honeſtly reſuſe to ſhew their faithfull meaning in that warre, which was concluded by generall aſſent. The *Epirots* that were more mightie, were neuertheleſſe more cunning and reſerued: ſo that they ſtood vpon a needleſſe point; and deſired to bee held excuſed, vntill *Philip* (of whoſe meaning they needed not to haue made any doubt) ſhould firſt proclaim the warre. The *Meſſenians*, for whole cauſe the warre was vnderaken, excuſed themſelves, by reaſon of a Towne which the *Aetolians* held vpon their borders; and ſaid, that they durſt not be ouer-bold, vntill that bridel was taken out of their mouthes. As for the *Lacedemonians*; the chiefe of them ſtudied onely how to mannage that treaſon, for which their Citie had bene ſo lately pardoned: and therefore diſmiſſed the Embaſſadours of the Confederates, without any anſwere at all. They had three yeares together continued ſubiect againſt their wills to the *Macedonians*, expecting till when *Cleomenes* ſhould retorne out of *Egypt* to raigne ouer them againe; and maintaine, as he was wont, the honour of their Citie. In this regard they choſe not any Kings; but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of theſe there were ſome, that thought the publick ſafety to conſiſt, in holding their faith with the *Macedonian* that had preferred them: And hereto they referred all their counſailes; being perhaps not a little moued with reſpect of the benefit, which might redound vnto themſelves, by adhering firmly to thoſe which at the preſent bore rule ouer them. Others, and thoſe the greater part, were ſtill deuſing, how to make all readie for *Cleomenes* againſt his retorne; and therefore ſought to ioyne with the *Aetolians*, which were the moſt likely to giue him ſtrong aſſiſtance. The *Macedonian* faction had the more authoritie, and durſt more freely ſpeake their mindes: but the contrary ſide was the more paſſionate; and ſpared not by murders, or any other violent courſes, to ſet forward their deſire. Neyther did it ſuffice, that about theſe times there came certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which theſe intended: fancying vnto themſelues the glory of their Anceſſors in ſuch Ages paſt, as were not like to come againe. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the moſt able man to reſtore them vnto their greatneſſe and luſtre; which once he had in a manner performed: But ſince he was dead, and that, without iniury to his well-deſeruing vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would haue, and thoſe of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without ſuch helpe, they muſt continue little better than ſubiects vnto the *Macedonian*, and farre leſſe by him reſpected, than were the *Achaean*. Thus were they transported, by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the moſt working Spirits among them, procured the *Aetolians* to ſend an Embaſſie to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly vnto the people; whereof no one of the Citizens durſt haue made himſelfe the Author. Much diſputation and hot there was, betwene thoſe of the *Macedonian* partie and theſe their oppoſites: in ſuch wiſe that nothing could be concluded; vntill by maſſacre or baniſhment of all, or the chiefe, that ſpoke againſt the *Aetolians*, the diuerſitie of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded betwene the *Lacedemonians* and *Aetolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Achaean*; who had ſpared the Citie, when they might haue deſtroyed it. Then alſo they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was ſo nice, and ſo regardfull of their ancient Lawes, as touching the chooſing of the one King; that we may juſtly wonder, how they grew ſo carleſſe in making choyce of the other. In the one of their Royall Families they found *Agelipolis*; the ſonne of *Agelipolis* the ſon of King *Cleombrotus*; and him they admitted to raigne ouer them; as heire apparent to his Grandfather. This *Agelipolis* was a yong boy, ſtanding in neede of a Guardian; and had an Vncle, his fathers brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet becauſe the Law required, that the ſonne, how yong ſoeuer, ſhould haue his fathers

thers whole right and title: the *Lacedemonians*, though ſtanding in neede of a man, were ſo punctuall in obſeruation of the Law; that they made this childe their King, and appointed his Vncle *Cleomenes* to bee his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royall family, though there was no want of heires: yet would not the people trouble themſelves about any of them, to examine the goodneſſe of his Claime; but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who hauing no manner of title to the kingdom, beſtowed vpon each of the *Ephori* a Talent, and thereby made himſelfe be ſaluted King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus* to gratifie his Partiaſans, and to approve his worth by Action; invaded the Countie of the *Arginets*: which lay open and vngarded, as in a time of peace. There he did great ſpoile, and wanne diuers Townes; whereof two hee retained, and annexed vnto the State of *Lacedemon*. After ſuch open hoſtilitie, the *Lacedemonians* declared themſelves on the *Aetolian* ſide; and proclaimed warre againſt the *Achaean*.

Thus the beginnings of the warre fell out much otherwiſe, than the *Achaean* and their Confederates had expected, when they firſt made preparation. *Philip* was not readie: the *Epirots* gaue vncertaine anſweres: the *Meſſenians* would not ſtirre: all the burden muſt lie vpon themſelves and the poore *Acaruanians*, whom the *Aetolians*, by fauour of the *Eleans*, could aſſaile on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Aetolians*, paſſing ouer the Bay of *Corinth*, ſurpriſed the Towne of *Agira*: which if they could haue held, they ſhould thereby grieuouſly haue moleſted the *Achaean*; for that it ſtood in the mid-way betwene *Argum* and *Sicyon* two of their principall Cities, and gaue open way into the heart of all their Countie. But as *Agira* was taken by ſurpriſe: ſo was it preſently loſt againe, through greedineſſe of ſpoile; whileſt they that ſhould haue made it their firſt care to alure the place vnto themſelves, by occupying the Cittadell and other peeces of ſtrength, fell heedleſſely to ranſack priuate houſes, and thereby gaue the Citizens leaue to make head, by whom they were driuen with great ſlaughter backe vnto their Fleet. About the ſame time, another *Aetolian* Armie landing among the *Eleans*, fell vpon the Welſherne Coaſt of *Achaia*; waſting all the Territory of the *Dymeans* and other people, that were firſt beginners of the *Achaean* Confederacie. The *Dymeans* and their neighbours made head againſt theſe Inuaders, but were ſo well beaten, that the enemy grew bolder with them than before. They ſent for helpe vnto their Prætor, and to all the Townes of their Societie. In vaine. For the *Achaean* hauing lately bene much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to doe little of themſelves: neither could they get any ſtrength of Mercinaries; for as much as at the end of *Cleomenes* his war, they had couetouſly with-held part of their due from thoſe that ſerued them therein. So through this diſabilitie of the *Achaean*, and inſufficiencie of their Prætor; the *Dymeans*, with others, were driuen to with-hold their contribution heretofore made for the publick ſeruiſe, and to conuert the monie to their owne defence. *Lycurgus* alſo with his *Lacedemonians*, began to winne vpon the *Arcadians*; that were confederate with *Philip* and the *Achaean*.

Philip came to the borders of the *Aetolians*, whileſt their Armie was thus employed a farre off in *Peloponneſus*. The *Epirots* ioynd all their forces with him: and by ſuch their willing readines, drew him to the ſiege of a Frontier peece, which they deſired to get into their owne hands; for that, by commoditie thereof, they hoped ſhortly to make themſelves Maſters of *Ambracia*. There he ſpent ſortie dayes, ere he could and the buſines; which tended onely to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entred into the heart of *Aetolia* at his firſt coming; it was thought that he might haue made an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken vpon ſmall Townes or Forts: and not ſeldome, that the importunitie of Associates, to haue their owne deſires fulfilled, conuerts the preparations of great Kings to thoſe uſes for which they neuer were intended; thereby hindring the proſecution of their owne deſignes.

designes. Thus was our King *Henrie* the eight led aside, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperour to the siege of *Townay*: at such time as the French King *Leues* the twelfth, hearing that the Ironing Citie of *Terwin* was lost, and that of his Cavellerie, wherein rested his chiefe confidence, two thousand were beaten by the *Earle of Essex* with seven hundred *English*: was thinking to withdraw himselfe into *Brittaine*, in feare that *Henrie* would haue come to *Paris*.

The stay that *Philip* made at *Ambraeus*, did wondrously embolden the *Ætoliens*: in such fort, as their Prator *Scopas* adventured to lead all their forces out of the Countrie; and therewith not only to ouer-runne *Theffalus*, but to make impression into *Macedon*. He ranne as farre as to *Dium*, a Citie of *Macedon* vpon the *Ægean* Sea: which being forsaken by the Inhabitants at his coming, hee tooke, and razed to the ground. Hee spared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but ouerturned all: and among the rest, he threw downe the Statua's that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Countreymen at his returne; forasmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be growne terrible, not only (as before) vnto *Peloponnesus*, but euen to *Macedon* it selfe. But this their pride was soone abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their owne Countrie, for their paines taken at *Dium*. *Philip* hauing dispatched his worke at *Ambraeus*, made a strong inuasion vpon *Ætolia*. Hee tooke *Phœtie*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Panionum*, *Eleus*, and diuers other Townes and Castles 20 of theirs: of which hee burnt some, and fortified others. Hee also beat the *Ætoliens* in sundrie skirmishes, and wasted all the Countrie ouer, without receiuing any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut ouer the Streights into *Peloponnesus*, and to doe the like spoile in the Countrie of the *Eleans*, whereto he was vehemently solicited by the *Æthean* Embassadors: newes came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardanians* were ready with a great Armie to fall vpon the Countrie. These *Dardanians* were a barbarous people, diuided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northerne part of *Macedon*; and were accustomed to seeke bootie in that wealthie Kingdome, when they found their owne times. Hauing therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a iourne into *Peloponnesus*: they purposed in his absence, which they 30 thought would bee long, to get what they could for themselves in his Countrie; as had bene their manner vpon the like aduantages. This made the King to dismisse the *Æthean* Embassadors, (whom hee should haue accompanied home with his Armie) and to bid them haue patience vntill another yeare. So hee tooke his way home: and as he was passing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there came to him *Demetrius Pharius* with no more than one Ship; that was newly chased out of his Kingdome by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately shewed himselfe a friend to *Antigonus Dofon*, in the warres of *Cleomenes*: and returning in his last Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was ready, at their first request, to take part with *Philip's* Captaines. These, or the like considerations, made him welcome vnto the *Macedonian* King: whose 40 Counsailler he was euer after. The *Dardanians* hearing of the Kings returne, brake vp their Armie, and gaue ouer for the present their inuasion of *Macedon*, towards which they were already on their way.

All that Summer following the King rested at *Larissa* in *Theffalie*, whilst his people gathered in their Haruest. But the *Ætoliens* rested not. They aunged themselves vpon the *Epiros*: to whom for the harmes by them and *Philip* done in *Ætolia*, they requited with all extremities of warre, among which, the most notable was the ruine of the famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of warre vntill another yeare was laid aside: *Philip* stole a iourne into *Peloponnesus*, with fise thousand Foot, and about foure hundred Horfe. As soone as hee was 50 within *Corinth*; He commanded the Gates to be shut, that no word might bee carried forth of his arriuall. He sent priuily for old *Aratus* to come thither vnto him: with whom hee tooke order, when and in what places, hee would haue the *Æthean* Souldiours ready to meet him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Countrie, with some-

somewhat more than two thousand Foot and an hundred Horfe; little thinking to meete with such opposition. Indeed they had little cause to feare: since the *Ætheans* themselves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; vntill they heard, that these two thousand *Eleans*, *Ætoliens*, and their fellows, were by him surpris'd and all made prisoners, or slaine. By this exploit which hee did at his first coming, *Philip* got very much reputation: as likewise hee purchas'd both reputation and loue, by diuers actions immediately following. Hee wanne *Phophon*, an exceeding strong Towne, in the borders of *Arcadia*; which the *Eleans* and *Ætoliens* then held. Hee wanne it by assaull at his first coming; wherein it much 10 auailed him, that the Enemy, not beleuing that he would vndertake such a peece of worke at such an vnseasonable time of the yeere, was carelesse of providing euen such store of weapons, as might haue serued to defend it. The Towne was preferred by the King from sacke; and giuen to the *Ætheans*, of his owne meere motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to *Lition*, which yielded for very feare; hearing how easily he had taken *Phophon*. This Towne also he gaue to the *Ætheans*. The like liberality he vied towards others; that had ancient title vnto places by him recovered. Then fell he vpon the Countrie of *Elis*, where was much wealth to bee gotten: for that the people were addicted to husbandrie, and liued abroad in Villages; euen such as were of the wealthier sort among them. So he came to the 20 Citie of *Olympia*: where hauing done sacrifice to *Iupiter*, feasted his Captaines, and refreshed his Armie three dayes; Hee proceeded on to the spoile of those, that had taken pleasure to share with the *Ætoliens*, in the spoiles of their other-wife-deferuing neighbours. Great abundance of Cattail hee tooke, with great numbers of slaves, and much wealth of all sorts; such as could bee found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with the Townes wherinto a great multitude of the Countrie-people were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assaull. Some yielded for feare. Some preuented the labour of his iourne, by sending Embassadors to yeeld before hee came. And some that were held with Garrisons against their wills, tooke 30 courage to let themselves at libertie, by seeing the King so neare; to whose Patronage thenceforth they betooke themselves. And many places were spoiled by the *Ætolian* Captaines; because they distrust'd their ability to hold them. So the King wanne more Townes in the Countrie, than the sharpestasse of Winter would suffer him to stay there dayes. Faine he would haue fought with the *Ætoliens*: but they made such haile from him, that he could not ouertake them, vntill they had couered themselves within the Towne of *Samicum*; where they thought to haue bene safe. But *Philip* assaulted them therein so forcibly, that hee made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their liues and armes. Hauing performed 40 so much in this Expedition, the King repoled himselfe a while in *Megalopolis*; and then remoued to *Argos*, where he spent all the rest of the Winter.

Before the Kings arriuall in *Peloponnesus*, the *Lacedæmonians* with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten somewhat in *Arcadia*; and threatened to doe great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamitie that fell vpon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging ouer their owne heads; they quitted their winnings and withdrew themselves home. This *Lycurgus*, as hee had no other right to the Kingdome of *Sparta*, than that which hee could buy with monie: so was hee neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him; nor from those iealousies, with which *Vsurpers* are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royall bloud, that thinking himselfe to haue best right vnto the Kingdome, purposed to make way thereunto, by massacre of his opposites; and afterwards to confirme himselfe, by 50 propounding vnto the Multitude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equall distribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient institution of that Commonwealth. Hee wanne to his partie some two hundred men; with whom hee fell vpon the *Ephoris* as they were together at supper, and slew them all. Then went he to *Lyc-*

curgus his house: wo perceiuing the danger, stole away and fled. It remained that he should giue account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their mindes being not hereto pradisposed; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as euen whilst he was vying his best persuasions, they were consulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceiued whereabout they went, and shifted presently away. So he liued afterwards among the *Achaens* a banished man, and hated of his own people. As for *Lycurgus*, he returned home; and suspecting thenceforth all those of *Hercules* his race, found means to drine out his fellow King yong *Agepolis*; whereby he made himselfe Lord alone. His doings grew to be suspected, in such sort as once he should haue bene apprehended by the *Ephori*. But though 10 his actions hitherto might haue bene defended; yet rather than to aduenture himselfe into iudgement, hee chose to flie for a time, and sojourn among his friends the *Aetolians*. His well-known veltmencie in opposition to the *Macedonians*, had procured vnto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they beganne to consider the weaknes of their owne surmises against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, Hee tooke better heed vnto him selfe: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not bee in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they listed. By what actions hee got the name of a Tyrant: or at what time it was, that he chased *Agepolis* out of the Ci- 20 tie; I doe not certainly finde. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three vlturpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to bee placed in the ranke of Tyrants; which the last of the three very iustly deserued. Whatsoeuer he was towards some priuate Citizens: in the war against *Philip*, He behaued himselfe as a proud man, and carefull of his Countries good.

§. II.

How *Philip* was misadvised by ill Counsaillers: Who afterwards wrought treason against him, and were iustly punished. Hee inuadeth the *Aetolians* a second time: And forceth them to sue for peace: Which is granted vnto them.



Whilst the King lay at *Argos*, deuising vpon his businesse for the yeare following, some ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently their owne greatnesse, as they were like to haue spoiled all that hee tooke in hand. *Antigonus* *Doson* had left vnto *Philip* such Counsaillers, as to him did seeme the fittest men for gouerning of his youth. 40 The chiefe of these was *Apelles*; that had the charge of his person, and ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himselfe a great Politician, thought that he should do a notable peece of seruice to his Prince; if he could reduce the *Achaens* vnto the same degree of subjection, wherein the *Macedonians* liued. To bring this to passe; during the late Expedition hee had caused some of the *Macedonians* to thrust the *Achaens* out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the bootie that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out, He was bold to chastise some of that Nation; causing his Ministers to take and whippe them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not reframe) to helpe their fellows; them hee laid by the heeles, and punished as Mutiners. Hereby hee thought to bring it to 50 passe by little and little, that they should be qualified with an habite of blind obedience; and thinke nothing vnusht that pleased the King. But these *Achaens* were tenderly sensible in matter of libertie: whereoff if they could haue been contented to suffer any little diminution, they needed not haue troubled the *Macedonians* to helpe them

them in the warre against *Cleomenes*: They bemoaned themselves vnto old *Aratus*; and besought him to thinke vpon some good order; that they might not bee oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* soorthwith dealt earnestly with the King; as in a matter more weightie, than at first it might seeme. The King bestowed gracious words vpon those that had bene wronged; and forbad *Apelles* to follow the course begunne. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he stumbled his choller for a time. He thought to well of his owne Project, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps vnable to doe the King any valuable seruice, in businesse of other nature. Hee purposed therefore hereafter to beginne at the head; since, in biting at the taile, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise bee 10 than that among the *Achaens* there were some, who bore no heartie affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out: and sending for them, entertained them with wordes of Court; promising to become their especiall friend, and commend them vnto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himselfe: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Aratus*, He must be faine to deale precisely with the *Achaens*; and, as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to giue countenance vnto those others whom he himselfe commended, then should the *Achaens*, and all other *Peloponnesians*, bee 20 quickly brought to conformance themselves vnto the dutie of obedient Subjects. By such persuasions, He drew the King to be present at *Aegium*, where the *Achaens* were to hold election of a new Praetor. There with much more labour, than would haue bene needfull in a businesse of more importance; the King, by faire words and threatnings together, obtained so much, That *Eperatus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new Favorites, was chosen Praetor, instead of one more worthis, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction vnto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by *Patras* and *Dyma*, to a very strong Cattle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichos*. The Garrison yielded it vp for feare, at his first comming: whereoff hee was glad, for that hee had an earnest desire to bestow it vpon the *Dymeans*, as hee presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no messengers from the *Eleans*, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their Countrie the last Winter, hee had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captaine of theirs, that was his Prisoner; because hee found him an intelligent man, and one that vnderooke to make them forsake their alliance with the *Aetolians*, and joyne with him vpon reasonable termes. This if they could be contented to do, He willed *Amphidamus* to let them vnderstand, That he would render vnto them freely all prisoners which hee had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forein inuasion; and that they should hold their libertie entire, liuing after their owne Lawes, without paying any manner of Tribute; or being kept vnder by any Garrison. These Conditions were not to be 40 dispised, if they had found credit as they might haue done. But when *Philip* came to the Cattle of *Tichos*, and made a new inuasion vpon their Countrie: then beganne the *Eleans*, (that were not before ouer-haite to beleue such faire promises) so suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitor, and one that was set on worke for no other ends, than to breed a mutuall diffidence betweene them and the *Aetolians*. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands vpon him, and send him Prisoner into *Aetolia*. But hee perceiued their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for him selfe; in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was said) maruailing what should be the cause, that he heard no news from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which he had made vnto them 50 by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles*, his Counsailler, thereby tooke occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He said that old *Aratus*, and his sonne together, had such deuices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good; And long of them hee said it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out; For when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Arats* (the father and the sonne) had taken him aside and giuen him to vnderstand, that it would

be very præjudiciall to all *Peloponnesus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the deuotion of the *Macedonian*; And this was the true cause, why neither *Amphidamus* was very carefull in doing this message, nor the *Eleans* in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a false lie; deuic'd by *Apelles* himselfe, vpon no other ground than his owne malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard his tale, but in a great rage hee sent for the two *Arats*; and bad *Apelles* rehearse it ouer againe to their faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men already conuicted. And when hee had said all the rest, ere either *Philip* or they spake any word; Hee added this clause as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath round you such vngratefull wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Achaens*; and therein hauing made it knowne what yee are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leaue you to your felues. Olde *Aratus* grauely admonish'd the King; That whensoever hee heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his owne or a man of worth; He should forbear a while to giue credit, vntill hee had diligently examined the businesse. For such deliberation was Kingly, and hee should neuer thereof repent him. At the present hee said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talke with *Amphidamus*; and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very absurd thing, That the King should make himselfe Authour of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other euidence, than one mans yea, and anothers no. Hereof the King lik'd well; and said that he would make sufficient inquirie. So passed a few dayes: wherein whilst *Apelles* delaied to bring in the prooffe, which indeed hee wanted; *Amphidamus* came from *Elia*, and told what had befallne him there. The King was not forgetfull, to examine him about the conspiracie of the *Arats*: which when hee found no better than a meere deuice against his honourable friends; Hee entertained them in louing manner as before. As for his loue to *Apelles*, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by means of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could be discerned.

The vnrestfull temper of *Apelles*, hauing with much vehemencie brought nothing to passe; began (as commonly Ambition vseth) to swell and grow venomous for want of his free motion. Hee betakes himselfe to his cunning againe: and as before, being checkt in his doings with those of the vulgar, hee had prepared a snare for the *Arats*; so sayling of them, hee thinks it wisdome to lay for the King himselfe, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought to haue taken the Swallow which draue away Flies out of the chimney; but was carried (net and all) into the Ayre by the bird, that was too strong to be caught and held by the subtle workmanship of a Cob-web. Of the four that next vnto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chiefe place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in *Peloponnesus*; and *Alexander* Captaine of the Guard, were faithful men, and such as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leontius* Captaine of the *Targetiers*, and *Megaleus* chiefe of the Secretaries, were easily wonne to bee at *Apelles* his disposition. This Politician therefore studied how to remooue the other two from their places, and put some Creatures of his owne into their rooms. Against *Alexander* He went to worke the ordinarie way, by calumnyation and priue detraction. But for the supplanting of *Taurion* hee vsed more finenesse; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of warre, and one, whom for his many vertues, the King might ill spare from being alwayes in his presence. By such Art he thought to haue remoued him, as wee say, *Out of Gods blessing into a warme Sunne*. In the meane season *Aratus* retired himselfe; and sought to auoid the dangerous friendship of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affaires of State. As for the new Prætor of *Achaia*, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King; He was a man of no dispatch, and one that had no grace with the People. Wherefore a great deale of time was lost, whilst *Philip* wanted both the monie and the Corne, wherewith he should haue bene furnished by the *Achaens*. This made the King

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vnderstand his owne error; which he wisely sought to reforme betimes. He perswaded the *Achaens* to rejourne their Parliament from *Aegium*, to *Siegon* the Towne of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his sonne: perswading them to forget what was past; & laying all the blame vpon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keepe a more diligent eye. So by the trauell of these worthy men, Hee easily obtained what hee would of the *Achaens*. Fifty talents they gaue him out of hand; with great store of Corne; and further decreed, That so long as hee himselfe in person followed the warres in *Peloponnesus*, he should receiue ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to prouide shipping, that so hee might invade the *Ætolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, that were maritime people, at his pleasure, and hinder their excursions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond measure, to see things goe forward so well without his helpe; euen by the ministry of those whom hee most hated. Wherefore hee entered into conspiracie with *Leontius* and *Megaleus*: binding himselfe and them by oath, to crosse and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King should take in hand. By so doing, they thought to bring it to passe, that very want of abilitie to doe any thing without them, should make him speake them laire; and beglad to submit himselfe to their directions. The King it is like had stood in some awe of them whilst he was a childe; and therefore the wise men perswaded themselves, that, by looking bigge vpon him, and imputing vnto him all that fell out ill through their owne misgouernment of his affaires, they might rule him as a child still. *Apelles* would needs goe to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the prouisions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon*: The other two (aid behind with the King, to play their parts; all more mindfull of their wicked oath, than of their dutie.

His fleet and Armie being in a readines: *Philip* made countenance, as if he would haue bent all his forces against the *Eleans*; to whose aid therefore the *Ætolians* sent men, little fearing that the mischief would haue fallen as soone after it did, vpon themselves. But against the *Eleans* and those that came to help them, *Philip* thought it enough to leaue the *Achaens*, with some part of his and their Mercenaries. He himselfe with the body of his Armie putting to Sea, landed in the Isle of *Cephalonia*: whence the *Ætolians*, dwelling ouer against it, vsed to furnish themselves of shipping, when they went to roue abroad. There hee besieged the Towne of *Palæa*, that had been very seruiceable to the Enemy against him and his Confederates; and might bee very vfe-full to him, if hee could get it. Whilst hee lay before this Towne, there came vnto him fiftene ships of warre from *Sceerhalidas*; and many good Souldiers, from the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and *Messenians*. But the Towne was obstinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts saue one, on which side *Philip* carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith hee ouerthrew two hundred foote thereof. *Leontius* Captaine of the Targetiers, was appointed by the King to make the assault. But hee, remembering his covenant with *Apelles*; did both wilfully forbear to doe his best; and caused others to doe the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foile, and many slaine; not of the worst souldiers, but such as had gotten ouer the breach, and would haue carried the Towne, if the Treason of their Captaine, and some by him corrupted, had not hindered the victory. The King was angry with this; but there was no remedie; and therefore he thought vpon breaking vp the siege. For it was easier vnto the Towne-men to make vp the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilst he stood thus perplexed, and vncertaine what course to take: the *Messenians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard vpon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their owne Countrey. The *Messenians* alleaged, that *Lyceurgus* was busie in waisting their Countrey: vpon whom the King might come vnawares in one day; the *Erelian* windes which then blew, seruing fitly for his Nauigation. Hereto also *Leontius* perswaded; who considered that those windes, as they would easily carrie him thither, so would they detain him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-dayes) and make him spend the

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Summer to small purpose. But *Aratus* gave better counsaile, and prevailed. Hee shewed how vnfitting it were, to let the *Aetolians* ouer-run all *Thessalie* againe, and some part of *Macedon*, whilst the King withdrew his Armie farre off to seeke small adventures. Rather, he said, that the time now scrued well to carry the warre into *Aetolia*; since the Prætor was gone thence abroad on rousing, with the one halfe of their strength. As for *Lycurgus*; hee was not strong enough to doe much harme in *Peloponnesus*; and it might suffice, if the *Acheans* were appointed to make head against him. According to this aduice, the King lets saile for *Aetolia*; and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which diuided the *Aetolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to see him on their borders; and ioyned with him as many of them as could beare armes, to helpe in taking vengeance vpon their bad neighbours. Hee marched vp into the in-land Countrie: and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garrisons to assure his Retreat; Hee passed on to *Thermum*; which was the Receptracle of the *Aetolians*, and furest place of defence in all extremities. The Country round about was a great Fastnesse, enuironed with rockie Mountaines of very narrow, deepe, and difficult ascent. There did the *Aetolians* vse to hold all their chiefe meetings, their Faires, their election of Magistrates, and their sollemne games. There also they vsed to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest securitie. This opinion of the naturall strenght, had made them careless in looking vnto it. When *Philip* therefore had ouercome the bad way, there was nothing else to doe than to take spoile: whereof hee found such plentie, that hee thought the paines of his iourne well recompensed. So hee loaded his Armie; and consuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chiefe of all belonging vnto the *Aetolians*; in remembrance of the like their courtesie, shewed vpon the Temples of *Dium* and *Dodona*. This burning of the Temple, might (questionlesse) more for the Kings honour haue bene forborne. But perhaps he thought, as *Monseur du Gourgues* the French Capitaine told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his returne from *Thermum*, the *Aetolians* laid for him: which that they would doe, hee beleueed before; and therefore was not taken vnawares. Three thousand of them there were that lying in ambush fell vpon his skirts; but hee had laide a Counter-ambush for them of his *Illyrians*; who laying behind the rest, did set vpon the backs of the *Aetolians*, whilst they were busily charging in Rere the Armie that went before. So with slaughter of the enemy, he returned the same way that he came: and burning downe those places that he had taken before, as also wasting the Country round about him, Hee safely carried all that hee had gotten aboard his Fleet. Once the *Aetolians* made countenance of fight, issuing out of *Stratus* in great brauerie. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The ioy of this victorious Expedition being euery way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any finisier accident; it pleased the King to make a great feast vnto all his friends and Captaines. Thither were inuited among the rest *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megalæus*. They came, because they could not choose: but their heauie looks argued, what little pleasure they tooke in the Kings prosperitie. It grieved them to thinke, that they should bee able to giue no better account vnto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings businesse; since *Apelles* himselfe, as will be shewed anon, had plaied his owne part with a most mischeuous dexteritie. The sorrow and indignation, which they could ill dissemble in their faces, brake out after supper, when they had warmed themselves with drinke, into open riot. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent: they fell to reuiling him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great vprore; many running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King sending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed. Which made him lend for *Leontius* and his fellowes. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megalæus*, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their disorder;

order; and they, to giue him froward answers: inso much as they said at length, That they would neuer giue ouer, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a mischiefe as hee deserued. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his Targettiers at his heeles: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands vpon *Megalæus*, yea and to cast him into prison? Why, said the King, It was euo I. This resolute answer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both sad and angrie; seeing himselfe out-frowne, and not knowing how to remedie the matter. Shortly after, *Megalæus* was called forth to his answer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings victorie at *Palea*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no lesse touching *Leontius*, that stood by as a looker on, than *Megalæus* that was accused. In conclusion, the presumptions against him were so strong, and his answers thereto so weak; that he, and *Crimon* one of his fellowes, were condemned in twentie Talents: *Crimon* being remanded backe to prison; and *Leontius* becoming Bayle for *Megalæus*. This was done vpon the way home-ward, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

Philip dispatched well a great deale of businesse this yeere. For as soone as he was at *Corinth*, he tooke in hand an Expedition against the *Lacedæmonians*. These and the *Eleans* had done what harme they could in *Peloponnesus*, whilst the King was absent. The *Acheans* had opposed them as well as they could; with ill success; yet so, as they hindered them from doing such harme as else they would haue done. But when *Philip* came, hee ouer-ran the Countrie about *Lacedæmon*; and was in a manner at the gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well beleuee that he was returned out of *Aetolia*. Hee tooke not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waste in the fields: and hauing beaten the enemy in some skirmishes, carried backe with him to *Corinth* a rich bootie of Cattell, slaues, and other Countrie-spoile. At *Corinth* hee found attending him, Embassadors from the *Rhodian*s & *Chians*; that requested him to set *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace vnto the *Aetolians*. They had gracious audience: and hee willed them to deale first with the *Aetolians*; who, if they would make the same request, should not finde him vnreasonable. The *Aetolians* had sped ill that yeere: neither saw they any likely hopes for the yeeres following. The Armie that they had sent forth to wait *Thessalie* and *Macedon*, found such opposition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the meane season they had bene grievously afflicted, as before was shewed, by *Philip* in the center of their owne Countrie. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was vp in armes against them, and their weak Allies the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*. Neither was it certaine, how long the one or other of these their *Peloponnesian* friends should bee able to hold out; since they were not strong enough to keepe the field, but had already suffered those miseries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each, to seeke their owne peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Aetolians* readily entertained this Negotiation of peace: and taking truce for thirtie dayes with the King, dealt with him by intercession of the same Embassadors, to entreat his presence at a Diet of their Nation, that should bee held at *Rhium*; whither if he would vouchsafe to come, they promised that hee should finde them conformable to any good reason.

Whilst these things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megalæus* thought to haue terrified the King, by raising sedition against him in the Armie. But this device for to no good effect. The souldiours were easily and quickly incensed against many of the Kings friends; who were said to be the cause, why they were not rewarded with so much of the bootie, as they thought to belong of right vnto them. But their anger spent it selfe in a noise, and breaking open of dores; without further harme done. This was enough to informe the king (who easily pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were very false. Yea the souldiours themselves, repenting of their insolence, desired to haue the Authors of the tumult fought

sought out, and punished according to their deserts. The King made shew as if he had not cared to make such inquisition. But *Leontius* and *Megaleus* were sore afraid, lest the matter would soone come out of it selfe to their extreme danger. Wherefore they sent vnto *Apelles*, the Head and Archetect of their treason; requesting him speedily to repaire to *Corinth*, where hee might stand betweene them and the kings displeasure. *Apelles* had not all this while beene wanting to the businesse, vnderaken by him and his treacherous companions. He had taken vpon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his owne hand: and thereby was hee growne into such credit, that all the Kings officers in *Macedon* and *Thessalie* addressed themselves vnto him; and received from him their dispatch in euery businesse. Likewise the *Greekes* in all their flattering Decrees, tooke occasion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*; making slight mention (onely for fashon sake) of the king: who seemed no better than the Minister and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogance of this great man, in setting himselfe out vnto the people: but in manning the kings affaires, he made it his speciall care, that monie, and all things needfull for the publike seruice, should be wanting. Yea he enforced the king, for very neede, to sell his owne Plate and houlhold vessels: thinking to resolute these and all other difficulties, by onely saying, *Sir, he ruled wholly by mee, and all shall be as you would wish.* Hereto if the king would giue assent; then had this Politician obtained his hearts desire. Now taking his iourne from *Chalcis* in the Isle of *Euboea*, to the Citie of *Corinth* where *Philip* then lay: hee was fetcht in with great pompe and royaltie, by a great number of the Captaines and souldiours; which *Leontius* and *Megaleus* drew forth to meete him on the way. So entering the Citie with a goodly traine; he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings Chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride; and had vehement suspicion of his fallshood. Wherefore one was sent to tell him, that he should waite a while, or come another time; for the king was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It was a pretie thing, that such a check as this made all his attendants forsaake him, as a man in disgrace; in such sort that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him save his owne Pages. After this, the King vouchsafed him now and then some slender graces: but in consultations, or other matters of prinacie, he vsed him not at all. This taught *Megaleus* to looke vnto himselfe, and runne away betimes. Hereupon the King sent forth *Taurion* his Lieutenant of *Peloponnesus*, with all the Targettiers, as it were to doe some peece of seruice, but indeed of purpose to apprehend *Leontius* in the absence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, dispatched away a messenger presently to his Targettiers, to signifie what was befallen him: and they forthwith sent vnto the King in his behalfe. They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, hee might not be called forth to triall before their returne: as for the debt of *Megaleus*, if that were all the matter, they said that they were readie to make a purse for his discharge. This affection of the souldiours, made *Philip* more hastic than else he would haue beene, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megaleus* were intercepted, which he wrote vnto the *Ætolians*; vilifying the king with opprobrious wordes; and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was euen readie to sinke vnder the burden of his owne pouertie. By this the king vnderstood more perfectly the fallshood, not onely of *Megaleus*, but of *Apelles*; whose cunning head had laboured all this while to keepe him so poore. Wherefore hee sent one to pursue *Megaleus*, that was fled to *Thes.* As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his sonne, and another that was inward with him, to prison; wherein all of them shortly ended their liues. *Megaleus* also, neither daring to stand to triall, nor knowing whither to flic, was wearie of his owne life; and slew himselfe about the same time.

The *Ætolians*, as they had begun this warre vpon hope of accomplishing what they listed in the Nonage of *Philip*: so finding that the vigour of this yong Prince, tempered with the cold aduice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually toward their o-

uerthrow;

ouerthrow; they grew very desirous to make an end of it. Neuertheless being a turbulent Nation, and readie to lay hold vpon all advantages: when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megaleus*, together with some indignation thereupon conceived by the Kings Targettiers, they began to hope anew, that these troubles would be long lasting, and therevpon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhium*. Of this was *Philip* nothing forie. For being in good hope thoroughly to tame this vnquiet Nation; He thought it much to concerne his owne honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the warre should rest vpon themselves. Wherefore he willed his Confederates, to lay aside all thought of peace, and to prepare for war against the yeere following; where in hee hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his Macedonian souldiours, by yielding to let them winter in their owne Countrie. In his returne homeward, he called into iudgement one *Ptolemie*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*; and suffered death. These were the same *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to heare of *Leontius* his imprisonment: yet now they thinke the man worthe to die, that was but his adherent. So vaine is the confidence, on which Rebels vse to build, in their fauour with the Multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* was some bordering Townes; from which the *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes into his kingdome: when hee had thus provided for safetie of his owne; the *Ætolians* might well know what they were to expect. But there came againe Embassadors from the *Rhodiens* and *Cibins*, with others from *Ptolemie* King of *Ægypt*, and from the Citie of *Byzantium*, recontinuing the former solicitation about the Peace. This fashion had beene taken vp in matters of *Greece*, euer since the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken vpon them to set the whole Countrie at libertie: No sooner was any Prouince or Citie in danger to be oppressed, and subdued by force of war, but presently there were found intercessours, who pitying the effusion of Greekish blood, would importune the stronger to relinquish his aduantage. By doing such friendly offices in time of neede, the Princes and States abroad sought to binde vnto them those people, that were howsoever weak in numbers, yet very good souldiours. But hereby it came to passe, that the more forward sort, especially the *Ætolians*, whose whole Nation was addicted to fallshood and roberie, durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours: being well assured, that if they had the worst, *The loue of Greece* would be sufficient to redeme their quiet. They had, since the late Treatie of peace, done what harme they could in *Peloponnesus*: but being beaten by the *Achaens*, and standing in feare to bee more soundly beaten at home, they desired now, more earnestly than before, to make an end of the warre as soone as they might. *Philip* made such answer to the Embassadors, as he had done the former yeere; That he gaue no occasion to the beginning of this warre, nor was at the present either afraid to continue it, or vnwilling to end it: but that the *Ætolians*, if they had a desire to liue in rest, must first be dealt withall, to signifie plainly their determination, whereto himselfe would returne such answer as he should thinke fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking vnto the Peace, being a yong Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the warre. But it happened in the midst of this Negotiation, that he was aduertised by letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable victorie *Hannibal* had obtained against the *Romans* in the battaille at *Thrymene*. These letters he communicated vnto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian warre. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before vnto Peace with the *Ætolians*: which was concluded shortly in a meeting at *Naupactus*. There did *Agelans* an *Ætolian* make a great Oration: telling, how happie it was for the *Greekes*, that they might at their owne pleasure dispute about finishing war betweene themselves,

felues, without being molested by the Barbarians. For when once either the *Romans*, or the *Carthaginians*, had subdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith looke Eastward, and seeke by all means to set footing in *Greece*. For this cause he said it were good, that their Countrey should be at peace within it selfe: and that *Philip*, if he were desirous of war, should lay hold on the opportunity; now fitly serving, to enlarge his dominion, by winning somewhat in *Italie*. Such aduice could the *Aetolians* then giue, when they stood in feare of danger threatening them at hand: but being soone after wearie of rest, as accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were so farre from observing and following their owne good counsell, that they invited the *Romans* into *Greece*, wherby they brought 10 themselves and the whole Countrey, (but themselves before any other part of the Countrey) vnder seruitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That every one should keepe what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages past.

§. III.

PHILIP, at the perswasion of DEMETRIUS PHARIUS, enters into League with HANNIBAL, against the Romans. The Tenour of the League betwene HANNIBAL and PHILIP.

His being agreed vpon: the *Greekes* betooke themselves to quiet courses of life; and *Philip*, to prepare for the businesse of *Italie*, about which hee consulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus passed the time away, till the great battaile of *Canna*: after which hee ioyned in League with *Hannibal*, as hath beene shewed before: *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice vnto the *Romans*; and knew no other way to bee auenged vpon them, or to recouer his owne lost Kingdome, than by procuring the *Macedonian*, 30 that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsaile, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwife beene farre more expedient for *Philip*, to haue supported the weaker of these two great Cities against the more mightie. For by so doing, hee should perhaps haue brought them to peace vpon some equall termes; and thereby, as did *Hiero* a farre weaker Prince, haue both secured his owne Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of chiefe place in his friendship. The issue of the counsaile which he followed, will appeare soone after this. His first quarrell with the *Romans*; the trouble which they and the *Aetolians* did put him to in *Greece*; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, vpon Conditions that might easily be broken: haue beene related in another place as belonging vnto the second *Punicke* 40 warre. Wherefore I will onely here set downe the tenour of the League betwene Him and *Carthage*: which may seeme not vnworthie to be read, if onely in regard of the forme it selfe then vsed; though it had beene ouer-long to haue beene inserted into a more busie peece.

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THE OATH AND COVENANTS BETWEENE HANNIBAL, GENERALL OF THE

CARTHAGINIANS; and XENOPHANES,

Embassador of PHILIP King of *Macedon*.



HIS is the League ratified by oath, which *HANNIBAL* the Generall, and with him *MAGO*, *MYRCAL*, and *BARMOCAL*, as also the Senatours of *Carthage* that are present, and all the *Carthaginians* that are in his Armie, haue made with *XENOPHANES* the sonne of *CLEOMACHVS* *Athenian*, 20 whom King *PHILIP* the sonne of *DEMETRIUS* hath sent vnto vs, for himselfe and the *Macedonians*, and his Associates: Before *Jupiter*, and *Iuno*, and *Apollo*: before † *The god of the Carthaginians*, *Hercules*, and *Iolau*, before *Mars*, *Triton*, *Neptune*: before The Gods accompanying Armes, the Sun, the Moone, and the Earth; before 30 Riuers, and Meddowes, and Waters; before all the Gods that haue power ouer *Carthage*; before all the Gods, that rule ouer *Macedon*, and the rest of *Greece*; before all the Gods, that are Presidents of War, and present at the making of this League. *HANNIBAL* the Generall hath said, and all the Senatours that are with him, and all the *Carthaginians* in his Armie: Be it agreed betwene You and Vs, that this Oath 40 stand for friendship and louing affection, that Wee become friends, familiar, and brethren, vpon Couenant, that the safety of the Lords the *Carthaginians*, and of *HANNIBAL* the Generall and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Prouinces of the *Carthaginians* vsing the same Lawes, and of the *Vticans*, and as many Cities and Nations as obey the 50 *Carthaginians*, and of the Souldiors and Associates, and of all Townes and Nations with which We hold friendship in *Italie*, *Gaulle*, and *Liguria*, and with whom We shall hold friendship

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ship or make Alliance hereafter in this Region; be preserved by King PHILIP and the Macedonians, and such of the Greekes as are their Associates. In like manner shall King PHILIP and the Macedonians, and other the Greekes his Associates, bee saved and preserved by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the Uticans, and by all Cities and Nations that obze the Carthaginians, and by their Associates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in Italie, Gaule and Liguria, that are of our Alliance, or shall hereafter ioyne with Vs in Italie. VVee shall not take counsaile one against the other, nor deale fraudulently one with the other. Withall readinesse and good will, without deceit or subtiltie, We shall be enemies vnto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting those Kings, Townes, and Hauens, with which We haue already league and friendship. Wee also shall be enemies to the enemies of King PHILIP, excepting those Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which VVee haue already league and friendship. The war that VVee haue with the Romans, haue Ye also with them, untill the Gods shall giue vs a new and happie end. Ye shall aide Vs with those things whereof VVee haue neede, and shall doe according to the Couenants betweene Vs. But if the Gods shall not giue vnto You and Vs their helpe in this warre against the Romans and their Associates; then if the Romans offer friendship, VVee shall make friendship in such wise that Ye shall be partakers of the same friendship, With Condition, That they shall not haue power to make war vpon you: Neither shall the Romans bee Lords ouer the Corcyraens, nor ouer those of Apollonia, nor Dyrrachium, nor ouer Pharus, nor Dimalle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They shall also render vnto DEMETRIUS PHARIUS all those that belong vnto him, as many as are within the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans (after such peace made) shall make war vpon Ye or Vs; We will succour one another in that warre, as either shall haue neede. The same shall be obserued in warre made by any other, excepting those Kings,

Kings, Cities, and States, with whom Wee hold already league and friendship. To this League if VVe or Ye shall thinke fit to adde or detract, such addition or detractiō shall be made by our common consent.

b. IIII.

How PHILIP yielded to his naturall vices being therein soothed by DEMETRIUS PHARIUS. His desire to tyrannize vpon the free States his Associates: With the troubles, into which hee thereby fell, whilst he bore a part in the second Punicke warre. He poisoneth ARATUS: and growes hateful to the Achaeans.

HERETO Philip had carried himselfe as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wisdom, he might haue offered his friendship to the Romans, that were like to be oppressed, than to the Carthaginians who had the better hand: yet this his meddling in the Punicke warre, proceeded from a royall greatnesse of minde, with a desire to secure and increase his owne estate, adding therewithall reputation to his Countrey. But in this businesse he was guided (as hath bene said) by DEMETRIUS PHARIUS: who, looking thoroughly into his nature, did accommodate himselfe to his desires: and thereby shortly gouerned him, euen as he listed. For the vertues of PHILIP were not indeede such as they seemed. He was lustfull, bloudie, and tyrannicall: desirous of power to doe what hee listed, and not otherwise listeing to doe what hee ought, than so farr forth, as by making a faire shew he might breede in men such a good opinion of him, as should helpe to serue his turne in all that hee tooke in hand. Before he should busie himselfe in Italie, hee thought it requisite in good policie, to bring the Greekes that were his Associates vnder a more absolute forme of subiection. Hereunto APOLLES had aduised him before: and hee had liked reasonably well of the course. But APOLLES was a boisterous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his owne glory, thought himselfe deeply wronged if he might not wholly haue his owne way, but were driuen to await the Kings opportunitie at better times. DEMETRIUS PHARIUS could well be contented to obserue the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man with the reins in his hand, those affections which himselfe did onely seeme to follow. Therefore hee grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, hee supplanted ARATUS: which the violence of APOLLES could neuer doe.

There arose about these times a very hote Faction among the Messenians, betwene the Nobilitie and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diuerted (as happens often after a forrein warre) vnto domestick objects: than allayed and reduced vnto a more quiet temper. In procelle of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that PHILIP was entreated to compound the differences. Hee was glad of this: resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth stirre any more about their Government: for that he would assume it wholly to himselfe. At this coming thither, hee found ARATUS busie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his owne secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this reuerend old man: but talked in priuate with such of the Messenians as repaired vnto him. He asked the Gouernours, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Lawes, to bridle the insolence of the unruly Rabble: Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular

pular Faction, He said it was strange, that they being to many, would suffer themselves to be oppress'd by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. Thus whilest each of them presumed on the Kings assistance; they thought it best to goe roundly to worke, ere he were gone that should countenance their doings. The Gouvernours therefore would haue apprehended some seditious Oratours, that were, they said, the stirrers vp of the multitude vnto sedition. Vpon this occasion the People tooke Armes: and running vpon the Nobilitie and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage almost two hundred. Philip thought, it seemed, that it would be easie to worrie the sheepe, when the Dogges their guardians were slaine. But his fallshood and double dealing was immediatly found out. Neyther did the younger *Aratus* forbear, to tell him of it in publike, with very bitter and disgracefull words. The King was angrie at this. But hauing alreadye done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein hee should neede the helpe and countenance of his best friends; Hee was content to smother his displeasure, and make as faire weather as he could. Hee led old *Aratus* aside by the hand; and went vp into the Castle of *Ithome*, that was ouer *Messene*. There he pretended to doe sacrifice: and sacrifice hee did. But it was his purpose to keepe the place to his owne vse; for that it was of notable strength, and would serue to command the further parts of *Peloponnesus*, as the Citadell of *Corinth*, which hee had alreadye, commaunded the entrance into that Countrey. Whilest hee was therefore sacrificing, and had the entrails of the beast deliuered into his hands, as was the manner; He shewed them to *Aratus*, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he saw therein did signifie, That being now in possession of this place, hee should quicly goe out of it, or rather keepe it to himselfe. He thought perhaps, that the old man would haue soothed him a litle; were it onely for desire to make amends, for the angrie words newly spoken by his sonne. But as *Aratus* stood doubtfull what to answer, *Demetrius Pharius* gaue this verdict: *If thou bee a Sowlyayer, thou maist goe thy wayes, and let slippe this good advantage; If thou be a King, thou must not neglect the opportunitie, but hold the Oxe by both his hornes.* Thus he spake, resembling *Ithome* and *Acrocorinthus* vnto the two hornes of *Peloponnesus*. Yet would Philip neede heare the opinion of *Aratus*: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keepe the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith vnto the *Messenians*: But if, by seizing vpon *Ithome*, Hee must lose all the other Castles that hee held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left vnto him by *Antigonus*, which was his credit; then were it farre better to depart with his soldiers, and keepe men in dutie, as hee had done hitherto, by their owne good wils, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his Enemies.

To this good aduice Philip yielded at the present: but not without some dislike, thenceforth growing betwene Him and the *Arats*; whom he thought more forward than befecemed them, in contradicting his will. Neyther was the old man desirous at all, to deale any longer in the Kings affaires, or be inward with him. For as he plainly discouered his Tyrannous purposes: so likewise he perceived, that in resorting to his house, He had bene dishonest with his sonnes wife. Hee therefore staid at home: where at good leisure he might repent, that in despite of *Cleomenes*, his owne Countreiman, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*.

Philip made a Voyage out of *Peloponnesus* into *Epirus*, where in *Aratus* refused to beare him companie. In this iourne He found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him; That vnbonest counsailes are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirots* were his followers and dependants; and so they purposed to continue. But He would needes haue them so to remaine, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious vnto his will, Hee seized vpon their Towne of *Oricum*, and laid siege to *Apollonia*; hauing no good colour of

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these doings: but thinking himselfe strong enough to doe what hee listed, and not seeing whence they should procure friends to helpe them. Thus in stead of settling the country, as his intended Voyage into *Italie* required: He kindled a fire in it which he could neuer quench; vntill it had laid hold on his owne Palace. Whilest he was thus labouring to bind the hands that should haue fought for him in *Italie*: *M. Valerius* the *Roman* came into those parts; who not onely maintained the *Epirots* against him, but procured the *Ætolians* to breake the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that warre; the occurrents whereof wee haue related before, in place whereto it belonged. In manning whereof though Philip did the offices of a good Captaine: yet when leisure serued, He made it apparant that he was a vicious King. He had not quire left his former desire, of oppressing the libertie of the *Messenians*; but made another iourne into their Countrey, with hope to deceiue them, as before. They vnderstood him better now than before; and therefore were not halitie to trust him too farre. When he saw that his cunning would not serue, Hee went to worke by force; and calling them his Enemies, invaded them with open warre. But in that warre hee could doe little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to helpe him in such an enterprise. In this attempt vpon *Messene* the lost *Demetrius Pharius*; that was his Counsailler, and Flatterer, not his peruerter; as appears by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that he spied, the more angrie he waxed against those, that seemed not to fauour his iniurious doings. Wherefore by the Ministerie of *Taurion*, his Lieutenant, he poysoned old *Aratus*; and shortly after that, hee poysoned also the younger *Aratus*: hoping that these things would neuer haue bene knowne, because they were done secretly, and the poysons themselves were more sure, than manifest in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Acchia*, decreed vnto *Aratus* more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymnes, and Processions, to be celebrated every yeer twice, with a Priest ordained vnto him for that purpose; as was accustomed vnto the *Heroes*, or men, whom they thought to be translated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are said to haue bene encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to haue bene true; since the helpe of the Deuill is neuer failing to the increafe of Idolatry.

The louing memorie of *Aratus* their Patron, and singular Benefactor, could not but worke in the *Acheans* a maruelous dislike, of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He shall therefore heare of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counsaile for themselves. At the present, the murder was not generally knowne or beleueed: neither were they in case to sublift, without his helpe that had committed it. The *Ætolians* were a most outrageous people, great darers, and shamelesse robbers. With these the *Romans* had made a League: whereof the Conditions were soone divulged, especially that maine point, concerning the diuision of the purchase which they should make; namely, That the *Ætolians* should haue the country and townes; but the *Romans* the spoile, and carrie away the people to sell for slaves. The *Acheans*, who in times of greater quiet could not endure to make streight alliance with the *Ætolians*, as knowing their vnciuill disposition; were much the more auerfe from them, when they perceived how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for such did the *Greekes* account all other Nations except their owne) to make haucke of the Country. The same consideration moued also the *Lacedemonians*, to stand off awhile, before they would declare themselves for the *Ætolians*; whose friendship they had embraced in the late warre. The industrie therefore of Philip, and the great care

which he seemed to take of the *Acheans* his Confederates, sufficed to retaine them: especially at such time, as their owne necessitye was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged vnto himselfe the *Dymnians*, by an inestimable benefit: recovering their Towne, after it had bene taken by the *Romans* and *Ætolians*; and redeeming their people wherefoeuer they might bee found, that had bene carried away

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Captiue, and sold abroad for slaues. Thus might he haue blotted out the memorie of offences past; if the malignitie of his naturall condition had not other whiles broken out, and giuen men to vnderstand; that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodnesse. Among other foule acts, whereof he was not ashamed; He tooke *Polyratia* the wife of the yonger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might serue to confirme in the people their opinion, that he was guiltie of the old mans death. But of such faults he shall be told, when the *Romans* make warre vpon him the second time: for that which happened in this their first Inuasion, I holde it superfluous to make repetition.

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§. V.

Of *PHILOPOEMEN* Generall of the *Acheans*: and *MACHANIDAS*,
Tyrant of *Lacedemon*. A battaile betwene them, where-
in *MACHANIDAS* is slaine.

IT happens often, that the decesse of one eminent man discouers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there stood vp *Philopamen*: whose notable valour, and great skill in Armes, made the Nation of the *Acheans* redoubtable among all the *Greekes*, and carelesse of such protection, as in former times they had needed against the violence of their neighbours. This is that *Philopamen*: who being then a yong man, and hauing no command; did especiall seruice to *Antigonus* at the battaile of *Sellasia* against *Cleomenes*. Thenceforward vntill now he had spent the most part of his time in the Ile of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and seldome neuer at peace betwene themselves; He bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of warre. At his returne home, Hee had charge of the Horle: wherein he carried him selfe so strictly, trauiailing with all the Cities of the Confederacie to haue his followers well mounted, and armed at all pieces: as also he so diligently trained them vp in all exercise of seruice, that hee made the *Acheans* very strong in that part of their forces. Being after chosen Prætor or Generall of the Nation, Hee had no lesse care to reforme their militarie discipline throughout, whereby his Countrey might be strong enough to defend it selfe, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend vpon the helpe of others. Hee perswaded the *Acheans* to cut off their vaine expence of brauerie, in apparrell, householdstuffe, and curious farr, and to bestow that cost vpon their Armes: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to proue the better Souldiours; and futeable in behauiour, vnto the pride of their furniture. They had serued hitherto with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast as farre off: that were vfe-
full in skirmishing at some distance, or for Surprizes, or sudden and hallic Expeditions; whereto *Aratus* had become most accustomed. But when they came to handie strokes, they were good for nothing: so as they were wholly driuen to relie vpon the courage of their Mercinaries. *Philopamen* altered this: causing them to arme themselves more weightily, to vse a larger kind of shield, with good swords, and strong pikes, fit for seruice at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order; and altered the forme of their embattailing: not making the Files so deepe as had beene accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might vse the seruice of many hands.

Eight Moneths were spent of that yeere, in which hee first was Prætor of the *Acheans*; when *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedemon* caused him to make trial, how his Souldiers had profited by his discipline. This *Machanidas* was the successfull ynto *Lycurgus*; a man more violent than his fore-goer. He kept in pay a strong Armie of Mercinaries: and he kept them not onely to fight for *Sparta*; but to hold the

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the Citie in obedience to himselfe perforce. Wherefore it behoued him not to take part with the *Acheans*, that were fauourers of libertie; but to strengthen himselfe by friendship of the *Ætolians*: who, in making Alliances, tooke no further notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their owne profit. The people also of *Lacedemon*, through their inueterate hatred vnto the *Argives*, *Acheans*, and *Macedonians*; were in like sort (all or most of them) inclinable to the *Ætolian* Faction. Very vnwisely. For in seeking to take reuenge vpon those, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; they hindred themselves thereby from recouering the Maitrie of their owne Citie. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his owne securitie, and no small hope of good that would follow, suffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but made him alwayes ready to fall vpon his neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whilest they were enforced, by greater necessitie, to turne face another way. Thus had hee often done, especially in the absence of *Philip*: whose sudden coming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had vsually made him faile of his attempts. At the present He was stronger in men, than were the *Acheans*; and thought his owne men better Souldiours than were theirs.

Whilest *Philip* therefore was busied elle-where, hee entred the Countrey of the *Mantineans*: being not without hope to doe as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea
10 and perhaps to get the * Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, as hauing stronger friends, and weaker opposition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopamen* was readie to entertaine him at *Mantineæ*; where was fought betwene them a great battaile. The Tyrant had brought into the field vpon Cartes a great many of Engin-
es; wherewith to beate vpon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in disorder. To preuent this danger, *Philopamen* sent forth his lightarmature a good way before him; so as *Machanidas* was faine to doe the like. To se-
cond these, from the one and the other side came in continuall supplie; till at length all the Mercinaries, both of the *Acheans* and of *Machanidas*, were drawne vp to the fight: being so far aduanced, each before their owne *Phelans*, that it could no
30 other wise be discerned which pressed forward, or which recoyled, than by rising of the dust. Thus were *Machanidas* his Enginies made vnersueivable, by the interposition of his owne men; in such manner as the Canon is hindered from doing execution, in most of the battailes fought in these our times. The Mercinaries of the Tyrant preuailed at length: not onely by their aduantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well obserueth) by surmounting their opposites in degree of courage; wherein
vssually the hired souldiers of Tyrants exceed those that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant, than they which liue oppressed by Tyrannie, since the one, by doing their best in fight, haue hope to acquire somewhat beneficiall to themselves, whereas the other doe fight (as it were)
40 to assure their owne fruitude: so the Mercinaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruites of his prosperitie, haue good cause to maintaine his quarrell as their owne; whereas they that serue vnder a free State, haue no other motiue to doe manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the Victorie: many Companies (if not all) of Forreine Auxiliaries are presently cast; and therefore such good fellows will not take much paines to bring the warre to an end. But the victorie of a Tyrant, makes him stand in neede of more such helpers: because that after it he doth wrong to more, as hauing more subjects; and therefore stands in feare of more, that should seeke to take reuenge vpon him. The stipendaries therefore of the *Acheans*, being forced to giue ground,
50 were vrged so violently in their retrait by those of *Machanidas*, that shortly they be-
tooke themselves to fight, and could not bee slaid by any perswasions of *Philopamen*, but ranne away quite beyond the battaile of the *Acheans*. This disaster had bene sufficient to take from *Philopamen* the honour of the day; had hee not wisely obserued the demeanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that error which might
restore

* Excerpt. 8
Polyb. l. 2.
Plut. in vita
Philopam.

Polyb. libid.

restore the victorie. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gaue chace vnto those that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battaile his *Lacedemonians*; whom hee thought sufficient to deale with the *Acheans*, that were already disheartened by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashnesse had carried him out of fight, *Philopamen* advanced towards the *Lacedemonians* that stood before him. There lay betwene them athwart the Country a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficultie, especially for Foot. The *Lacedemonians* adventured ouer it, as thinking themselves better souldiers than the *Acheans*; who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their owne Battaille; and had no sooner the foremost of them recovered the further banke, than they were stoutly charged by the *Acheans*, who draue them headlong into the ditch againe. Their first ranks being broken, all the rest began to shrink: so as *Philopamen* getting ouer the ditch, easily chased them out of the Field. *Philopamen* knew better how to vse his aduantage, than *Atachanides* had done. Hee suffered not all his Armie to disband and follow the chace: but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custodie of a bridge that was ouer the ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come backe. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chace, looked very heauily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet with a lustie Troupe of Horse about him Hee made towards the bridge: hoping to find the *Acheans* in disorder; and to set vpon their backs, as they were carelessly pursuing their Victorie. But when he and his Companie saw *Philopamen* ready to make good the bridge against them; then beganne euerie one to looke, which way he might shift for himselfe. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his companie, rode along the ditch side; and searched for an easie passage ouer. He was easily discouered by his purple Caslocke, and the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopamen* therefore leaving the charge of the bridge vnto another, coasted him all the way as he rode; and falling vpon him at length in the ditch it selfe, as he was getting ouer it, slew him there with his owne hand. There died in this Battaille on the *Lacedemonians* side about foure thousand; and more than foure thousand were taken Prisoners. Of the *Achaean* Mercenaries, probable it is that the losse was not greatly cared for; since that War was at an end, and for their monie they might hire more when they should haue need.

B. VI.

Philip having peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia; and their Linages. Of the Galatians.

BY this victorie the *Acheans* learned to thinke well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after awhile (such was their discipline, and continuall exercise) to account themselves in matter of war inferior to any, that should haue brought against them no great oddes of number. As for the *Adaceonian*, He made no great vse of them: But when he had once concluded peace with the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, He studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the West. He tooke in hand many matters together, or very neerely together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the *Acheans* would haue done him seruice; they must, by helping him to oppress others that neuer had wronged him, haue taught him the way how to deale with himselfe. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of Pergamus, who had joynd with the *Romans* and *Ætolians* in warre against him.

This

This *Attalus*, though a King, was scarce yet a Noble man, other wise than as he was ennobled by his owne, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune beganne in *Philetæus* his Vncle: who being guiled, by reason of a mislay which hee had when he was a child, grew afterwards thereby to bee the more enured; as great men in those times repofed much confidence in Eunuches, whose afflictions could not be obliged vnto wives or children. He was entertained into the familie of *Docimus*, a Captaine following *Antigonus the first*; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Master, that tooke him selfe to *Lyfimachus* King of Thrace. *Lyfimachus* had good opinion of him; and put him in truit with his monie and accomps. But when at length hee stood in feare of this King, that grew a blonde Tyrant: Hee fled into Asia, where he seized vpon the Towne of Pergamus, and nine thousand talents belonging to *Lyfimachus*. The towne and monie, together with his owne seruice, He offered vnto *Seleucus the first*, that then was ready to giue *Lyfimachus* battel. His offer was kindly accepted, but neuer performed; for that *Seleucus* hauing slaine *Lyfimachus*, died shortly after himselfe, before he made vse of *Philetæus* or his monie. So this Eunuch still retained *Pergamus* with the Countie about it; and reigned therein twentie yeeres as an absolute King. Hee had two brethren: of which the elder is said to haue been a poore Carter; and the younger perhaps was not much better; before such time as they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetæus* left his Kingdome to the elder of these, or to the sonne of the elder called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his kingdome; making his aduantage of the dissention, betwene *Seleucus Calinius* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the sonnes of the second *Antiochus*. He fought a battaile with *Hierax*, neere vnto Sardes, and won the victorie. At which time, to animate his men against the *Gauls* that serued vnder his Enemy, he vied a pretie deuice. He wrote the word * VICTORIAE vpon the hand of his Soothsayer, in such colours as would easily come off: and when the hote liuer of the beast that was sacrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He published this vnto his Armie as a Miracle, plainly fore-shewing that the gods would bee assisstant in that Battaille.

* Vul. Front. Strat. L. i. c. 11.

After this victorie, he grew a dreadfull enemy to *Seleucus*: who neuer durst attempt to recover from him, by warre, the Territories that hee had gotten and held. Finally, when hee had reigned two and twentie yeeres, hee died by a surer of ouermuch drinke; and left his Kingdome to *Attalus*, of whom wee now entreat, that was sonne vnto *Attalus* the yongest brother of *Philetæus*. *Attalus* was an vnderstanding Prince, very bountifull, and no lesse valiant. By his owne proper forces He restored his friend *Ariarathes* the Cappadocian into his Kingdome, whence hee had been expelled. He was grievously molested by *Acheans*: who setting vp himselfe as King against *Antiochus the great*, reigned in the lesser Asia. He was belieged in his owne Citie of Pergamus: but by helpe of the *Tedofagæ*, a Nation of the *Gauls*, whom hee called ouer out of Thrace, He recovered all that hee had lost. When these *Gauls* had once gotten footing in Asia, they neuer wanted employment: but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters; or interpoled themselves, without invitation, and found themselves worke in quarrels of their owne making. They caused *Prusias* King of Bithynia to cease from his warre against *Byzantium*. Whereunto when hee had condescended; they neuerthelesse within a while after inuaded his Kingdome. Hee obtained against them a great victorie; and vied it with great crueltie, sparing neither age nor sexe. But the swarme of them increasing; they occupied the Region about *Hellepont*: where, in feating themselves, they were much beholding vnto *Attalus*. Neuerthelesse, presuming afterwards vpon their strength; they forced their neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute. In the sharpe exaction whereof, they had no more respect vnto *Attalus* than to any that had worse deserved of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them: and Hee being victorious, compelled them to containe themselves within the bounds of that Prouince, which tooke name from them in time following.

restore the victorie. The Tyrant with his Mercinaries gaue chace vnto those that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battaile his *Lacedemonians*; whom hee thought sufficient to deale with the *Achaens*, that were alreadie dishearted by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashnesse had carried him out of sight, *Philopamen* aduanced towards the *Lacedemonians* that stood before him. There lay betwene them athwart the Country a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficultie, especially for Foot. The *Lacedemonians* aduanced ouer it, as thinking themselves better souldiers than the *Achaens*, who had in a manner alreadie lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their owne Battaile; and had no sooner the foremost of them recovered the further banke, than they were stoutly charged by the *Achaens*, who draue them headlong into the ditch againe. Their first ranks being broken, all the rest began to shrink: so as *Philopamen* getting ouer the ditch, easily chased them out of the Field. *Philopamen* knew better how to vse his aduantage, than *Machanidas* had done. Hee suffered not all his Armie to disband and follow the chace: but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custodie of a bridge that was ouer the ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come backe. The Tyrant with his Mercinaries returning from the chace, looked very heauily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet with a lustie Troupe of Horse about him hee made towards the bridge: hoping to find the *Achaens* in disorder; and to set vpon their backs, as they were carelessly pursuing their Victorie. But when he and his Companie saw *Philopamen* ready to make good the bridge against them; then beganne euerie one to looke, which way he might shift for himselfe. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his companie, rode along the ditch side; and searched for an easie passage ouer. He was easily discovered by his purple Caske, and the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopamen* therefore leauing the charge of the bridge vnto another, coasted him all the way as he rode; and falling vpon him at length in the ditch it selfe, as he was getting ouer it, slew him there with his owne hand. There died in this Battaile on the *Lacedemonians* side about foure thousand; and more than foure thousand were taken Prisoners. Of the *Achaen* Mercinaries, probable it is that the losse was not greatly cared for; since that War was at an end, and for their monie they might hire more when they should haue need.

§. VI.

PHILIP hauing peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia; and their Linages. Of the Galatians.

BY this victorie the *Achaens* learned to thinke well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after awhile (such was their discipline, and continuall exercise) to account themselves in matter of war inferior to any, that should haue brought against them no great oddes of number. As for the *Macedonian*, He made no great vse of them: But when he had once concluded peace with the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, He studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the West. He tooke in hand many matters together, or very neerely together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the *Achaens* would haue done him seruice, they must, by helping him to oppress others that neuer had wronged him, haue taught him the way how to deale with himselfe. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of Pergamus, who had joyned with the *Romans* and *Ætolians* in warre against him.

This

This *Attalus*, though a King, was scarce yet a Noble man, other wise than as he was ennobled by his owne, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune beganne in *Philetarus* his Vncle: who being guided, by reason of a milbap which hee had when he was a child, grew afterwards thereby to bee the more esteemed: as great men in those times reposed much confidence in Eunuches, whose affections could not be obliged vnto wives or children. He was entertained into the familie of *Decimus*, a Captaine following *Antigonus the first*; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Master, that betooke himselfe to *Lyfimachus* King of Thrace. *Lyfimachus* had good opinion of him; and put him in truit with his monie and accompts. But when at length hee stood in feare of this King, that grew a blouidie Tyrant: Hee fled into Asia, where hee seized vpon the Towne of Pergamus, and nine thousand talents belonging to *Lyfimachus*. The town and monie, together with his owne seruice, He offered vnto *Selencus the first*, that then was readie to giue *Lyfimachus* battell. His offer was kindly accepted, but neuer performed; for that *Selencus* hauing slaine *Lyfimachus*, died shortly after himselfe, before he made vse of *Philetarus* or his monie. So this Eunuch still retained Pergamus with the Countrie about it; and reigned therein twentie yeeres as an absolute King. Hee had two brethren: of which the elder is said to haue been a poore Carter; and the younger perhaps was not much better; before such time as they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetarus* left his Kingdome to the elder of these, or to the sonne of the elder called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his kingdome; making his aduantage of the dissention, betwene *Selencus Calinius* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the sonnes of the second *Antiochus*. He fought a battaile with *Hierax*, neere vnto Sardes, and won the victorie. At what time, to animate his men against the *Gauls* that serued vnder his Enemy, he vsed a pretie deuice. He wrote the word * VICTORIE vpon the hand of his Soothsayer, in such colours as would easily come off; and when the hostliuer of the beast that was sacrificed, had cleaenly taken the print of the letters, He published this vnto his Armie as a Miracle, plainly fore-shewing that the gods would bee assistant in that battaile.

After this victorie, he grew a dreadfull enemy to *Selencus*: who neuer durst attempt to recover from him, by warre, the Territorie that hee had gotten and held. Finally, when hee had reigned two and twentie yeeres, hee died by a surfeit of ouermuch drinke; and left his Kingdome to *Attalus*, of whom wee now entreat, that was sonne vnto *Attalus* the yongest brother of *Philetarus*. *Attalus* was an vnder-taking Prince, very bountifull, and no lesse valiant. By his owne proper forces He restored his friend *Antiochus* the Cappadocian into his Kingdome, whence hee had been expelled. He was grieuouly molested by *Achaens*: who setting vpon himselfe as King against *Antiochus the great*, reigned in the lesser Asia. He was besieged in his owne Citie of Pergamus: but by helpe of the *Tediosages*, a Nation of the *Gauls*, whom hee called ouer out of Thrace, He recovered all that hee had lost. When these *Gauls* had once gotten footing in Asia, they neuer wanted employment: but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters; or interposed themselves, without invitation, and found themselves worke in quarrels of their owne making. They caused *Prusias* King of Bithynia to cease from his warre against *Byzantium*. Whereunto when hee had condescended; they neuerthelesse within awhile after invaded his Kingdome, Hee obtained against them a great victorie; and vsed it with great crueltie, sparing neither age nor sexe. But the swarme of them increasing; they occupied the Region about *Hellepont*: where, in seating themselves, they were much beholding vnto *Attalus*. Neuerthelesse, presuming afterwards vpon their strength, they forced their neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute. In the sharpe exaction whereof, they had no more respect vnto *Attalus* than to any that had worse deserved of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them: and Hee being victorious, compelled them to containe themselves within the bounds of that Prouince, which tooke name from them in time following.

* Vul. Provi.
Strut. L. 1. c. 11.

ing, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they still to oppresse the weakest of their neighbours; and to fill vp the Armies of those, that could best hire them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posteritie of such, as had saved themselves and their Provinces, in the storthful reigne of the *Persians*; or in the busie times of *Alexander*, and his Macedonian followers. The *Cappadocians* were verie ancient. For the first of their line had married with *Atossa*, sister vnto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Countrey was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is shewed before. But the son of that King, whom *Perdiccas* crucified, elpying his time while the *Macedonians* were at ciuill warres among themselves; recovered his dominion, and passed it ouer to his off-spring. The Kings of *Pontus* had also their beginning from the Persian Empire; and are said to haue issued from the royall house of *Achamenes*. The *Paphlagonians* deriued themselves from *Pylamenes*, a King that assisted *Priamus* at the warre of *Troy*. These, applying themselves vnto the times, were alwayes conformable vnto the strongest. The Ancestors of *Prusias* had begun to reigne in *Bithynia*, some few generations before that of the great *Alexander*. They lay somewhat out of the *Macedonians* way: by whom therefore, hauing other employment, they were the lesse molested. *Calanus*, one of *Alexanders* Captaines, made an Expedition into their Countrey; where hee was vanquished. They had afterwards to doe with a Lieutenant of *Antigenus*, that made them somewhat more humble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, vntill the reigne of *Prusias*, whom wee haue alreadie some 20 times mentioned.

2. VII.

The Towne of *Cius* taken by *Philip*, at the instance of *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, and cruelly destroyed. By this and like actions, *Philip* grows hateful to many of the *Greekes*: and is warred vpon by *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and by the *Rhodians*.

30

PRUSIAS as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whose greatnesse he suspected. He therefore strengthened himselfe, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrarie side, entred into a strict Confederacie with the *Aetolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greekes*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Aetolian* warre, and was deuising with *Antiochus* about sharing betwene them two the Kingdome of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolemie Philopater* a friend vnto them both was newly dead, and had left his sonne *Ptol. Epiphanes* a yong child his heire; the *Bithynian* entreated this his Father-in-law to come ouer into *Asia*, thereto winne the Towne of the *Ciani*, and be-
flow it vpon him. *Prusias* had no right vnto the Towne, nor iust matter of quarrell against it: but it was fitly feared for him; and therewithall rich. *Philip* came; as one that could not well denie to helpe his Sonne-in-law. But hereby hee mightily offended no small part of *Greece*. Embassadors came to him whilst hee lay at the siege, from the *Rhodians*, and diuers other States: entreating him to forsake the Enterprise. He gaue dilatorie, but otherwise gentle answeres: making shew as if he would condescend to their request; when he intended nothing lesse. At length hee got the Towne: where, even in presence of the Embassadors, of whose sollicitation he had seemed so regardfull, hee omitted no part of crueltie. Hereby hee rendered himselfe odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruell Prince. Especially his Fact was detested of the *Rhodians*: who had made vehement intercession for the poore *Ciani*; and were aduertised by Embassadors of purpose sent vnto them from *Philip*. That, how foule it were in his power to winne the Towne as soone as he listed: yet in regard of his loue to the *Rhodians*, hee was contented to
giue

give it ouer. And by this his clemencie the Embassadors said, that he would manifest vnto the World, what slanderous tongues they were; which noyed abroad such reports, as went of his fallhood and oppressions. Whillett the Embassadors were declaiming at *Rhodes* in the Theater to this effect, there came some that made a true relation of what had hapned: shewing that *Philip* had sacked and destroyed the Towne of *Cius*; and, after a cruell slaughter of the Inhabitants, had made slaues of all that escaped the sword. If the *Rhodians* tooke this in great despight, no lesse were the *Aetolians* inflamed against him: since they had sent a Captaine to take charge of the Towne; being warned before by his doings at *Lysimachia* and *Chalcedon* (which he had withdrawne from their Confederacie to his owne) what little truit was to be reposed in the faith of this King. But most of all others was *Attalus* moued, with consideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition, and of his owne estate. He had much to lose; and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a strong Partie in *Greece*. He had alreadie, as a new King, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captaines, in purchasing with much liberaltie the loue of the *Athenians*; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertues, hauing lost their owne. On the friendship of the *Aetolians* he had caule to presume; hauing bound them vnto him by good offices, many and great, in their late warre with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were mightie at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the *Aegyptians*, *Syrians*, and many other Princes and States, hee easily drew into a straight Alliance with him; by their hatred newly conceived against *Philip*.

Vpon confidence in these his friends, but most of all in the readie assistance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deale with the *Macedonian* by open warre. It had been vnreasonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the Enemie tended; since his desire to fasten vpon *Asia* was manifest, and his fallhood no lesse manifest, than was such his desire. They met with him shortly not farre from *Cnius*, and fought with him a battaile at Sea: wherein though *Attalus* was driuen to runne his owne ship on ground, hardly escaping to land: though the Admiral of the *Rhodians* tooke his death wound: and though *Philip* after the battaile tooke harbour vnder a Promontorie, by which they had fought, so that he had the gathering of the Wracks vpon the shore: Yet forasmuch as He had suffered farre greater losse of ships and men, than had the Enemie: and since He durst not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to braue him in his Port; the honour of the victorie was adjudged to his Enemies. This notwithstanding, *Philip* afterwards besieged and wanne some Townes in *Caria*: whether onely in a brauerie, and to despight his opposites; or whether vpon any hopefull desire of conquest; it is vncertaine. The stratageme, by which hee wonne *Prinassus*, is worthe of noting. He attempted it by a Myne: and finding the Earth too stonie, that it resisted his worke, He neuertheless commanded the Pyoners to make a noyse vnder ground; and secretly in the night-time hee rayled great Mounts about the entrance of the Myne, to breed an opinion in the besieged, that the worke went maruclously forward. At length he sent word to the Townesmen, that by his vnder-myning, two acres of their wall stood onely vpon wooden props: to which if he gaue fire, and entred by a breach, they should expect no mercie. The *Prinassians* little thought, that he had fetcht all his earth and rubbish by night a great way off, to raise vp those heapes which they saw; but rather that all had beene extracted out of the Myne. Wherefore they suffered themselves to be outfaced, and gaue vp the Towne as lost, which the Enemie had no hope to winne by force. But *Philip* could not stay to settle himselfe in those parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too strong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haste backe into *Macedon*: whither they followed him all the way in manner of pursuit.

2. VIII.

p. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian warre, seeke matter of quarrell against PHILIP. The Athenians, upon slight cause, proclaime warre against PHILIP, moued there- to by ATTALVS; whom they flatter. PHILIP winnes diuers Townes: and makes peremptorie answer to the Roman Embassa- dour. The furious resolution of the Abydens.

THese Asiaticke matters, which no way concerned the Romans, yet ser-
ued well to make a noyse in Rome; and fill the peoples heads, if not
with a desire of making warre in Macedonia, at least with a conceit
that it were expedient so to doe. The Roman Senate was perfectly
informed of the state of those Easterne Countries; and knew, that
there was none other Nation than the *Greekes*, which lay betwene them and the
Lordship of Asia. These *Greekes* were factious, and seldome or neuer at peace. As
for the *Macedonian*, though length of time, and continuall dealings in Greece euer
since the Reignes of Philip and Alexander, had left no difference betwene him and
the Naturals: yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, because He was original-
ly forsooth a Barbarian: many of them hated him vpon ancient quarrels: and they
that had been most beholding vnto him, were neuertheless wearie of him, by rea-
son of his personall faults. All this gaue hope, that the affaires of Greece would not
long detain the Roman Armies: especially since the diuisions of the Country were
such, that euerie petty Estate was apt to take counsaile apart for it selfe; without
much regarding the generalitie. But the poore Commonaltie of Rome had no great
affection to such a chargeable enterprise. They were already quite exhausted, by
that greivous war with Hannibal: wherein they had given by Loane to the Repub-
like all their monie: neither had they as yet receiued, neither did they receive vntill
fifteene or sixteene yeeres after this, their whole summe backe againe. That part of
paiment also which was already made, being not in present monie, but much of it
in Land: it behoued them to rest awhile; and bestow the more diligence in tilling
their grounds, by how much they were the lesse able to bestow cost. Wherefore
they took no pleasure to heare, that Attalus and the Rhodians had sent Embassadors
to sollicite them against Philip, with report of his bold attempts in Asia: or that M.
Aurelius, their Agent in Greece, had sent letters of the same tenour to the Senate,
and magnified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous e-
nemie, that solicited not onely the Townes vpon the Continent, but all the Ilands
in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadors, as one that meant
shortly to hold warre with the Romans vpon their owne ground. Philip had indeed
no such intent: neither was he much too strong either of himselfe, or by his alliance
in Greece, to be resisted by Attalus and the Rhodians, especially with the helpe of the
Athenians their good friends, and in a manner his owne professed enemies. But such
things must be published abroad, if onely to predispose men vnto the warre, and
giue it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermeddling
in the affaires of those, that were more mightie than himselfe. He was too vn-
skilfull, or otherwise too vnapt, to retaine his old friends: yet would he needes be
seeking new enemies. And he found them such, as he deserved to haue them: for he
offered his helpe to their destruction, when they were in miserie, and had done
him no harme. It behoued him therefore, either to haue strained his forces to the
utmost in making warre vpon them; or, in desisting from that injurious course,
to haue made amends for the wrongs past, by doing friendly offices of his owne ac-
cord. But He, hauing broken that League of peace which is of all other the most
naturall,

naturall, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, vnlesse they think themselves
iustly prouoked; was afterwards too fondly perswaded, that he might wel be secure of
the Romans, because of the written Couenants of peace betwene him and them.
There is not any forme of oath, whereby such articles of peace can be held inuola-
ble, save onely *by the water of Styx*, that is, by Necessitie: which whilst it binds one
partie, or both vnto performance, making it apparent that he shall bee a loser who
starts from the Conditions; it may so long (and so long onely) bee presumed, that
there shall be no breach. Till Hannibal was vanquished, the Romans neuer hear-
ned after Philip: for necessitie made them let him alone. But when once they had
peace with Carthage, then was this Riuer of Styx dried vp: and then could they
swear as *Mercurie* did in the Comedie, by their owne selues, euen by their good
swords, that they had good reason to make warre vpon him. The Voyage of Sop-
ater into Affricke, and the present warre against Attalus; were matter of quarrell as
much as needed: or if this were not enough, the Athenians helped to furnish them
with more.

The Athenians, being at this time Lords of no more than their owne barren Ter-
ritorie,ooke state vpon them neuertheless, as in their ancient fortunc. Two yong
Gentlemen of Acarnania entring into the Temple of Ceres, in the dayes of Initiation,
(wherein were deliuered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of Idolatrous super-
stition, vainly saide to bee auailable vnto felicitie after this life) discovered them-
selues by some impertinent questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Here-
vpon they were brought before the Officers: and though it was apparent, that
they came into the place by mere error, not thinking to haue therein done amiss;
yet, as it had beene for some hainous crime, they were put to death. All their Coun-
trymen at home tooke this in ill part; and sought to reuenge it as a publicke iniurie, by
warre vpon the Athenians. Procurer therefore of Philip some Macedonians, to helpe
them, they entred into Attica: who wasted it with fire and sword; and carried thence
away with them a great bootie. This indignitie stirred vp the high-minded Athe-
nians; and made them thinke vpon doing more, than they had abilitie to performe.
All which at the present they could doe, was to send Embassadors to King Attalus;
gratulating his happie successe against Philip, and entreating him to visit their Citie.
Attalus was hereto the more willing; because he vnderstood, that the Roman Em-
bassadors, hovering about Greece for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to bee
there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his owne followers,
with some of the Rhodians. Landing in the Piræus, hee found the Romans there, with
whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoycing that he continued enemy
to Philip; and He being no lesse glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the
warre. The Athenians came forth of their Citie, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Ci-
tizens, with their wiues and children, in as solemne a pompe as they could deuise, to
meet and honour the King. They entertained the Romans that were with him, in
very louing manner: but towards Attalus himselfe they omitted no point of ob-
seruation, which their flatterie could suggest. At his first coming into the Citie
they called the people to Assembly: where they desired him to honour them with
his presence, and let them heare him speake. But he excused himselfe; saying, That
with an euill grace he should recount vnto them those many benefits, by which he
studied to make them know what loue he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit,
that he should deliuer in writing, what he would haue to be propounded. He did
so. The points of his Declaration were; first, what he had willingly done for their
sake: then, what had lately passed betwene him and Philip: lastly, an exhortation
vnto them, to declare themselves against the Macedonian, whilst he with the Rho-
dians, and the Romans, were willing and readie to take their part: which if they now
refused to doe, He protested, that afterwards it would bee vaine to craue his helpe.
There needed little entreatie: for they were as willing to proclaime the warre, as

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* Sir Fr. Bacon
de Sapientia.* Plaut. Ami-
phib.

Hee to desire it. As for other matters; they loaded him with immoderate honours: and ordained, That vnto the ten Tribes, whereof the bodie of their Citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if Hee were in part one of their Founders. To the *Rhodiens* they also decreed a Crowne of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the *Rhodiens* free Citizens of *Athenes*.

Thus beganne a great noyse of warre, wherein little was left vnto the *Romans* for their part; *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* taking all vpon them. But while these were vainly mis-spending the time, in seeking to draw the *Ætolians* to their partie; that contrarie to their olde manner were glad to bee at quiet: *Philip* wanne the Townes of *Maronea* and *Erym*, with many other strong places about the *Hellepont*. Likewise passing ouer the *Hellepont*, Hee layd siege vnto *Abydus*; and wanne it, though Hee was faine to stay there long. The Towne held out, rather vpon an oblitinate resolution, and hope of succour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, then any great ability to defend it selfe against so mightie an Enemy. But the *Rhodiens* sent thither only one *Quadrireme Gallie*; and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men; farre too weak an aide to make good the place. The *Roman* Embassadours wondered much at this great negligence, of them that had taken so much vpon them.

These Embassadours *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmilius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were sent vnto *Ptoleme* *Epiphane* King of *Ægypt*, to acquaint him with their victorie against *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; as also to thanke him for his fauour vnto them shewed in that warre; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should neede it against *Philip*. This *Ægyptian* King was now in the third or fourth yeere of his Reigne, which (as his Father *Philepator* had done before him) Hee beganne a very young boy. The courtesie for which the *Romans* were to thanke him, was, That out of *Ægypt* they had lately bene supplied with Corne, in a time of extreme dearth; when the miseries of Warre had made all their owne Prouinces vnable to releue them. This message could not but bee welcome to the *Ægyptian*; since it was well knowne, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themselves against him; conspiring to take away his Kingdome. And therefore it might in reason bee hoped, that Hee, or his Councell for him, should offer to supplie the *Romans* with Corne: since this their *Macedonian* Expedition concerned his Estate no lesse than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complementall: so had the Embassadours both leisure, and direction from the Senate, to looke vnto the things of *Greece* by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Æmilius* the youngest of them should steppe aside, and visit *Philip*, to trie if he could make him leaue the siege of *Abydus*, which else Hee was like to carry. *Æmilius*, comming to *Philip*, telles him, that his doings are contrarie to the League that Hee had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, vpon whom Hee made warre, were Confederate with *Rome*; and the Towne of *Abydus*, which Hee was now besieging, had a kind of dependencie vpon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* answered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* had made warre vpon him: and that Hee did only requite them with the like. Doe you also (sayd *Æmilius*) requite these poore *Abydenns* with such terrible warre, for any the like Inuasion by them first made vpon you? The King was angry to heare himselfe thus taken short: and therefore Hee roundly made answer to *Æmilius*, It is your youth, Sir, and your beautie, and (above all,) your being a *Roman*, that makes you thus presumptuous. But I would wish yee to remember the League that yee haue made with mee, and to keepe it: If yee doe otherwise, I will make yee understand, that the Kingdome, and Name of *Macedon* is in matter of Warre, no lesse noble than the *Roman*. So Hee dismissed the Embassadour; and had the Towne immediately yielded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to haue died euery one of them, and set their Towne on fire; binding themselves hereto by

by a fearefull oath, when *Philip* denied to accept them vpon reasonable Conditions. But hauing in desperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth: it was thought meete by the *Gouernours* and *Ancients* of the Citie to change this resolution; and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Siluer to *Philip*: about which whilest they were busie, the memorie of their oath wrought so effectually in the younger sort; that, by exhortation of their Priests, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Hercof the King had but little compassion, that Hee said, he would grant the *Abydenns* three dayes leisure to die: and to that end forbad his men to enter the Towne; or hazard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fooles.

§. IX.

The *Romans* decree warre against *Philip*, and send one of their Consuls into *Greece*, as it were in defence of the *Athenians* their Confederats.
How poore the *Athenians* were at this time,
both in qualitie and estate.

His calamitie of the *Abydenns*, was likened by the *Romans* vnto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it neerely resembled; though *Rome* was not alike interessed in the quarrell. But to helpe themselves with pretence for the warre, they had found out another *Saguntum*, euen the Citie of *Athenes*: which if the *Macedonian* should winne, then rested there no more to doe, than that he should presently imbarke himselfe for *Italie*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum* in five moneths, but in the short space of five dayes sayling. Thus *P. Sulpicius* the Consul tolde the Multitude, when he exhorted them to make warre vpon *Philip*; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alledged; to shew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater kingdome, might dare to vndertake: as also the fortunate Voyage of *Serpio* into *Africke*; to shew the difference of making warre abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their owne Country. By such arguments was the Commonaltie of *Rome* induced to beleue, that this warre with the *Macedonian* was both iust and necessary. So it was decreed: and immediately the same Consul halted away towards *Macedon*, hauing that Prouince allotted vnto him before, and all things in a readinesse, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motiues, than the people must bee acquainted with. Great thanks were giuen to the *Athenian* Embassadours, of their constancie (as was sayd) in not changing their faith at such time as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not vpon the same occasion. For the people of *Rome* had no cause to thinke it a benefit vnto themselves, that any *Greece* Towne, refusing to sue vnto the *Macedonian* for peace, requested their helpe against him. But the Senate intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Easterne parts; had reason to giue thanks vnto those, that ministred the occasion. Since therefore it was an vttruse suggestion, That *Philip* was making ready for *Italy*: and since neither *Attalus*, the *Rhodiens*, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the *Romans* to giue them protection: these busi-headed *Athenians*, who falling out with the *Acarnanians*, and consequently with *Philip*, a matter of *May-game*, (as was shewed before) sent Embassadours into all parts of the World, euen to *Ptoleme* of *Ægypt*, and to the *Romans*; as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbours; must be accepted as cause of the warre, and Authours of the benefit thence redounding.

Neuertheless as it looes to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doings of *P. Sulpicius* the Consul were such, as might haue argued *Athenes* to bee the least part of his care. Hee failed not about *Peloponnesus*, but tooke the readie

way to *Macedon*; and landing about the Riuer of *Aspis*, betwene *Dyrachium* and *Apollonia*, there beganne the warre. Soone vpon his comming the *Athenian* Embassadors were with him, and craued his helpe: whereof they could make no benefit whilest he was so farre from them. They bemoaned themselves as men besieged, and intreated him to deliuer them. For which cause He sent vnto them *C. Claudius* with twenty Gallies, and a competent number of men: but the maine of his forces Hee retained with him, for the prosecution of a greater designe. The *Athenians* were not indeede besieged: onely some Rowers from *Chalcis*, in the Ile of *Eubæa*, and some bands of aduenturers out of *Corinth*, vied to take their shippes and spoile their fields, because they had declared themselves against King *Philip*, that was Lord of these two Townes. The Robberies done by these Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than warlike *Athenians*, in this declining Age of their Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From such detriment the arrivall of *Claudius*, and shortly after of three *Rhodian* Gallies, easily preferred them. As for the *Athenians* themselves; they that had been wont, in ancient times, to vndertake the Conquests of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and *Cicil*, to make warre vpon the great *Persian* King; and to hold so much of *Greece* in subiection, as made them redoubtable vnto all the rest; had now no more than three shippes, and those open ones, not much better then long Boates. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse men; but stood as highly vpon the glory and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had been still their owne.

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§. X.

The Towne of *Chalcis* in *Eubæa*, taken and siekt by the Romans and their Associates, that lay in Garrison at *Athens*. *Philip* attempteth to take *Athens* by Surprize: waieth the Country about: and makes a journey vnto *Peloponnesus*. Of *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, and his wife. *Philip* offers to make Warre against *Nabis* for the *Achaens*. He returneth home through *Attica*, which he spoyleth againe: and provides against his Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Diners Princes ioyne with them. Great labouring to draw the *Ætolians* into the warre.

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PHILIP, returning home from *Abydus*, heard newes of the Roman Consul his being about *Apollonia*. But ere he stirred forth to giue him entertainment; or perhaps before hee had well resolved, whether it were best while to sit still, and trie what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Inuaders with all his forces: Hee receiued aduertisement from *Chalcis* of a grievous mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C. Claudius* with his Romans, finding no such works at *Athens* as they had expected, or as was answerable to the fame that went abroad; purposed to doe somewhat that might quicken the Warre, and make his owne employment better. Hee grew soone weary of sitting as a Scarre-Crowe, to see the *Athenians* grounds from spoyle; and therefore gladly tooke in hand a businesse of more importance. The Towne of *Chalcis* was negligently guarded by the *Macedonian* Souldiours therein, for that there was no enemy at hand; and more negligently by the Townsmen, who reposed themselves vpon their Garrison. Hereof *Claudius* hauing aduertisement, sailed thither by night for feare of being discryed; and, arriuing there a little before breake of day, tooke it by Scalado. He vied no mercie, but slew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keepe it, (vnlesse hee should haue left the heartlesse *Athenians* to their owne defence) Hee set it on fire; consuming the Kings Magazines of Corne, and all provisions for Warre, which were plenteously filled. Neither were Hee and his Associates contented

contented with the great abundance of spoyle which they carried about their shippes, and with inlarging all those, whom *Philip*, as in a place of most securitie, kept there imprisoned: but to shew their despight and hatred vnto the King, they ouerthrow and brake in pieces the Statues vnto him there erected. This done, they halted away towards *Athens*: where the newes of their exploit were like to be ioyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias* about some twenty miles thence; whither when these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedie the matter; yet hee made all haste to take reuenge. Hee thought to haue taken the *Athenians*, with their trustie Friends, busie at worke in ransaking the Towne, and loading themselves with spoyle; but they were gone before his comming. Five thousand light-armed-foote hee had with him, and three hundred horse: whereof leauing at *Chalcis* onely a few to burie the dead, Hee marched thence away speedily toward *Athens*: thinking it not vnpossible to take his enemies, in the ioy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-Post that stood Scout for the Citie vpon the borders, had not discryed him afarre off; and swiftly carried word of his approach to *Athens*. It was mid-night when this Post came thither: who found all the Towne asleepe, as fearelesse of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing his report, caused a Trumpet out of their Citadell to sound the Alarme; and with all speed made ready for defence. Within a few houres *Philip* was there: who seeing the many lights, and other signes of busie preparation vsuall in such a case, vnderstood that they had newes of his comming; and therefore willed his men, to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucitie of his followers did helpe well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compasse about by Sea, and had no cause of halte) yet hauing in the Towne some mercinarie Souldiers, which they kept, of their owne, besides the great multitude of Citizens; they aduentured to issue forth at a gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make approach. The King was glad of this; reckoning all those his owne, that were thus hardie. He therefore onely willed his men to follow his example; and presently gaue charge vpon them. In that fight he gaue singular prooffe of his valour: and bearing downe many of the Enemies with his owne hands, draue them with great slaughter backe into the Citie. The heat of his courage transported him further, than discretion would haue allowed, euen to the very gate. But he retired without harme taken; for that they which were vpon the Towres ouer the gate, could not vse their casting weapons against him, without indangering their owne people that were thronging before him into the Citie. There was a Temple of *Hercules*, a place of exercise, with a Groue, and many goodly Monuments besides, neere adioyning vnto *Athens*: of which he spared none; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, euen vnto the sepulchres of the dead. The next day came the Romans, and some Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Egina*; too late in regard of what was already past: but in good time, to preuent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet hee had not done. So he departed thence to *Corinth*: and hearing that the *Achaens* held a Parliament at *Argos*, He came thither to them vnexpected.

The *Achaens* were deuising vpon warre: which they intended to make against *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*: who being started vp in the roome of *Machanidas*, did greater mischief then any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly vpon his Mercenaries; and of his subjects had no regard. He was a cruell oppressor; a greedy extortioner vpon those that liued vnder him; and one that in his naturall condition smelt rankly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife *Apegea* was very fitly matched with him, since his dexteritie was no greater in spoiling the men, than hers in fleecing their wiuers; whom he would neuer suffer to be at quiet, till they had presented her with all their iewels and apparell. Her husband was so delighted with her propertie, that hee caused an Image to be made liuely representing her;

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and apparrelled it with such costly garments as shee vsed to weare. But it was indeede an *Engine*, serving to torment men. Hereof he made vse, when he meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling vnto him some rich man, of whose monie hee was desirous; Hee would bring him into the roome where this Counterfaite *Apega* stood, and there vse all his Art of perswasion, to get what hee desired, as it were by good will. If he could not so speede, but was answered with excuses; then tooke he the refractorie denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his wife *Apega* (who sat by in a Chaire) could perswade more effectually. So heeled him to the Image, that rose vp and opened the armes, as it were for imbracement. Those armes were full of sharpe yron nayles, the like whereof were also sticking in the 10 breasts, though hidden with her clothes: and herewith she griped the poore wretch, to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruell death. Such, and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was *Nabis* in his Gouvernement. In his dealings abroad he combined with the *Ætolians*, as *Machanidas* and *Lycorgus* had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the *Romans*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former Warre. Of *Philip*'s vertue hee stood in feare; and therefore durst not prouoke the *Achaens*, as long as they had such an able Commander. But when *Cyclades*, a farre worse Captaine, was their Prætor; and all, or the greatest part of their Mercenaries were discharged; *Philip* being also gone into *Crete*, to follow his 20 beloued Occupation of Warre: then did *Nabis* fall vpon their Territory; and wasting all the fields, made them distrust their owne safetie in the Townes.

Against this Tyrant the *Achaens* were preparing for warre, when *Philip* came among them; and had set downe, what proportion of Souldiours euery Citie of their Corporation should furnish out. But *Philip* willed them, not to trouble themselves with the care of this businesse; forasmuch as he alone would ease them of this warre, and take the burden vpon himselfe. With exceeding ioy and thanks they accepted of this kinde offer. But then hee told them, That, whilst he made warre vpon *Lacedæmon*, Hee ought not to leaue his owne Townes vnguarded. In which respect he thought they would be pleased, to send a few men to *Corinth*, and some 30 Companies into the Ile of *Eubœa*; that so he might securely pursue the warre against *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his device; which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his warre against the *Romans*: Wherefore their Prætor *Cyclades* made him answer, That their Lawes forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was assembled. So passing the Decree, vpon which they had agreed before, for preparing warre against *Nabis*; hee brake vp the Assemblie, with euery mans good liking; whereas in former times, Hee had been thought no better than one of the Kings Parasites.

It grieved the King to haue thus failed in his purpose with the *Achaens*. Nevertheless, he gathered vp among them a few Voluntaries; and so returned by *Corinth* backe into *Attica*. There he met with *Philodes* one of his Captaines, that with two thousand men had been doing what harme he might vnto the Countrey. With this addition of strength, he attempted the Castle of *Eleusine*, the Haven of *Pyraus*, and euen the Citie of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made such haste after him by Sea, thrusting themselves into euery of these places; that hee could no more then break his anger vpon those goodly Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time singularly beautified. So Hee destroyed all the workes of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty, of their owne, or, hauing long agoe been masters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choice was found. Neither did hee onely pull all downe: but caused his men to 50 breake the very stones, that they might be vniuicible to the reparation. His losse at *Chalcis* being thus reuenged vpon *Athens*, Hee went home into *Macedon*; and there made prouision, both against the Roman Consul that lay about *Apollonia*; and against the *Dardaniens*, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to in-

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fest him. Among his other cares he forgot not the *Ætolians*: to whose Parliament, shortly to be held at *Nanpausus*, he sent an Embassage; requesting them to continue in his friendship. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

Sulpicius the Roman Consul encamped vpon the Riuer of *Asopus*. Thence he sent forth *Apustius*, his Lieutenant, with part of the Armie to waste the borders of *Macedon*. *Apustius* tooke sundrie Castles and Townes; vsing such extremities of sword and fire at *Antipatris*, the first good Towne which he wanne by force, that none durst afterwards make resistance, vntill they knew themselves able to holde out. Returning towards the Consul with his spoile, He was charged in *Retre*, vpon the 10 passage of a Brooke, by *Athenagoras* a Macedonian Captaine: but the *Romans* had the better; and killing many of these enemies, tooke prisoners many more, to the increase of their bootie, with which they arrived in safetie at their Campe. The success of this Expedition, though it were not great; yet serued to draw into the Roman friendship, those that had formerly no good inclination to the Macedonian. These were *Pleuratus*, the sonne of *Sceudilaidas* the *Thyrian*; *Aminander* King of the *Atthamians*; and *Bato*, the sonne of *Longarus*, a Prince of the *Dardaniens*. They offered their assistance vnto the Consul, who thanked them: and said, That hee would shortly make vse of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when hee entred into *Macedon*; but that the friendship of *Aminander*, whose Countreylay betwene the *Ætolians* and 20 *Thessalies*, might bee perhaps auailable with the *Ætolians*, to stirre them vp against *Philip*.

So the present care was wholly set vpon the *Ætolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embassadours from the *Macedonians*, *Romans*, and *Athenians*. Of which, the *Macedonian* spake first: and saide, That as there was nothing fallen out, which should occasion the breach of peace betwene his Master and the *Ætolians*: so was it to be hoped, that they would not suffer themselves without good cause, to be carried away after other mens fauies. Hee prayed them to consider, how the *Romans* heretofore had made shew, as if their warre in *Greece* tended onely to defence of the *Ætolians*: and yet notwithstanding had bene angry, that the *Ætolians*, by making 30 peace with *Philip*, had no longer neede of such their Patronage. What might it be that made them so busie, in obtruding their protection vpon those that needed it not? Surely it was euen the generall hatred, which these *Barbarians* bore vnto the *Greekes*. For euen after the same sort had they lent their helpe to the *Alamertines*: and afterwards deliuered *Syracuse*, when it was oppressed by Carthaginian Tyrants: but now both *Syracuse* and *Messana*, were subiect vnto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the same effect hee alledged many examples, adding, That in like sort it would happen to the *Ætolians*: who, if they drew such Masters into *Greece*, must not looke hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their owne, wherein to consult about Warre and Peace: the *Romans* would ease them of this care, and 40 send them such a Moderator, as went euery yeere from *Rome* to *Syracuse*. Wherefore he concluded, That it was best for them, whilst as yet they might, and whilst one of them as yet could helpe the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, vpon light occasion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly bee reconciled: and with whom they had three yeeres agoe made the peace which still continued; although the same *Romans* were then against it, who sought to breake it now.

It would haue troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good answer to these obiections. For the *Macedonian* had spoken the very truth, in shewing whereto this their Patronage, which they offered with such importunity, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were set on by them to speake next: who had 50 store of eloquence, and matter of reprimand enough, to make *Philip* odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the Macedonian Embassadour, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*: knowing in what barbarous manner his owne King had, in few dayes past, made war vpon the gods themselves, by destroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Herewithall they made a pitifull rehearsal of their owne

owne

owne calamities: and said, that if *Philip* might haue his will, *Ætolia*, and all the rest of *Greece*, should feele the same that *Attica* had felt; yea that *Athens* it selfe, together with *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to haue felt, if the wals and the Roman armes had not defended them.

Then spake the *Romans*: who excusing, as well as they could, their owne oppression of all those, in whose defence they had heretofore taken armes, went roundly to the point in hand. They sayd, that they had of late made warre in the *Ætolians* behalfe, and that the *Ætolians* had without their consent made peace: whereof since the *Ætolians* must excuse themselves, by alleging that the *Romans*, being busied with *Carthage*, wanted leisure to giue them aid conuenient: so this excuse being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent against their common Enemy, it concerned the *Ætolians* to take part with them in their warre and victorie, vnlesse they had rather perish with *Philip*.

It might easily be perceiued, that they which were so vehement, in offering their helpe ere it was desired, were themselves carried vnto the war by more earnest motives, than a simple desire to helpe those friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may haue bene the cause, why *Dorymachus* the *Ætolian* Prætor shifed them off awhile with a dilatorie answer: though hee told his Countrymen, That by reseruing themselves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answer was, first, in generall termes; That over-much haste was an enemy to good counsell: for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded. But coming neerer to the matter in hand, He passed a Decree, That the Prætor might at any time call an Assembly of the States, and therein conclude upon this business; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding: whereas otherwise it was unlawfull to treat of such affaires, except in two of their great Parliaments, that were held at set times.

§. XI.

The meeting of *Philip* with the *Romans*, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The *Ætolians* invade his dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of *Attalus* and the Roman Fleet.

PHILIP was glad to heare, that the *Romans* had sped no better in their solicitation of the *Ætolians*. He thought them hereby disappointed, in the very beginning, of one great helpe; and meant himselfe to dis-appoint them of another. His sonne *Perseus*, a very boy, was sent to keepe the Streights of *Pelagonia* against the *Dardaniens*; hauing with him some of the Kings Councill, to gouerne both him and his armie. It was iudged, as may seeme, that the presence of the Kings sonne, how young soeuer, would both encourage his followers, and terrifie the enemies; by making them at least beleue, that he was not weakely attended. And this may haue been the reason, why the same *Perseus*, a few yeeres before this, was in like manner left vpon the borders of *Ætolia* by his father; whom earnest businessse called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand: it was thought, that the *Macedonian* Fleet vnder *Heraclides*, would serue to keepe *Attalus*, with the *Rhodians* and *Romans*, from doing harme by sea, when the Kings backe was turned; who tooke his iourne Westward against *Sulpicius* the Consul.

The Armies met in the country of the *Dassaretij*, a people in the vtmost borders of *Macedon* towards *Illyria*, about the mountaines of *Candania*; that running along from *Hemus* in the North vntill they ioyne in the South with *Pindus*, inclose the Westerne parts of *Macedon*. Two or three dayes they lay in sight the one of the other, without making offer of battaile. The Consul was the first that issued forth

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of his Campe into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the strength which he had then about him; and therefore thought it better to send forth some of his light-armed Mercenaries, and some part of his horse, to entertaime them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the *Romans*, and driuen backe into their Campe. Now although it was so, that the King was vnwilling to hazard all at first vpon a Cast, and therefore sent for *Perseus* with his Companies, to increase his owne forces: yet being no lesse vnwilling to lose too much in reputation; He made shew a day after, as if he would haue fought. He had found the aduantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein he bestowed as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers: and

10 to loage charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captaines, to prouoke out the *Romans* to fight; instructing both him and the Targettiers, how to behaue themselves respectively, as opportunitie should fall out. The *Romans* had no mistrust of any ambush; hauing fought vpon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might haue sustained some notable detriment, if the Kings directions had bene well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall backe, they charged him so hotly, that they draue him to an halting flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the Captaines of the Targettiers, not staying to let them runne into the danger, discovered themselves before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the worke, to which they were appointed. The Consul hereby gathered, that the

20 King had some desire to trie the fortune of a battaile: which hee therefore presented the second time; leading forth his Armie, and setting it in order, with Elephants in front: in kind of helpe which the *Romans* had neuer vied before, but had taken these of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was scarce about foure score yeeres ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italie*, to affright the *Romans*, who had neuer scene any of those beasts before. But now the same *Romans* (whilest possibly some were yet alive, which had knowen that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) come into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greekes* haue none. *Philip* had patience to let the Consul braue him at his Trenches: wherein hee did wisely: for the *Roman* had

30 greater neede to fight, than *Hec. Sulpicius* was vnwilling to lose time: neither could hee without great danger, lying so neere the Enemy, that was strong in horse, send his men to fetch in corne out of the fields. Wherefore he removed eight miles off; presuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meete him on euery ground; and so the more boldly he suffered his Forragers to ouer-runne the Countrie. The King was nothing sorry of this; but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleasure: euen till their presumption, and his owne supposed feare, should make them careless. When this was come to passe, hee tooke all his horse, and light-armed-foote, with which hee occupied a place in the midway, betwene the Forragers and their Campe. There he stayed in Couert with part of his forces: to keepe the passages

40 that none should escape. The rest hee sent abroad the Countrie, to fall vpon the straglers: willing them to put all to the sword, and let none run home with newes to the Campe. The slaughter was great: and those which escaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scowre the fields, lighted all or most of them vpon the King and his companies in their flight: so as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Campe had newes of this. But in the end there escaped some: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had happened to themselves, raised a great tumult. *Sulpicius* hereupon sends forth all his horse, and bids them helpe their fellowes where they saw it needfull: He himselfe with the Legions followed. The companies of Horse diuided themselves, accordingly as they met with aduertisements vpon the way, into

50 many parts: not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted vpon *Philip*'s Troupes, that were canuassing the field, tooke their taske where they found it. But the maine bulke of them fell vpon the King himselfe. They had the disaduantage: as coming fewer, and vnprepared, to one that was readie for them.

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So they were beaten away: as their fellows also might haue borne, if the King had well bethought himselfe, and giuen ouer in time. But while, not contented with such an hauest, he was too greedie about a poore gleanings: the Roman Legions appeared in fight: which emboldened their horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparant, enforced the *Macedonians* to looke to their owne safety. They ranne which way they could: and (as men that lie in waite for others, are seldome heedfull of that which may befall themselves) to escape the Enemy, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in Marishes and Bogges, wherein many of them were lost. The Kings horse was slaine vnder him: and there had bee beene cast away, if a louing subject of his had not alighted; mounted him vpon his horse; and deliuered him out of perill, at the expence of his owne life, that running on foote was ouertaken, and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with impudent rashnesse; and the Consul, with as much dulnesse, for his dayes seruice. A little longer stay would haue deliuered the King from these enemies without any blowe: since when all the fields about them were waiked, they must needs haue retired backe to the Sea. On the other side it was not thought vnlikely, that if the *Romans* following the King, had set vpon his Campe, at such time as he fled thither, halfe amazed with feare of being either slaine or taken, they might haue vwonne it. But that noble Historian, *Liuie*, (as is commonly his manner) hath iudiciously obserued, That neither the one, nor the other, were much to blame in this dayes worke. For the maine body of the Kings Armie lay safe in his Campe; and could not bee so astonished with the losse of two or three hundred Horse, that it should therefore haue abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himselfe; He was aduertised, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardaniens*, were fallen vpon his Countrey; when they found the passage thereinto open, after *Perseus* was called away from custodie of the Straights. This was it which made him aduenture to doe somewhat betimes; that he might let the *Romans* going the sooner, and afterwards looke vnto his troublesome neighbours. In consideration of this, *Philip* was desirous to cleere himselfe of the *Romans*, as soone as he might. And to that purpose he sent vnto the Consul; requesting a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But in stead of so doing, hee marched away by night; and left fires in his Campe to beguile the Enemy, as if hee had not stirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when hee heard of the Kings departure, was not slow to follow him. He ouertooke the *Macedonians* in a place of strength, which they had fenced (for it was a wooddie ground) by cutting downe trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little vse; being a square battaile of pikes, not fit for euerie ground. The Archers of *Crete* were iudged, and were indeed, more seruiceable in that case. But they were few; and their arrowes were of small force against the Roman shield. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them by flinging of stones. But to no purpose. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (such as it was) layd open vnto the Consul some poore Townes thereabout: which partly were taken by strong hand, partly yielded for feare. But the spoyle of these, and of the fields adioyning, was not sufficient to maintaine his Armie; and therefore he returned backe to *Apollonia*.

The *Dardaniens*, hearing that *Philip* was come backe, withdrew themselves apace out of the Countrey. The King sent *Athenagoras* to vvaite vpon them home; whilst he himselfe went against the *Ætoliens*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Ætoliens*, who had rescued himselfe and his Nation vnto the cunct of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once and againe: as also that *Pleuratus* and the *Dardaniens* were fallen vpon *Macedon*; grew no lesse busie on the sudden, than before hee had beene vsife. He perswaded his Nation to take their time: and so, not staying to proclaim warre, ioyned his forces with *Aminander* the *Albanian*; and made inuasion vpon *Thessalie*. They tooke and cruelly sacked a few Townes: whereby they grew

grew confident; as if without any danger, they might doe what they listed. But *Philip* came vpon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay dispersed, was like to haue taken their Campe; if *Aminander*, more warie than the *Ætoliens*, had not helped at need, and made the Retreat through his owne mountainous Countrey.

About the same time; the Roman Fleet, assisted by *Attilus* and the *Rhodiens*, had taken some small Islands in the *Ægean* Sea. They tooke likewise the Towne of *Oreum* in the Ile of *Eubœa*; and some other places thereof. The Townes were giuen to *Attilus*, after the same Compact that had formerly beene made with the *Ætoliens*: the goods therein found were giuen to the *Romans*; and the people, for slaues. Other attempts on that side were hindred; either by foule weather at Seas; or by want of daring, and of means.

§. XII.

VILLIUS the Roman Consul wastes a yeere to no effect. Warre of the Gauls in Italie. An Embasie of the Romans to Carthage, MASANISSA, and VERMINA. The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdom: and T. QUINTIUS FLAMINIUS is sent against him.



Has the time ranne away; and *P. Villius*, a new Consul, tooke charge of the warre in *Macedon*. Hee was troubled with a Mutinie of his oldest Souldiers: whereof two thousand, hauing serued long in *Sicily* and *Africa*, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not bee suffered to looke vnto their owne estates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had serued at *Canna*: as may seeme by their complaint, of hauing beene long absent from *Italie*; whither faime they would haue returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for *Macedon*. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is vncertaine. For the Historie of his yeere is lost: whereof the misse is not great; since hee did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antias*, as we find in *Liuie*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit against *Philip*. Yet since *Liuie* himselfe, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could finde no such thing recorded in any good Authour; we may reasonably beleue, that *Villius* his yeere was idle.

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* Warre, the *Romans* found more trouble than could haue bin expected with the *Gauls*. Their Colonie of *Placentia*, a goodly and strong Towne, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Asdrubal*, had beene able to force, was taken by these *Barbarians*, and burnt in a maner to the ground. In like sort *Oranona* was attempted; but failed her selfe, taking warning by her neighbours calamitie: *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that staid behind *Asdrubal*, or *Mago*, in those parts; was now become Captaine of the *Gauls*, in these their enterprises. This when the *Romans* heard, they sent Embassadors to the *Carthaginians*: giuing them to vnderstand, That, if they were not wearie of the peace, it behoued them to call home, and deliuer vp, this their Citizen *Amilcar*, who made warre in *Italie*. Hereunto it was added (perhaps lest the message might seeme otherwise to haue fauoured a little of some feare) That of the Fugitive slaues belonging vnto the *Romans*, there were some reported to walke vp and down in *Carthage*: which if it were so, then ought they to bee restored backe to their Masters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embassadors that were sent on this errand; had further charge to treat with *Masanissa*, as also with *Vermina* the sonne of *Sipha*. Vnto *Masanissa*, besides matter of complement, they were to signifie what pleasure Hee might doe them, by lending them some of his *Numidian* Horse, to serue in their Warre against

against the *Macedonian*. *Vermine* had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe vnto him the name of *King*: and promised thereafter to deserue it, by his readinesse in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter: and said, That hauing beene, and being still (as they tooke it) their *Enemie*, He ought first of all to desire peace; for that the name of *King*, was an honour which they vied not to conferre vpon any, saue onely vpon such as had royally deserued it at their hands. The authoritie to make peace with him, was wholly committed vnto these Embassadors vpon such termes as they should thinke fit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then busied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*: bani-
10 shing him; and confiscating his goods. As for the *Fugitiues*: they had restored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was requisite, giue satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they sent a great proportion of *Corne to Rome*; and the like vnto the Armie that was in *Macedon*. King *Masaniissa* would haue lent vnto the *Romans* two thousand of his *Numidian* Horse: but they were contented with half: the number; and would accept no more. *Vermine* met with the Embassadors, to giue them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdome; and, without any disputation, agreed with them vpon termes of peace.

Thus were the *Romans* busied in taking order for their *Macedonian* Warre, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his
20 *Gauls*: they laid siege vnto *Cremona*; where *L. Furius* a *Roman* Prætor came vpon them, fought a battaile with them, and ouercame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battaile: and the fruit of the Victorie was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the worke easie to those, that afterwarde should haue the managing of warre among those *Gauls*. So was there good leasure to thinke vpon the businesse of *Macedon*: where *Philip* was carefully providing to giue contentment vnto his subjects, by punishing a bad Counsellour whom they hated; as also to assure vnto himselfe the *Acheans*, by rendering vnto them some *Townes* that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exercising and trayning his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of *E-*
30 *pirus*. This was in doing, when *Villius*, hauing vnprofitably laboured to find way into *Macedon*, taking a iourne (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came aduertisement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was chosen Consul, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Prouince; whose coming was expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Armie.

§. XIII.

The *Romans* beginne to make warre by negotiation. T. QUINTIVS winnes a passage
40 against PHILIP. The false waies by PHILIP, the *Romans*, and *Asolians*. The *Acheans* forsaking the *Macedonian*, take part with the *Romans*. A treatie of peace, that was vaine. PHILIP deliuer Argos to NA-
BIS the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the *Romans*.

THe *Romans* had not beene wont in former times, to make Warre after such a trifling manner. It was their vse, to giue battaile to the *Enemie*, as soone as they met with him. If hee refused it, they besieged his
50 Townes: and so forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when hee had long forborne it (as it would bee interpreted) vpon knowledge of his owne weaknesse. But in this their Warre with *Philip*, they beganne to learne of the fable *Greekes*, the arte of Negotiation: wherein

wherein hitherto they were not growne so line, as within a little while they proued. Their Treasury was poore, and flood indebted, * many yeeres after this, vnto pri-
uate men, for part of those monies that had been borrowed in the second *Punicke* Warre. This had made the Commonalty auerfe from the *Macedonian* Warre; and had thereby driuen the Senators greedy of the enterprize, to make vse of their cunning. Yet beeing weary of the slow pace wherewith their businesse went forward, they determined to increase their Armie, that they might haue the lesse neede to relie vpon their Confederats. So they leaued eight thousand foot, and eight hundred
10 Horse (the greater part of them of the *Latines*) which they sent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new Consul into *Macedon*. Their Nauie, and other meanes could well haue serued, for the setting forth and transportation of a greater Armie: but by straining themselves to the moit of their abilitie, they should (besides other difficulties, incident vnto the sustenance of those that are too many and too farre from home) haue bred some ieaoulie in their friends of *Greece*, and thereby haue lost
20 some friends, yea, perhaps haue increased the number of their enemies more than of their owne Souldiours. This present augmentation of the forces was very requisite, for that *Attalus*, about the same time, excused himselfe vnto them, by his Embassadors; requesting that either they would undertake the defence of his Kingdome against *Antiochus*, who inuaded it; or else that they would not take it
30 vncourteously, that hee quitted the Warre with *Philip*, and returned home, to looke vnto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarkable. They said, That it was not their manner to vse the aid of their friends, longer than their friends had good opportunitie, and could also be well contented to afford it; That they could not honestly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend though he were, against *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deale with *Antiochus* by Embassadors, and (as common friends vnto both of the Kings) doe their best to perswade an amonement betweene them. In such louing fashion did they now carrie themselves, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*: who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Armie from the Kingdome of *Attalus*.
30 But how little they regarded these tearmes of friendship, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very soone appeare.

T. Quintius halting away from *Rome*, came betimes into his Prouince, with the supplie decreed vnto him; which consisted, for the moit part, of olde Souldiours, that had serued in *Spaine* and *Africk*. He found *Villius* the old Consul, (whom at his comming hee presently discharged) and King *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*; by the River of *Aspus* or *Aous*. It was manifest, that either the *Romans* must fetch a compass about, and seeke their way into *Macedon*, through the poore Countrey of the *Dassaretians*; or else winne, by force, that passage, which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had al-
40 ready two yeeres together mis-spent their time, and beene forced to returne backe without profit, for want of Victuals: whereof they could neither carrie with them store sufficient, nor finde it on the way. But if they could once get ouer these Mountaines, which diuided the South of *Epirus* from *Thessalie*: then should they enter into a plentiful Countrey; and which by long dependance on the *Macedonian*, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdome, whereof it made the South border. Neuerthelesse, the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood. For the River of *Aspus*, running along through that Valley which alone was open betweene the Mountaines, made it all a deep Marish and vnpassable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine Rocke by mans hand.
50 Wherefore *Quintius* assailed to climbe in the Mountaines: but finding himselfe disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his *Enemie*, who neglected not the gard of them that was very easie; Hee was compelled to sit still, without doing any thing for the space of fortie dayes.

This long time of rest gaue hope vnto *Philip*, that the Warre might be ended by

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against the *Macedonian*. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe vnto him the name of *King*: and promised thereafter to deserue it, by his readinesse in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter: and said, That hauing bene, and being still (as theyooke it) their Enemie, Heought first of all to deliue peace; for that the name of *King*, was an honour which they first not to conferre vpon any, saue onely vpon such as had royally deserued it at their hands. The authoritie to make peace with him, was wholly committed vnto these Embassadours vpon such termes as they should thinke fit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then bulied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*: banni-
10 shing him; and confiscating his goods. As for the Fugitiues: they had restored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was requisite, giue satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they sent a great proportion of Corne to *Rome*; and the like vnto the Armie that was in *Macedon*. King *Masaniissa* would haue lent vnto the *Romans* two thousand of his *Rumidian* Horse: but they were contented with half the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embassadours, to giue them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdome; and, without any disputation, agreed with them vpon termes of peace.

Thus were the *Romans* bulied in taking order for their *Macedonian* Warre, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his 20 *Gauls*: they laid siege vnto *Cremona*; where *L. Furius* a *Roman* Pretor came vpon them, fought a battaile with them, and ouercame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battaile: and the fruit of the Victorie was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the worke easie to those, that afterwarde should haue the managing of warre among those *Gauls*. So was there good leisure to thinke vpon the businesse of *Macedon*: where *Philip* was carefully prouiding to giue consentment vnto his subjects, by punishing a bad Counsaillour whom they hated; as also to assure vnto himselfe the *Achaens*, by rendering vnto them some Townes that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exercising and trayning his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of *E-*
30 *pirus*. This was in doing, when *Villius*, hauing vnprofitably laboured to find way into *Macedon*, taking a iourne (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came aduertisement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was chosen Consul, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Prouince; whose comming was expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Armie.

2. XIII.

The *Romans* beginne to make warre by negotiation. T. *Quintius* winnes a passage
40 against *Philip*. The *Salie* wasted by *Philip*, the *Romans*, and *Asolians*. The
Achaens forsaking the *Macedonians*, take part with the *Romans*. *Atracis*
of peace, that was vaine. *Philip* deliueres *Argos* to *Nabis*.
Nabis the Tyrant, who presently enters into League
with the *Romans*.

The *Romans* had not bene wont in former times, to make Warre after
such a trifling manner. It was their vse, to giue battaile to the Enemie,
as soone as they met with him. If hee refused it, they besieged his
Townes; and so forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his dis-
50 advantage in reputation, when hee had long forborne it (as it would
bee interpreted) vpon knowledge of his owne weaknesse. But in this their Warre
with *Philip*, they beganne to learne of the subtle *Greekes*, the arte of Negotiation:
whererin

whererin hitherto they were not growne to fine, as within a little while they proued.
Their Treasury was poore, and flood indebted, many yeeres after this, vnto pri-
uane men, for part of those monies that had bene borrowed in the second Punick
Warre. This had made the Commonalty auerle from the *Macedonian* Warre; and
had thereby driuen the Senators greedy of the enterprize, to make vse of their cunning.
Yet beeing weary of the slow pace wherewith their businesse went forward,
they determined to increafe their Armie, that they might haue the lesse neede to re-
lie vpon their Confederats. So they leaued eight thousand foot, and eight hundred
Horse (the greater part of them of the *Latines*) which they sent with *T. Quintius Fla-*
10 *minius*, the new Consul into *Macedon*. Their Naue, and other meanes could well
haue serued, for the setting forth and transportation of a greater Armie: but by
straining themselves to the moit of their abilitie, they should (besides other difficul-
ties, incident vnto the sustenance of those that are too many and too farre from
home) haue bred some iealousie in their friends of *Greece*, and thereby haue lost
some friends, yea, perhaps haue increafed the number of their enemies more than
of their owne Souldiours. This present augmentation of the forces was very re-
quisite; for that *Attalus*, about the same time, excused himselfe vnto them, by his
Embassadours; requesting that either they would undertake the defence of his
Kingdome against *Antiochus*, who invaded it; or else that they would not take it
20 vncourteously, that hee quitted the Warre with *Philip*, and returned home, to looke
vnto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarkable. They said,
That it was not their manner to vse the aid of their friends, longer than their friends
had good opportunitie, and could also be well contented to asoord it; That they
could not honestly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend though he were, a-
gainst *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deale
with *Antiochus* by Embassadours, and (as common friends vnto both of the Kings)
doe their best to perswade an atonement betweene them. In such louing fashion
did they now carrie themselves, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*: who
reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Armie from the Kingdome of *Attalus*.
30 But how little they regarded these tearmes of friendship, after that once they had
made an end with *Philip*; it will very soone appeare.

T. Quintius hauing away from *Rome*, came betimes into his Prouince, with the
supplie decreed vnto him; which consisted, for the moit part, of olde Souldiours,
that had serued in *Spaine* and *Africk*. He found *Villius* the old Consul, (whom at his
comming hee presently discharged) and King *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one a-
gainst the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*; by the River of *Apfus* or *Aous*. It was
manifest, that either the *Romans* must fetch a compasse about, and seeke their way
into *Macedon*, through the poore Countrey of the *Discretians*; or else winne, by
force, that passage, which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had al-
ready two yeeres together mispent their time, and bene forced to returne backe
40 without profit, for want of Victuals: wherof they could neither carrie with
them store sufficient, nor finde it on the way. But if they could once get ouer these
Mountaines, which diuided the South of *Epirus* from the *Thessalie*: then should they
enter into a plentiful Countrey; and which by long dependance on the *Macedonians*,
was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdome, wherof it made the South bor-
der. Neuerthelesse, the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likely-
hood. For the Ruer of *Apfus*, running along through that Valley which alone
was open betweene the Mountaines, made it all a deep Marish and vnpassable Bogge;
a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine Rocke by mans hand.
50 Wherfore *Quintius* assailed to climbe in the Mountaines: but finding himselfe dis-
appointed of this hope, through the diligence of his Enemie, who neglected not
the gard of them that was very easie; Hee was compelled to sit still, without doing
any thing for the space of fortie dayes.

This long time of rest gaue hope vnto *Philip*, that the Warre might be ended by
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composition, vpon some reasonable termes. He therefore so dealt with some of the *Epirots*, (among whom hee had many friends) that Hee and the Consul had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Consul would haue him to set all Townes of *Greece* at libertie; and to make amends for the injuries, which hee had done to many people in his late Warres. *Philip* was contented to giue libertie to those whom hee had subdued of late: but vnto such, as had been long subiect vnto him and his Ancestors, He thought it against all reason, that he should relinquish his claime and dominion ouer them. Hee also said, That as farre fourth as it should appeare that he had done wrong vnto any Towne or people whatsoever, He could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seeme conuenient in the iudgement of some free State, that had not been interessed in those quarrels. But herewithall *Quintius* was not satisfied. There needed (hee sayd) no iudgement or compromise; forasmuch as it was apparant, that *Philip* had alwaies bene the Inuader; and had not made warre, as one prouoked, in his owne defence. After this alteration, when they should come to particulars: and when the Consul was required to name those Townes, that he would haue to be set at libertie; the first that hee named were the *Thessalians*. These had been Subiects (though conditionally) vnto the *Macedonian* Kings, euer since the dayes of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as soone as *Flaminius* had named the *Thessalians*, the King in a rage demanded, what sharper Condition Hee would haue layd vpon him, 20 had he been but vanquished. And herewithall abruptly hee flang away; refusing to heare any more of such discourse.

After this the Consul stroue in vaine two or three dayes together, to haue preuailed against the difficulties of that passage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himselfe, and could not resolute what course to take: there came to him an Herdsman, sent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epirots* that fauoured the *Romans*, who having long kept beasts in those Mountaines, was thoroughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore vnderooke to guide the *Romans*, without any danger, to a place where they should haue aduantage of the Enemy. This guide, for feare of treacherous dealing, was fast bound: and, being promised great reward, in case he 30 made good his word; had such Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They trauielled by night (it being then about the full of the Moone) and rested in the day-time, for feare of being discovered. When they had recouered the hill-toppes, and were about the *Macedonians*, (though vndiscovered by them, because at their backs) they raised a great smoke; whereby they gaue notice of their successe vnto the Consul. Some skirmishes, whilst these were on their iourney, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonians*; thereby to auert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning hee saw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained vnto the place whither they were sent: He pressed as neere as he could vnto the Enemies Campe; 40 and assailed them in their strength. Hee prevailed as little as in former times; vntill the shoutings of those that ranne downe the Hill, and charged *Philip* on the backe, astonished the *Macedonians*, that they betooke themselves to flight. The King, vpon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to saue himselfe Yet anon considering, that the difficulty of the passage must needs hinder the *Romans* from pursuing him: He made a stand at the end of five miles; and gathered theretogether his broken troups, of whom hee found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest losse was of his Campe and prouisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the *Macedonians* beganne to stand in feare, lest being driven from a place of such aduantage, they should hardly make good their part against 50 the Enemy, vpon equall ground. Neither was *Philip* himselfe much better perswaded. Wherefore hee caused the *Thessalians*, as many of them as in his battie retreat hee could visit, to forsake their Townes and Countrey; carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoyling all the rest. But all of them could not be per-

swaded,

swaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better doe, for that hee could not stay to vie any great compulsion. He also himselfe tooke it very grieuouly, that he was driven to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitfull Countrey, which had euer been well affected vnto him: so that a little hindrance did serue, to make him breake off his purpose; and withdraw himselfe home into his Kingdome of *Macedon*.

The *Aetolians* and *Athamanians*, when this fell out, were euen in a readinesse to invade *Thessalie*; whereinto the wayes lay more open, out of their severall Countreies. When therefore they heard for certaintie, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans*: they foreflowed not the occasion; but made all speede, each of them to lay hold vpon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten so much before his coming, that He, in cleaning after their haruest, could not finde enough to maintaine his Armie. Thus were the poore *Thessalians*, of whose libertie the *Romans* a few daies since had made shew to bee very desirous, wasted by the same *Romans* and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turne themselves, or whom to auoide. *T. Quintius* wan *Phaleria* by assault: *Metropolis* and *Piera* yielded vnto him. *Rhage* he besieged: and hauing made a faire breach, yet was vnable to force it; so stoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and 25 by a *Macedonian* Garrison therein. *Philip* also at the same time, hauing somewhat recollecte his spirits, hovered about *Tempe* with his Armie; thrusting men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consul, hauing wel-neere spent his vituals, and seeing no hope to preuaile at *Rhage*; brake vp his siege, and departed out of *Thessalie*. Hee had appointed his shippes of burden to meete him at *Anticyra*, an Haven towne of *Phocis*, on the Gulfe of *Corinth*: which Countrey being friend to the *Macedonian*, he presently invaded; not so much for hatred vnto the people, as because it lay conueniently seated betweene *Thessalie* and other Regions, wherein he had businesse; or was shortly like to haue. Many Townes in *Phocis* he wan by assault: many were yielded vp vnto him for feare; and within short space he had (in 30 effect) mastered it all.

In the meane time *L. Quintius* the Consuls brother, being then Admirall for the *Romans* in this warre, ioyned with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet. They wan two Cities in *Euboea*; and afterward layd siege vnto *Cenebre*, an Haven and Arceval of the *Corinthians* on their Easterne Sea. This enterprise did somewhat help forward the *Achans*, in their desire to leaue the part of *Philip*: since it might come to passe, that *Corinth* it selfe, ere long time were spent; and that *Cenebre*, with other places appertaining to *Corinth*, now very shortly should be rendred vnto their Nation, by fauour of the *Romans*.

But there were other Motiues, inducing the *Achans* to preferre the friendship of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had bene long accustomed. For this King had so many wayes offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best course to rid their hands of him; whilst being intangled in a dangerous warre, he wanted meanes to hinder the execution of such counsaile, as they might hold the safest. His tyrannous practices to make himselfe their absolute Lord: His poysoning of *Aratus* their old Governour: His falsedealing with the *Messenians*, *Epirots*, and other people their Confederates, and his owne dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed; had caused them long since to hold him as a necessary euill, euen whilst they were vnable to bee without his assistance. But since by the vertue of *Philopamen*, they were growne somewhat 50 confident in their owne strength, so as without the *Macedonians* helpe they could as well subsist, as hauing him to friend: then did they only thinke how euill he was; and thereupon reioyce the more, in that he was become no longer necessary. It angred him to perceiue how they stood affected: and therefore he sent murderers, to take away the life of *Philopamen*. But failing in this enterprise, and being detected,

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* *Philus* iure
Philopamen, iure
Philus.

he did thereby onely set fire to the Wood, which was throughly drie before, and prepared to burne. *Philopamen* wrought so with the *Achaens*, that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to withdraw themselves from the *Macedonian*. *Cycliades*, a principall man among them, and lately their Prator, was expelled by them, for shewing himselfe passionate in the cause of *Philip*; and *Aristanus* chosen Prator, who laboured to ioine them in societie with the *Romans*.

These newes were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embassadours were sent from the *Romans*, and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Achaens*; making promise, that they should haue *Corinth* restored vnto them, if they would forsake the *Macedonian*. A Parliament of the *Achaens* was held at *Sicyon*, to deliberate and resolve in this weighty case. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents desired the *Achaens*, to ioine with them in making warre vpon *Philip*. Contrariwise, the Embassadours of *Philip*, whom he had also sent for this buisnes, admonishing the *Achaens* of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due vnto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remaine as Neuters. This moderate request of *Philip's* Embassadour, did no way advance his Masters cause. Rather it gaue the *Achaens* to vnderstand, That hee, who could be satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himselfe vnable to gratifie them in any reciprocal demand. Yet were there many in that great Councell; who remembering the benefits of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earnestly for the preservation of the ancient League. But in fine, the fence of late iniuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future; prevailed against the memorie of those old good turnes, which hee (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly sold vnto them, and partly had vsed as baits, whereby to allure them into absolute subiection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance; That the *Romans* were strong, and likely to preuaile in the end. So after much alteration the Decree passed, That they should thenceforward renounce the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this war. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, they forthwith entred into societie: with the *Romans* (because no League would be of force, vntill the Senate and People had approued it) they forbore to decree any societie at the present, vntill the returne of those Embassadours from *Rome*, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The *Megalopolitans*, *Dymeans*, and *Argines*, hauing done their best for the *Macedonian*, as by many respects they were bound, rose vp out of the Councell, and departed before the passing of the Decree, which they could not resist, nor yet with honestie thereto giue assent. For this their good will, and greater, which they shortly manifested, the *Argines* had so little thanks; that all the rest of the *Achaens* may be the better held excused, for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soone after this, vpon a solemne day at *Argos*, the affection of the Citizens discovered it selfe so plainly, in the behaue of *Philip*, that they which were his Partisans within the Towne, made no doubt of putting the Citie into his hands, if they might haue any small assistance. *Philodes*, a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in *Corinth*, which he had manfully defended against the *Romans* and *Attalus*. Him the Conspirators drew to *Argos*; whither comming on a sudden, and finding the Multitude ready to ioine with him, hee easily compelled the *Achaen* Garrison to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth* and some other Townes, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, so they gaue him hope to obtaine some good end by Treatie, whilst as yet with his honour he might seek it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Consul would shortly bee chosen; who should take the worke out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. *Titus* had the like respect vnto himselfe; and therefore thought it best, since more could not be done, to praedipose things vnto a Conclusion, for his owne reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, in the Bay then

then called the *Adrian*, or *Lamian Bay*, now (as is supposed) the *Gulfe of Ziton*, in the *Aegan Sea*, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus*, with *Ammander the Albanian*; an Embassadour of *Attalus*, the Admirall of *Rhodes*; and some Agents for the *Attolians* and *Achaens*. *Philip* had with him some few of his owne Captaines, and *Cycliades*, lately banished for his sake out of *Achaia*. He refused to come on shore: though fearing (as he said) none but the *immortal Gods*: yet midoubting some treachery in the *Attolians*. The demands of *Titus* in behaue of the *Romans* were, That he should sett all Cities of *Greece* at liberty; deliuer vp to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all prisoners which he had of theirs, and *Renegado's*; likewise whatsoeuer hee held of theirs in *Illyria*; and whatsoeuer about *Greece* or *Asia* he had gotten from *Ptolemie* then King of *Egypt*, after his fathers death. *Attalus* demanded restitution to be made entire, of Ships, Townes, and Temples, by him taken and ioyley in the late warre betwene them. The *Rhodians* would haue againe the Countrie of *Persea*, lying ouer against their Iland; as also that he should withdraw his Garrisons, out of diuers Townes about the *Hellepont*, and other Hauens of their friends. The *Achaens* desired restitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*: about the one of which they might, not vniuilly, quarrell with him; the other had beene long his owne by their consent. The *Attolians* tooke vp on them angrily, as Patrons of *Greece*: willing him to depart out of it, euen out of the whole Countrie, leaving it free; and withall to deliuer vp vnto them, whatsoeuer hee held that had at any time beene theirs. Neither were they here-withall content: but insolently declaimed against him, for that which he had lately done in *Thessalie*, corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the Victors, by delroying, when he was vanquished, those Townes which else they might haue gotten. To answer these malapert *Attolians*, *Philip* commanded his Gallies to row neerer the shore. But they began to plic him atreth: telling him, that he must obey his betters; vnlesse he were able to defend himselfe by force of Armes. He answered them, (as he was much giuent to gybing;) with sundry scoffes; and especially with one, which made the *Roman* Consul vnderstand, what manner of companions these *Attolians* were. For hee said, That he had often dealt with them; as likewise the best of the *Greekes*; desiring them to abrogate a vicked Law, vvhich permitted them to take spoile from spoile: yet could he get no better an answer, than that they would sooner take *Attolia* out of *Attolia*. *Titus* wondered what might bee the meaning of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable custome, as often as warre happened betwene their friends, to hold vp the quarrell by sending voluntaries to serue on both sides, that should spoyle both the one and the other. As for the libertie of *Greece*, He said it was strange that the *Attolians* should be so carefull thereof, since diuers Tribes of their owne, which he there named, were indeede no *Greecians*: wherefore hee would faine know, whether the *Romans* would giue him leaue to make slaues of those *Attolians*, which were no *Greekes*. *Titus* hercat smiled, and was no whit offended, to heare the *Attolians* well rattled vp; touching whom he began to vnderstand, how odious they were in all the Countrie. As for that generall demand of setting all *Greece* at libertie, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well become the greatness of the *Romans*; though hee would also consider, vvhich might become his owne dignitie. But that the *Attolians*, *Rhodians*, and other pettie Estates, should thus presume, vnder countenance of the *Romans*, to take vpon them, as if by their great might he should be herunto compelled: it vvas, he said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The *Achaens* he charged vith much ingratitude; reciting against them some Decrees of their owne; wherein they had loaden both *Antigonus* and him, vvhich more then humane honors. Neuerthelesse he said, that he would render *Argos* vnto them: but, as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate vith *Titus* himselfe. Thus he addressed himselfe vvholly to the *Roman* Generall; vnto vvhom if he could giue satisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, his late vvarre, he said vvas onely defensiu; they hauing been the offenders: or if he gaue them any occasion,

it was onely in helping *Prusias*, his sonne-in-law; neither did hee see why they should rather seeke amends at his hands, than hee at theirs. For whereas they complained, that, spoyleing a Temple of *Venus*, hee had cut downe the Groue, and pleasant walkes thereabouts: what could hee doe more, than send Gardiners thither with yong plants; if one King of another would stand to aske such recompence? Thus heistled the matter out: but offered neuerthelesse, in honour of the *Romans*, to giue backe the Region of *Peraa* to the *Rhodians*; as likewise to *Attalus*, the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that dayes conference, because it was late: *Philip* requiring a nights leisure to thinke vpon the Articles, which were many, and he ill provided of Counsaile, wherewith to aduise about them. For your being so ill provided of Counsaile, said *Titus*, you may euen thanke your selfe, as hauing murdered all your friends, that were wont to aduise you faithfully. The next day *Philip* came not, vntill it was late at night; excusing his long stay by the waightinesse of the things propounded, whereon he could not suddenly tell how to resolve. But it was beleued, that he thereby sought to abridge the *Aetolians* of leisure to raile at him. And this was the more likely, for that hee desired conference in priuate with the *Roman* Generall. The summe of his discourse, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That hee would giue the *Achaens* both *Argos* and *Corinth*, as also that he would render vnto *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, what he had promised the day before; likewise to the *Aetolians*, that hee would grant some part of their demands; and to the *Romans*, whatsoever they did challenge. This when *Titus* his affiaits heard, they exclaimed against it, saying, That if the King were suffered to retaine any thing in *Greece*, he would shortly get possession of all which hee now rendred vp. The noise that they made came to *Philips* eare: who thereupon desired a third day of meeting; and protested, that if he could nor perswade them, hee would suffer himselfe to be perswaded by them. So the third day they mette early in the morning: at what time the King intreated them all, that they would with sincere affection harken vnto good offers of peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of those Conditions, which he had already tendered; or otherwise, that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send Embassadours to *Rome*, where hee would referre himselfe to the courtesie of the Senate.

This was euen as *Quintius* would haue it: who stood in doubt, lest a new Consul might happen to defraud him of the honour, which he expected by ending of the warre. So hee easily preuailed with the rest, to assent herunto: forasmuch as it was Winter, a time vsuit for seruice in the warre; and since, without authoritie of the Senate, he should be vnable to proceed resolutely either in Warre or peace. Further, he willed them to send their severall Embassadours to *Rome*: which intimating vnto the Senate what each of them required, should easily hinder *Philip*, from obtaining any thing to their preiudice. Among the rest hee perswaded King *Amir*, to make a iourney to *Rome* in person: knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of so many Embassadours, would serue to make his owne actions more glorious in the Citie. All this tended to procure, that his owne Command of the Armie in *Greece* might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*: who had already (though as yet he knew not so much) obtained it for him, partly by their authoritie, partly by good reasons vvhich they alleaged vnto the Senate.

The Embassadours of the *Greeks*, when they had audience at *Rome*, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate; vvhich was more delirious of victorie, than of satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the *Romans*, in vndertaking to set *Greece* at libertie. But this (they said) could neuer be effected, vnlesse especiall care were taken, that the King should bee dispossessed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were so vehement, producing a Map of the Countrey, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in seruilite;

litie; that the Senate agreed to haue it euen so as they desired. When therefore the Embassadours of *Philip* were brought in, and began to haue made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the middelt of their Preface, with this one demand: whether their Master would yeeld vp *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*: Heereto they made answere, That, concerning those places, the King had giuen them no direction or Commission what to say, or doe. This was enough. The Senate would no longer harken to *Philips* desire of peace; wherein they said hee did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embassadours haue truly saide, That neither the *Aetolians*, *Achaens*, nor any of their fellowes, had in the late Treatie required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* should be yeelded vp. For which of them indeed could make any Claime to either of these Townes? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Achaens* had some right; (though their right were no better, than that, hauing stolne it from One *Macedonian* King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargain vnto an Other) *Philip* had alreadye confederated to giue it backe vnto them. And this perhaps would haue bene alleadged, euen against the *Greeks* in excuse of the King, by some of *Quintius* his friends; that so hee might haue had the honour to conclude the warre, it a Successor had bene decreed vnto him. But since hee was appointed to continue Generall: neither his friends at *Rome*, nor hee himselfe, after the returne of the Embassadours into *Greece*, cared to giue care vnto any talke of peace.

Philip, seeing that his *Achaens* had forsaken him, and ioyned with their common enemies; thought euen to deale with them in the like manner, by reconciling himselfe vnto *Nabis*, whom they hated most. There were not many yeeres past, since the *Lacedaemonians* vnder *Cleomenes*, with little other helpe than their owne strength, had bene almost strong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Achaens* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force consisted in a manner wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant; though stiling himselfe King. Yet he sorely vexed the *Achaens*: and therefore seemed vnto *Philip* one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be won. To this purpose it was thought meet, that the Towne of *Argos*, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be assigned ouer into his hands; in hope, that such a benefit would serue to tie him fast vnto the *Macedonian*. *Philoetes* the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deale with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Masters purpose to make a streight alliance with the *Lacedaemonians*, by giuing some daughters of his owne in marriage vnto *Nabis* his sonnes. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made some scruple in accepting the Towne of *Argos*; vnlesse by decree of the citizens themselves He might be called into it. Hereabout *Philoetes* dealt with the *Arguines*: but found them so averse; that, in open assemblie of the people, they detested the verie name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought hee had thereby a good occasion to rob and fleece them. So hee willed *Philoetes*, without more adoe, to make ouer the Towne which hee was ready to receiue. *Philoetes* accordingly did let him with his Armie into it by night; and gaue him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Arguines*: who for very loue had forsaken the *Achaens*, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himselfe Master of all the Gates. A few of the principall men, vnderstanding how things went, fled out of the Citie at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chiefe Citizens that stayed behinde, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Siluer. Also a great imposition of money was laid vpon all those, that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more adoe. But if any stood long vpon the matter: or played the theenes, in purloynning their owne goods; they were put to the whip, and, besides losse of their wealth, had their tortments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Lawes: namely such, as might serue to make him gracious with the rascall multitude: abrogating

gating all debts, and diuiding the Lands of the rich among the poore. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it hath bene an olde custome of Tyrants, to assure themselves of the Vulgar for a time.

As soone as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, Hee sent the newes to *T. Quintius*; and offered to joyne with him against *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: so as he tooke the paines to crosse over the Streights into *Peloponnesus*, thereto meet with *Nabis*. They had soone agreed (though King *Attalus*, who was present with the Consul, made some cauil touching *Argos*) and the Tyrant lent vnto the *Romans* fixe hundred of his Mercenaries of *Crete*; as also hee agreed with the *Acheans*, vpon a Truce for foure moneths, reseruing the finall conclusion of peace betwene them vntill the Warre 10 of *Philip* should be ended; which after this continued not long.

§. XIII.

The battaile at *Cynosephala*, wherein *Philip* was vanquished by *T. Quintius*.

TITUS QUINTIUS, as soone as he vnderstood that he was appointed to haue Command of the Armie, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleasure of the Senate; made all things readie for diligent pursuit of the Warre. The like did *Philip*: who hauing failed in his negotiation of peace, and no lesse failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that Warre; meant afterwarde wholly to relie vpon himselfe.

Plus in uita T. Quintii.

Titus had in his Armie about fixe and twentie thousand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemy intended to doe. Onely *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Thessalie*; and thereupon addressed himselfe to seeke him out. They had like to haue met vnawares, neere vnto the Citie of *Phera*: where the vant-courriers on both sides discovered each other; and sent word thereof vnto their severall Capitaines. But neither of them were over-hastie, to commit all to hazard vpon so short warning. The day following each of them sent out three hundred Horse, with as many light armed Foot, to make a better discouerie. These met, and fought a long while: returning finally backe into their severall Campes, with little aduantage vnto either side. The Countrie about *Phera* was thicke set with Trees: and otherwise full of Gardens and mud-walles; which made it vnproper for seruice of the *Macedonian Phalanx*. Wherefore the King dislodged, intending to remoue back vnto *Sistuf* in the Frontier of *Macedon*; where he might be plentifully serued with all necessities. *Titus* conceiued aright his meaning: and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards; were it only to waste the Countrie. There lay betwene them a great ledge of hills, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other tooke. Neuerthelesse they encamped not farre asunder, both the first and the second night; though neither of them vnderstood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempestuous; and forced each of them to take vp his lodging, where he found it, by chance. Then sent they forth discouersers againe, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the *Macedonians* had the worse. But *Philip* anon sent in such strong supply; that if the resistance of the *Aetolians* had not bene desperate, the *Romans*; their fellows had bene driuen backe into their Campe. Yet, all resistance notwithstanding, the *Macedonians* prevailed: so that *Titus* himselfe was 50 faine to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the defeat of all their Horse, to animate those which were in fight.

It was altogether besides the Kings purpose, to put the fortune of a battaile in trust that day, with so much of his estate as might thereon depend. But the newes came

came to him thicke and tumultuously, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his own; if he could vse an occasion, the like whereof he should not often find. This caused him to alter his purpose: in so much as he embattailed his men; and climbed vp those hills, which, for that the knops thereon had some resemblance vnto Dogs heads, were called, by a word signifying as much, *Cynosephala*. As soone as hee was on the hill-top; it did him good to see that they of his owne light armature were busie in fight, almost at the verie Campe of the Enemies; whom they had repelled so farre. He had also libertie to choose his ground, as might serue best his aduantage: forasmuch as the *Romans* were quite driuen from all parts of the Hill. But of this 10 commoditie he could make no great vse: the roughnesse of the place among those Dogs heads, as they were called, seruing nothing apply for his *Phalanx*. Neuerthelesse hee found conuenient roome, wherein to marshall the one part of his Armie: and gaue order vnto his Capitaines, to follow with the rest, embattailing them as they might. Whilest hee was doing this: Hee perceived that his Horsemen and light armature beganne to shrink; as being false vpon the *Roman* Legions, by force whereof they were driuen to recoyle. He lets forward to helpe them: and they no lesse hastily draw vnto him for succour; hauing the *Romans* not farre behinde them.

As the Legions beganne to climbe the Hill; *Philip* commanded those of his *Phalanx* 10 to charge their pikes, and entertaine them. Heere *Titus* found an extreme difficult piece of worke. For this *Phalanx*, being a great square battaile of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now vsed in our moderne Warres: and being in like manner vsed, as are ours; was not to be resisted by the *Roman* Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it selfe held together vndissolued. The *Macedonians* were embattailed in very close order: so that two of them stood opposite to one of the *Romans*; as also the pikes of the first ranke, had their points aduanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no marvell, if the *Romans* gaue backe: euery one of them being troubled (as it were) with tenne enemies at once; and not able to come neerer vnto the next of them, than the length of a dozen foot or thereabout. *Titus* 30 finding this, and not knowing how to remedie it; was greatly troubled: for that still the *Phalanx* bare downe all which came in the way. But in the meane while hee obserued, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able through the much vneuenesse of the ground, to put themselves in order: so as either they kept their places on the Hill-tops; or else (which was worse) vpon desire either of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to bee partakers in the worke, ranne foolishly along by the side of their fellows, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder Hee made great and present vse. Hee caused the right wing of his Battaille to march vp the hill, against the selfe ordered troupes: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terrour. The *Macedonians* were readier to 40 dispute what should bee done in such a case, than well aduised what to doe; as hauing no one man appointed, to command that part in chiefe. Indeede if they should haue done their best, it could not haue serued; since the ground whereon they stood, made their weapons vnusefull. For let it be supposed, that *Philip* hauing fixe and twentie thousand in his Armie (as he is said to haue bene equall to the Enemy in number) had foure thousand Horse, foure thousand Targettiers, and foure thousand light-armed: so shall there remaine foureteen thousand Pikes; whereof hee himselfe had embattailed the one halfe in a *Phalanx*; the other halfe in the left wing, are they whom *Quintius* is readie now to charge. The *Phalanx* hauing 50 usually fixteene in File, must, when it consisted of seuen thousand, haue well neere foure hundred and fortie in ranke: but foure hundred would serue, to make a Front long enough; the other fortie or seuen and thirtie Files might bee cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as *Polybius* doth, to euery man of them three foot of ground: this Front must haue occupied twelue hundred Foote, or two hundred and forty paces; 248

Excerpt. 2. Polyb. Lib. 17.

that is, very neere a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open Champaine, free from incumbrance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessity disioyne this close battaile of the *Phalanx*; was not euer where to be found. Here at *Cynosephale* *Philip* had so much roome, as would onely suffice for the one halfe of his men: theret were faine to stand still and looke about them; being hindred from putting themselves in order, by the roughnesse of the *Daggas heads*. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from coming vp vnto them; nor found any difficultie in masting those enemies, whose feet were in a manner bound by the discommoditie of the place. The very first impression of the Elephants, caused them to giue backe; and the coming on 10 of the Legions, to betake themselves vnto flight. A Roman Tribune or Colonell, seeing the victorie on that part assured, left the prosecution of it vnto others: and being followed by twenty Ensignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thousand men, tooke in hand a notable piece of worke; and mainly helpfull to making of the Victorie complete. Hee considered that *Philip*, in pursuing the right wing of the *Romans*, was runne on so farre; as that himselfe with his fellows, in mounting the Hill to charge the left wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten about the Kings head. Wherefore hee turned to the left hand: and making downe the Hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell vpon it in the Rere. The hind- 20 most ranks of the *Phalanx*, all of them indeed saue the first five, were accustomed, when the battailes came to joyning, to carrie their Pikes vp right; and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their foremen: and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconuenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*, that it serued neither for offence nor defence, except onely in Front. For though it were so, that *Alexander*, when he was to fight with *Darius* in *Mejopotania*, arranged his *Phalanx* in such order, that all the foure sides of it were as so many Fronts looking sundry wayes, because hee expected that he should be encompassed round: yet it is to bee vnderstood, that herein he altered the vsuall forme; as also at the same time he embattailed his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turne their weapons, which way need should require. Like wise it is to be considered, that *Alex- 30 anders* men being thus disposed, were fit onely to keep their owne ground; not being able to follow vpon the Enemie, vnlesse their hindmost ranks could haue marched backwards. But in this present case of *Philip*, there was no such prouision for resistance. Therefore his men, being otherwise vnable to helpe themselves, threw downe their weapons, and fled. The King himselfe had thought vntill now, that the fortune of the battaile was euer where alike; and the day his owne. But hearing the noyse behind him, and turning a little aside with a troupe of Horse, to see how all went: when he beheld his men calling downe their weapons, and the *Romans* at his backe on the higher ground; Hee presently betooke himselfe to flight. Neither staid hee afterwards in any place (except onely a small while about *Tempe*, 40 thereto collect such as were disperfed in this ouerthrow) vntill hee was gotten into his owne Kingdome of *Macedon*.

There died of the Roman Armit in this battaile, about seuen hundred: of the *Macedonians* about eight thousand were slaine; and fise thousand taken Prisoners.

¶ XV. 50

¶ XV.

T. QVINTIVS saileth out with the *Ætoliens*; and grants truce vnto PHILIP, with conditions, vpon which the peace is raised. Libertie proclaimed vnto the *Greeks*. The *Romans* quarrell with ANTIOCHVS.

10 He *Ætoliens* wonderfully vanted themselves; and desired to haue it noised through all *Greece*, That the victorie at *Cynosephale* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the bootie; by lacking the *Macedonian* Campe, whilst the *Romans* were busied in the chace. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vaine glory, and at their rauenous condition, purposed to teach them better maners, by regarding them as slightly, as they thought highly of themselves. He also well perceiued, That by vling them with any extraordinary fauor, he should greatly offend the rest of his Confederates in *Greece*; who detested the *Ætoliens* much more vehemently, than euer they had done the *Macedonians*. But 20 this displeasure brake not forth yet awhile.

After the battaile *Titus* made haste vnto *Lysissia* Citie of *Thessalie*: which he presently tooke. Before his coming, *Philip* had sent thither one of his Courtiers to burne all his letters, and passages whatsoeuer in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of so much aduerfitee, he forgot not to prouide for the safetie of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of *Lysissia* might well perceiue, that hee gaue them as alreadie lost. Wherefore wee finde not that they, or any of their neighbours, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the same time, the Towne of *Leucas* bordering vpon *Acarnania*, was taken by the Roman Fleete: and verie soone after, all the 30 *Acarnanians*, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the *Ætoliens* ever true to *Philip*; gaue vp themselves vnto the *Romans*, hearing of the victorie at *Cynosephale*. The *Rhodiens* also were then in hand with the conquest of *Peras*, a Region of the Continent oueragainst their Iland; whereof they had demanded restitution, in the late Treatie of peace with *Philip*. They did herein more manly, than any other of the *Greekes*: forasmuch as they awaited not the good leisure of the *Romans*; but with an Armie of their owne, and some helpe which they borrowed of the *Achians* and other their friends, gaue battaile to *Democrates* the Kings Leuitenant, wherein they had the victorie, and consequently recovered the whole Prouince. It angered *Philip* worse than all this, that the *Dardaniens* gathered courage out of his affliction, to in- 40 uade his Kingdome; wasting and spoyling, as if all had bene abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Armie in all haste, of fise thousand foot and fise hundred horse: wherewith coming vpon them, he draue them, with little or no losse of his owne, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the Kingdome. Which done, He returned to *Thessalonica*.

In this one enterprife Hee had successe answerable to his desire; but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisdome to yeld vnto necessity; and therefore sent in all haste *Livinus* and *Demosthenes*, with *Cyrtades* the banished *Achian*, in whom hee reposed much confidence, Embassadors vnto *Titus*. These had conference a long while in priuate, 50 with *Titus* and some of his Roman Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wise dismissed. It seemed that they had Commission, to referre all vnto *Titus* his owne discretion; as *Philip* himselfe in few dayes after did. There was granted vnto them a Truce for fiftene dayes; in which time, the King himselfe might come and speake with the Roman General. In the meane season ma-
nre

nie fuspitious rumors went of *Titus*; as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greekes* his Confederates. Of these bruits the *Aetolians* were chiefe authors: who being wont to regard neither friendship nor honestie, where profit came a wrong way, judged alike of all men else. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had sent letters vnto his Associates; willing them to haue their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the Treatie should be held. There when they were all assembled, they entered into consultation before the Kings arrivall, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of the mall, and for euery Estate in particular. The poore King *Amminder* besought them all, and especially the *Romans*, that they would thinke vpon him; and considering his weaknes which he confessed, make such prouision, that after the *Romans* had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreake his anger vpon him who was not able to resist. Then spake *Alexander* one of the *Aetolians*: who commending *Titus* for so much as he had thus assembled the Confederates to aduise vpon their owne good, and had willed them to deliuer their mindes freely: added, That in the maine of the purpose which hee had in hand, hee was vtterly decieued: for that by making peace with *Philip*, hee could neither assure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greekes* of their libertie. There was, he said, none other end to be made of the warre, which could agree either with the purpose of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the faire promises made by *Titus* himselfe vnto the *Greekes*, than the chacing of *Philip* quite out of his Kingdome. And to this effect he made a long discourse. But *Titus* answered, That this *Aetolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleasure of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the laudable customes which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to seeke the vtter destruction of any King or Nation, at such time as they first made warre with them; vntill by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessitie, to take such a rigorous course. And heerof he alleaged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That victorie, to generous mindes, was onely an inducement vnto moderation. As concerning the publicke benefit of *Greece*: it was (he said) expedient, that the Kingdome of *Macedon* should be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it should bee vtterly destroyed: forasmuch as it serued as a barre, to the *Thracians*, *Gauls*, and a multitude of other sauage Nations, which would soone ouer-flow the whole Continent of *Greece*, if this kingdome were not interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yeld vnto those demands, wherewith he had pressed him in the former Treatie; then was there no reason to denie him peace. As for the *Aetolians*: if they thought other wise, it should bee at their owne pleasure, to take counsaile apart for themselves as they thought good. Then began *Phaneas*, another of the *Aetolians*, to say, That all was come to nothing; for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greekes*, no lesse than hee had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bad him leaue his babbling; saying, That himselfe would take such order, as that *Philip*, were he neuer so desirous, should thenceforth not haue it in his power to molest the *Greekes*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* vsed friendly; and suffering him to repose himselfe that night, held a Councell the day following; wherein the King yielded vnto all that had beene required at his hands; offering yet further to stand to the good pleasure of the Senate, if they would haue more added to the Conditions. *Phaneas* the *Aetolian*, insulting ouer him, said it was to bee hoped, that he would then at length giue vp to the *Aetolians* many of townes (which he there named) bidding him speake, whether he would, or not. His answer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interposing himselfe, said it should be otherwise; These were *Thessalian* Townes, and should all bee free: one of them onely excepted, which not long agoe had refused to commit it selfe to the faith of the *Romans*, and therefore should now bee giuen to the *Aetolians*. Heereat *Phaneas* cried out that it was too great an iniurie, thus to defraud them of the Townes that had sometime

belonged

belonged vnto their Common-weale. Rather he willed *Titus* to consider, that by an ancient Couenant betwene them and the *Romans*, all the Townes taken ought to be their owne, and the *Romans* to haue nothing saue the pillage and captiues. It is true, that there had beene such a Condition in the former warre: but it ceased to be of any validitie, as soone as the *Aetolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gaue them to vnderstand; asking them whether they thought it reasonable, that all the Townes in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by composition, should be deliuered into subiection of the *Aetolians*. The rest of the Confederates were verie much delighted, with these angry passages betwene the *Roman* and the *Aetolians*: neither had they great reason to feare any hard measure; since *Titus* was so earnest in behalfe of those *Thessalians*, to giue them libertie, though they had stood out against him, euen till very feare made them open their gates. Wherefore they copped not themselves; but gaue their consent willingly vnto a Truce for foure Moneths.

The chiefe cause that mooued *Titus* to grant peace so readily to the *Macedonian*, besides that laudable custome by him before alleadged; was, the fame of *Antiochus* his coming with an Armie from *Syria*, and drawing nere toward *Europe*. Hee had also perhaps yet a greater motiue; euen the consideration that his successor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the warre should happen to be protracted. And hee was in the right: For when his letters, together with Embassadors from the *Macedonian*, and sundry States of *Greece*, came vnto *Rome*, new Consuls were chosen: who, (especially the one of them) stood very earnestly against the peace; alleadging triuolous matter of their owne suspicion, in hope to get the honour of concluding the warre. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, betwene the Embassadors of *Philip*, offering to stand to whatsoever was demanded, and the letters of *Titus* pressing them to accept this offer, on the one side; and the importunitie of the Consul on the other; who said, that all these goodly shewes were fraudulent, and that the King would rebell, as soone as the Armie was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Assemblie of the People; by whose soueraine authoritie it was concluded, That Peace should be granted vnto the King. So tenne Embassadors were sent from *Rome* ouer into *Greece*: in which number were they, that had beene Consuls before *Titus*; and it was ordained by their aduice, That *Titus* should goe through with the businesse of Peace. These would very faire haue retained those three important Cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrius*, vntill the state of *Greece* were somewhat better settled. But finally *Titus* prevailed so, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendered vnto the *Athians*; and all the other *Greece* Townes which *Philip* held, as well in *Asia* as in *Greece*, restored vnto libertie.

The Conditions of the Peace granted vnto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next *Isthmian Games*, He should withdraw his Garrisons out of all the *Greece* Townes which he held, and consigne them oner to the *Romans*: That hee should deliuer vp vnto them all Captiues that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's: Likewise all his shippes of warre, referring to himselfe onely those of the lesser sort, and one of extraordinary greatnesse, wherein fixteene men laboured at euery oare: Further, that hee would pay a thousand talents, the one halfe in hand, the other in ten yeeres next following, by euen portions. Hereto *Lucius* adds, That he was forbidden to make warre out of *Macedon*, without permission of the Senate. But I finde not that he obserued this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Foure hundred talents hee had already deliuered vnto *Titus*, together with his younger sonne *Demetrius*, to remaine as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at such time as hee lately sent his Embassadors to *Rome*: when it was promised, that the money, and his sonne, should be restored backe vnto him, if the Senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as

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part

* Polyb. ex-
cerpt. l. 34. 9.

* Liv. l. 33.

part of the thousand talents, I cannot finde: and it seemeth otherwise, forasmuch as young *Demetrius*, who together with those foure hundred Talents was given for hostage, remained still in custodie of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by *Titus* vnto *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*: giuing him to vnderstand what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalfe of the *Greekes*; and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the *Cians*, most miserably spoiled and oppressed by *Philip* to gratifie this *Bithynian* his sonne-in-law, should be restored to libertie, and permitted to enioy the same benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their Nation did. What effect these letters wrought it was not greatly materiall; since the *Romans* were shortly busied with *Antiochus*, in such wise that they 10 had not leisure to examine the conformitie of *Prusias* to their will.

All *Greece* rejoiced at the good bargain which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Onely the *Ætolians* found themselves agrieved that they were vnto them neglected; which was to the rest no small part of their contentment. The *Bæotians* continued to fauour the *Macedonians*; and thereby occasioned much trouble vnto themselves. There were some among them well-affectèd to the *Romans*: who seeing how things were like to goe, made their complaint vnto *Titus*, saying, that they were no better than lost, for the good will which they had borne vnto him; vnlesse at this time, when he lay close by them with his Armie, their Prætor which was head of the opposite Faction might be made away. *Titus* refused to haue an hand in the execution, yet 20 neuertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to haue kept themselves vndiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those that were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently against the *Romans*; in such wise, that howsoeuer they durst not take armes against them, yet such of them as they found sirraging from their Campe, they murdered in all parts of the Countrie. This was detected with- in awhile, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the *Bæotians*, to haue the murderers deliuered into his hands; and for five hundred soul- driers, which he had lost by them, to haue paid vnto him five hundred Talents. In stead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses; which he would not 30 take as good satisfaction. He sends Embassadours to the *Acheans* and *Athenians*, informing them what had happened: and requested them not to take it amisse, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserued. Here withall he falls to wasting their Countrie; and besiegeth two such Townes of theirs, as did seeme to bee most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadours of the *Acheans* and *Athenians*, (especially of the *Acheans* who offered, if he needed them, to helpe him in this warre; yet besought him rather to grant peace vnto the *Bæotians*) prevailed so farre with him; that he was pacified with thirtie Talents, and the punishment of such as were knowne offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many States of *Greece* distracted: some 40 among them reioicing that they were free from the *Macedonian*; others greatly doubting, that the *Roman* would proue a worse neighbour. The *Ætolians* would haue bene glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumors abroad, That it was the purpose of the *Romans*, to keepe in their owne handes all those places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the *Greekes*, conceiue, that this *Macedonian* Warre serued as an introduction to the Warre to bee made in *Asia* against King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to stay the progresse of bad rumors when the *Silbman* games were held, which in time of peace were neuer without great solemnitie and concourse: *Titus* in that great assembly of all *Greece*, 50 caused proclamation to be made by sound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the Generall, hauing vanquished King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did will to be at libertie, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and liuing at their owne Lawes, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Eubœans*,

Eubœans, *Acheans* of *Phibiatis*, *Magnetians*, *Thessalians*, and *Peribœians*. The suddenesse of this Proclamation astonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great shout; yet presently they cried out to heare it againe, as if they durst scarce credit their owne cares. The *Greekes* were Crafts-masters in the Art of giuing thanks; which they rendered now to *T. Quintius* with fo great affection, as that they had well-neere smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good will of all the *Greekes*, was like to bee much more auailable vnto the *Romans* in their warre against *Antiochus*, than could haue bene the possession of a few Townes, yea or of all those Prouinces which were named in their Proclamation. 10 Vpon confidence heereof, no sooner were these *Silbman* games at an end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his Councell, gaue audience to *Hagesianax* and *Lysias* King *Antiochus* his Embassadours: whom they willed to signifie vnto their Lord, That he should doe well to abtaine from the free Cities in *Asia*, and not vex them with warre: as also to restore whatsoeuer he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptolomie* or *Philip*. Moreover they willed him by these his Embassadours, that he should not passe ouer his Armie into *Europe*; adding, That some of them would visit him in person ere it were long, to talke with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises vnto the *Greekes*, 20 to the rest they gaue what they had promised. But the *Phocians* and *Locrians* they being shortly to take a greater worke in hand. The *Acheans* of *Phibiatis* they annexed vnto the *Thessalians*; all saue the Towne of *Thebes* in *Phibiatis*, the same which had bene abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the *Ætolians* in the last Treatie with *Philip*. The *Ætolians* contended very earnestly about *Pharsalus* and *Leucas*. But they were put off with a dilatorie answer, and rejected vnto the Senate: for howsoeuer somewhat the Councell might fauour them; yet was it not meet that they should haue their will, as it were in despite of *Titus*. So the *Acheans* were restored *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, and *Herea*. So the *Corinthians* were made free indeede (though the *Romans* yet awhile kept the *Acrocorinthus*) for that all which were partakers of the 30 *Achean* Commonwealth, enioyed their libertie in as absolute manner, as they could desire. To *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian* were giuen one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philip*; and vpon *Aminander* were bestowed those Castles, which hee had gotten from *Philip* during this Warre; to reigne in them and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Athamanians*. The *Rhodians* had bene their owne Caræers. *Attalus* was dead a litle before the Victory; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Councell, would haue giuen the Townes of *Oreum* and *Eretria*, in the Ile of *Eubœa*, to his sonne and successeur King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that these as well as the rest of the *Eubœians*, should be suffered to enioy their libertie. *Oressia*, a litle Prouince of the Kingdome of *Macedon*, 40 bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, had yielded vnto the *Romans* long ere this; and since continued true to them: for which cause it was also set at libertie, and made a free estate by it selfe.

These busineses being dispatched: it remained, that all care should be vsed, not how to auoid the war with King *Antiochus*, but how to accomplish it with most ease and prosperity. Wherefore Embassadours were sent both to *Antiochus* himselfe, to picke matter of quarrell; and about vnto others, to prædispose them vnto the assisting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of Warre against this King the *Romans* now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadours and Agents dealt and sped abroad; I referre vnto another place.

CHAP. V.

The Warres of the Romans with ANTIOCHVS
the great, and his adherents.

§. I.

What Kings, of the races of SELEVCVS and PTOLEMIE, reigned in
Asia and Egypt before Antiochus the great.

Polybibl.



SELEVCVS NICATOR, the first of his race, King
of Asia and Syria, died in the end of the hundred
twentie and fourth Olympiad. Hee was treacherously
slaine by Ptolemie Ceraneus, at an Altar called Argos;
hauing (as is saide) bene warned before by an Oracle,
to beware of Argos, as the fatal place of his
death. But I neuer haue read that any mans life hath
bene preferred, or any mischief auoided, by the
preditions of such Deuillish Oracles. Rather I be-
leeue, That many such preditions of the Heathen
Gods, haue bene ante-dated by their Priests or by
others; which deuised them after the event.

Antiochus Soter, the sonne and heire of this Seleucus, was dearly beloued of
his Father: who surrendered vp vnto him his owne wife Stratonica, when hee vnder-
stood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore Ptolemie Ce-
raneus had great cause to feare, that the death of Seleucus would not bee vnuenged
by this his Successor. But Antiochus was contented to be pacified, either with gifts,
or perhaps onely with faire words; containing himselfe within Asia, and letting Ce-
raneus enioy that quietly, which he had purchased in Europe with the blood of Sele-
cus. It is said of this Antiochus, that although he married with the Queen Stratonica in
his Fathers life; yet out of modestie he forbore to embrace her, till his Father was
dead. So that perhaps his incestuous loue was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his
not prosecuting that reuenge; whereunto Nature should haue vrged him. After-
wards he had warres with Antigonus Gonatas, and with Nicomedes King of Bithynia.
Also Lutatius and Leonorius, Kings or Captaines of the Gauls, were set vpon him by 40
the same Nicomedes. With these he fought a great battaile: wherein though other-
wise the Enemies had all advantage against him; yet by the terror of his Elephants,
which affrighted both their Horses and them, he wonne the Victorie. Hee tooke
in hand an enterprise against Ptolemie Philadelphus: but finding ill successe in the
beginning, he soone gaue it ouer. To this King Antiochus Soter it was, that Berenice
the Chaldean dedicated his Historie of the Kings of Assyria; the same, which hath since
bene excellently falsified by the Frier Annus. He left behind him one sonne, called
Antiochus Theos; and one daughter, called Apame, that was married vnto
the King of Cyrene. So he died about the end of the hundred twentie and ninth Olympi-
ad, or the beginning of the Olympiad following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth
yeere of the Kingdome of the Greeces; when he had reigned nineteene yeeres.

Antiochus, surnamed Theos or the god, had this vaine and impious title giuen vnto
him, by flatterie of the Chaldeans; whom hee deliuered from Timarchus, a Tyrant
that oppressed them. He held long and difficult; but fruitlesse, warre with Ptolemie
Phi-

Conbrard, lib.
I. p. 1. 1. 1.

Philadelphus King of Egypt; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife Bere-
nice the daughter of Ptolemie.

Of these two Kings, and of this Ladie Berenice, Saint Hierome and other Inter-
preters haue vnderstood that Prophecie of DANIEL: The Kings daughter of the
South, shall come to the King of the North, to make an agreement; and that which fol-
loweth.

Ptolemie Philadelphus was a great loue of Peace and Learning; and (setting apart
his incestuous marriage with his owne sister Arsinoe) a very excellent Prince; how-
soever, the worthiest of all that race. It was hee, that built and furnished with
Bookes, that famous Librarie in Alexandria; which to adorne, and to honour the
more, hee sent vnto Eleazar then high Priest of the Iewes, for the Bookes of Moses
and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King vnto the Iewes, had formerly bin
very great: for he had set at libertie as many of them, as his Father held in slauerie
throughout all Egypt; and hee had sent vnto the Temple of God in Hierusalem
very rich Presents. Wherefore Eleazar yielding to the Kings desire, presented him
with an Hebrew coppie: which Ptolemie caused to be translated into Greeke, by seuen-
tie two of the most graue and learned persons, that could bee found among all the
Tribes. In this number of the seuentie two Interpreters, or (as they are commonly
called) the Seuentie; Iesus the sonne of Sirach, is thought by Gombard to haue bene
one: who that he liued in this Age, it seemes to me very sufficiently proued by Ian-
senius in his Preface vnto Ecclesiasticus. The whole passage of this business between
Philadelphus and the High Priest, was written (as Josephus affirms) by Aristas that
was employed therein. Fortie yeeres Ptolemie Philadelphus was King; reckoning the
time wherein hee ioynly reigned with his Father. Hee was exceedingly beloued
of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his
end hee grew more voluptuous, than hee had bene in his former yeeres: in which
time he boasted, that hee alone had found out the way how to liue for euer. If this
had bene referred vnto his honourable deeds, it might haue stood with reason: o-
therwise, the Gowt, with which hee was often troubled, was enough to teach him
his owne error. He was the first of the Kings, deriued from Alexanders Successors,
that entred into League with the Romans: as also his Off-spring was the last among
those Royall Families, which by them was rooted vp.

Antiochus Theos had another wife, called Laodice, at such time as he married with
Berenice the daughter of this Ptolemie. After his second marriage, hee vsed his first
wife with no better regard, than if shee had bene his Concubine. Laodice hated
him for this: yet aduenced not to seek reuenge; vntill her own sonne Seleucus Cal-
licanus was of abilitie to bee King. This was two or three yeeres after the death
of Ptolemie Philadelphus: at what time hee poisoned her husband Theos; and by
permission of Seleucus her sonne, murdered Berenice, together with a sonne that she
had borne to Antiochus. Iustine reports, that Berenice saved herselfe, together with the
yong Prince her child, awhile in the Sanctuary at Daphne; and that not onely some
Cities of Asia prepared to succour her, but her brother Ptolemie Evergetes, King
of Egypt, came to rescue her with an Armie; though too late, for she was slaine be-
fore.

With such cruelties Seleucus Callinicus, succeeding vnto his Father that had fife-
teene yeeres bene King, beganne his Reigne. His subjects were highly offended at
his wicked nature; which they discovered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was
like, that his Estate would haue bene much endangered, if Ptolemie Evergetes, King
of Egypt, came against him, had not bene drawne backe into his owne Countie, by some
Commotions therein. For there were none that would beare armes against
Ptolemie, in defence of their owne King; but rather they sided with the Egyptians;
who tooke Laodice the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as shee had well
deserued. Wherefore Seleucus, being freed from this inuasion, by occasion of those
domesticall troubles which recalled Evergetes home into Egypt; went about a dan-

Hhhhhh 3

grous

* Aug. de Civ.
Dei. l. 1. c. 22.

h. Ioseph. lib. 2. c. 2.
Concerning that Booke
which now goes vnder
the name of Aristas;
many learned men,
and among the rest
Antonius Vries, hold opi-
nion that it is
counterfeited, and the inuen-
tion of some
later Author.
Surely if it
were to be sus-
pected in the
time of Ptolemy,
it may be now
much more
justly suspect-
ed: since a new
Edition of it is
come forth,
purged from
falsities (as the
Papists terme
the booke),
wherein they
haue changed
what they
please) and
see forth by
Mithridates
at Colen. An.
Dom. 1578.
lib. 1. c. 27.

gerous piece of worke, euen to make Warre vpon his owne subiects, because of their bad affection towards him; when as it had bene much better, by well deserv-
ing, to haue changed their hatred into loue. A great Fleet hee prepared: in furn-
ishing and manning whereof hee was at such charges, that hee scarce left himselfe
any other hope, it that should miscarrie. Herein hee embarked himselfe; and,
putting to Sea, met with such a tempest, as deuoured all saue himselfe, and a very
few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamity, hauing left him nothing else in
a manner than his naked body, turned neuerthelesse to his great good; as anon after it
seemed. For when his Subjects vnderstood, in what sort the Gods (as they conceived
it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his Estate; and, 10
presuming that hee would thenceforth become a new man, offered him their ser-
uice with great alacritie. This reuined him, and filled him with such spirit; as thin-
king himselfe well enough able to deale with the *Egyptian*, he made ready a mightie
Armie for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had bene
at Sea. He was vanquished by *Ptolemie* in a great battaile: whence he escaped hard-
ly; no better attended, than after his late shipwracke. Halting therefore backe to
Antioch, and fearing that the Enemie would loone bee at his heeles; He wrote vnto
his brother *Antiochus Hierax*, who lay then in *Asia*, praying him to bring succour
with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Domi-
nion of a great part of *Asia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteen yeeres olde, yet ex-
tremely ambitious; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himselfe great.
He leued a mighty Armie of the *Gauls*; wherewith he set forward to helpe his brother;
or rather to get what hee could for himselfe. Hereof *Ptolemie* being aduer-
tised: and hauing no desire to put himselfe in danger more than needed; tooke Truce
with *Seleucus* for tenne yeeres. No sooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the
Egyptian warre, but his brother *Antiochus* came vpon him; and needs would fight
with him, as knowing himselfe to haue the better Armie. So *Seleucus* was vanqui-
shed againe; and saved himselfe, with so few about him, that he was verily suppo-
sed to haue perished in the battaile. Thus did Gods iustice take reuenge of those
murders, by which the Crowne was purchased; and settled (as might haue bene 30
thought) on the head of this bloudie King. *Antiochus* was glad to heare of his bro-
thers death; as if thereby hee had purchased his hearts desire. But the *Gauls*, his
Mercenaries, were gladder than He. For when he led them against *Eumenes* King of
Pergamus, in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his
Reigne: these perfidious *Barbarians* tooke counsaile against him; and deuised how
to stripp him of all that hee had. They thought it very likely, that if there were
none of the Royall house to make head against them; it would be in their power, to
doe what should best bee pleasing to themselves, in the lower *Asia*. Wherefore
they laide hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ransom himselfe with money,
as if hee had bene their lawfull Prisoner. Neither were they so contented; but 40
made him enter into such Composition with them, as tended little to his honour.
In the meane while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Armie; and prepared once more
to trie his fortune against his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the season fit
for himselfe, to make his profit of their discord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and
was beaten: which was no great marvaile; since he had great reason to stand in no lesse
feare of the *Gauls* his owne souldiers, than of the enemie with whom hee had
to deale. After this, *Eumenes* wanne much in *Asia*; whilst *Antiochus* went against his
brother. In the second battaile, fought betwene the brethren, *Seleucus* had the
vpper hand: and *Antiochus Hierax* or the *Hawke*, (which surname was giuen him,
because he fought his prey vpon every one, without care whether hee were prouoked 50
or not) soared away as fure as hee could, both from his brother, and from his owne
Gauls. Having fetched a great compassse through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell
at length in *Cappadocia*; where his father-in-law King *Artamenes* tooke him vp. Hee
was entertained very louingly in outward shew; but with a meaning to betray him.

This

This hee soone perceived: and therefore betooke him to his wings againe; though
he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length hee relolued to bestowe
himselfe vpon *Ptolemie*; his owne conscience telling him, what euill hee had meant
vnto *Seleucus* his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to ex-
pect at his hands. Infidelitie can find no sure harbour. *Ptolemie* well vnderstood
the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore hee layd him vp in
close prison: whence, though by means of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from
his keepers, he fell into the hands of the eues, by whom he was murdered. Neare a-
bout the same time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled against
10 him, during his warres with his brother. He therefore made a journey against *Ar-
saces* founder of the *Parthian* kingdome: wherein his euill fortune, or rather Gods
vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. *Arfaces* dealt friend-
ly with him, and dismissed him, hauing euery way giuen him royall entertainment;
but in returning home, he brake his necke by a fall from his horse, and so ended his
vnhappy reigne of twenty yeeres. Hee had to wife *Laodice*, the sister of *Androm-
achus*, one of his most trustie Captaines: which was father vnto that *Achus*, who mak-
ing his aduantage of this amitie, became shortly after (as he titled himselfe) King;
though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By *Laodice* hee
had two sonnes; *Seleucus* the third, surnamed *Ceraunus*; and *Antiochus* the third,
20 called afterwards the Great.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned onely three yeeres: in which time he made warre vpon
Attalus the first, that was King of *Pergamus*. Being weake of bodie through sick-
nesse, and in want of monie, He could not keepe his men of warre in good order: and
finally he was slaine by treason of *Nicanor*, and *Apaturnus* a *Gaul*. His death was re-
uenged by *Achus*, who slue the Traitors, and tooke charge of the Armie: which
he ruled very wisely, and faithfully awhile; *Antiochus*, the brother of *Seleucus*, be-
ing then a Child.

30

p. II.

The beginning of the Great *ANTIOCHVS* his reigne. OF *PTOLEMIE EVER-
GETES*, and *PHILOPATOR*, Kings of *Egypt*. Warre betwene *ANTIOCHVS*
and *PHILOPATOR*. The rebellion of *MOLO*: an Expedition of *ANTIOCHVS* a-
gainst him. The recontinuance of *ANTIOCHVS* his *Egyptian* warre: with the
passages betwene the two Kings: the victory of *PTOLEMIE*, and Peace concluded.
Of *ACHARVS*, and his rebellion: his great wisse, and his fall. *ANTIOCHVS* his Ex-
pedition against the *Parthians*, *Bactrians*, and *Indians*. Somewhat of the Kings reigning
in *India*, after the death of the Great *ALEXANDER*.

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A*NTIOCHVS* was scarcely fifteene yeeres olde, when hee began his
reigne, which lasted sixe and thirty yeeres. In his Minoritie, Hee was
wholly gouerned by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which
malignd all vertue, that he found in any of the Kings faithful seruants.
This wilde qualitie in a Counsaillour of such great place, how harme-
full it was vnto his Lord, and finally vnto himselfe; the successe of things will
shortly discouer.

Soone after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reigne, *Ptolemie Evergetes* King of
Egypt died; and left his heire *Ptolemie Philopator*, a yong Boy likewise, as hath elf-
50 where bene remembred. This was that *Euergetes*, who reliued *Aratus* and the
Achaens: who afterwards tooke part with *Cleomenes*; and louingly entertained
him, when he was chased out of *Greece* by *Antigonus Gonatas*. Hee annexed vnto
his Dominion the Kingdome of *Cyrene*; by taking to wife *Berenice*, the daughter of
King *Magas*. He was the third of the *Ptolemies*; and the last good King of the race.

The

The name of *Euergetes*, or the doer of good, was given him by the *Egyptians*; nor so much for the great spoiles which hee brought home, after his victories in *Syria*; as for that he recovered some of those Images or Idols, which *Cambyses*, when hee conquered *Egypt*, had carried into *Persia*. He was ready to haue made war vpon the *Iewes*, for that *Omis* their high Priest, out of mere couetousnesse of mony, refused to pay vnto him his yeerely tribute of twenty talents: but hee was pacified by the wisdom of *Iosephus a Jew*, vnto whom afterwards he let in farme the Tributes and Customes that belonged vnto him, in those parts of *Syria* which hee held. For *Callosyria*, with *Palestina* and all those parts of the Countrey that lay neerer vnto *Egypt*, were held by the *Egyptians*; either as hauing fallen to the share of *Ptolemy* the first, at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished and slaine in the battaile at *Ipsus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troublefome and vnhappie reigne of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages betweene the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucides*, were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecie before cited, which is expounded by *S. Hierome*. This *Ptolemy Euergetes* reigned six and twentie yeeres; and died towards the end of the hundred thirtie and ninth *Olympiad*. It may seeme by that, which we find in the Prologue vnto *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach* his booke, that he should haue reigned a much longer time. For *Sirachides* there saith, that he came into *Egypt* in the eight and thirtieth yeere, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, that either this King reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirtieth yeeres, were the yeeres of *Iesus* his owne age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Iewes* did otherwise reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Nor long after the death of *Euergetes*, *Hermias* the Counsaile, and in a manner the Protectour of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord vnto warre against the *Egyptians*; for the recovery of *Callosyria* and the Countreies adioyning. This counsaile was verie vnseasonably giuen; when *Molo* the Kings Lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out into rebellion, and fought to make himselfe absolute Lord of that rich Countrey. Neuertheless *Hermias*, being more froward than wife, maintained stiffe, that it was most expedient, and agreeable with the Kings honour, to send forth against rebellious Captain, other Captaines that were faithful, whilst He in person made warre vpon one, that was like himselfe, a King. No man durst gainsay the resolution of *Hermias*; who therefore sent *Xenatas* an *Achean*, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebelle, whilst in the meane season an Armie was preparing for the Kings Expedition into *Callosyria*. The King hauing marched from *Apamea* to *Laodicea*, and so ouer the Defarts into the Vallie of *Marfus*, betwene the Mountaines of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*, found his way there stopped by *Theodotus* an *Aetolian*, that serued vnder *Ptoleme*. So hee consumed the time there awhile to none effect: and then came newes, that *Xenatas*, his Capitaine, was destroyed with his whole Armie; and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Countrey, as farre as vnto *Babylon*.

Xenatas, whilst he was yet on his journey, and drew neere to the Riuer of *Tygris*, received many aduertisements, by such as fledde ouer vnto him from the Enemy, that the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wills, drawne by their Commander to beare armes against the King. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himselfe stood in some doubt lest his followers would leaue him in time of necessitie. *Xenatas* therefore making hew, as if hee had prepared to passe the Riuer by Boats in face of his Enemy; left in the night time such as he thought meete to defend his Campe; and with all the floure of his Armie went ouer *Tygris*, in a place ten miles lower than *Molo* his Campe. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his horse to giue impediment: but hearing that *Xenatas* could not so bee stopped, He himselfe dislodged, and tooke his iourney towards *Media*; leaving all his baggage behinde him in his Campe. Whether he did this, as distrustful the faith of his owne

fouldiours:

fouldiours: or whether thereby to deceiue his Enemy; the great folly of *Xenatas* made his stratageme prosperous. For *Xenatas*, hauing borne himselfe proudly before, vpon the countenance of *Hermias* by whom he was aduanced vnto this charge; did now presume, that all should giue way to his authoritie, without putting him to much trouble of vsing the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast, with the provisions which they found ready in the forsaken Campe: or rather hee commanded them so doe, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish vp themselves against the iourney, which hee intended to take next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose hee bulied himselfe, in transporting the remainder of his Armie, which he had left on the other side of *Tygris*. But *Molo* went no further that day, than he could easily returne the same night. Wherefore vnderstanding what good rule the Kings men kept: hee made such haste backe vnto them, that he came vpon them early in the morning; whilst they were yet heauie with the wine and other good cheare, that they had spent at supper. So *Xenatas* and a very few about him, died fighting in defence of the Campe: the rest were slaughtered, without making resistance; and many of them, ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Campe on the other side of *Tygris*, was easily taken by *Molo*: the Captaines flying thence, to save their owne liues. In the heat of this victorie, the Rebelle marched vnto *Seleneis*, which he presently tooke: and, masticating within a little while the Prouince of *Babylonia*, and all the Countrey downe to the Red-Sea, or Bay of *Persia*. He halted vnto *Susa*; whereat his first comming hee wan the Citie: but failing to take the Castle that was exceeding strong, returned backe to *Seleneis*, there to giue order concerning this bulinesse.

The report of these things comming to *Antiochus*, whilst he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of *Marfus*; filled him with great sorrow, and his Campe with trouble. He tooke counsaile what to doe in this needfull case; and was well aduised by *Epigenes* the best man of warre hee had about him, to leaue this Enterprise of *Callosyria*; and bend his forces thither, where more neede required them. This counsaile was put in execution with all conuenient haste. Yet was *Epigenes* dismissed by the way, and soone after slaine, by the practice of *Hermias*; who could not endure to heare good counsaile giuen, contrary to his owne good liking and allowance. In the iourney against *Molo*, the name and presence of the King was more available, than any oddes which hee had of the Rebel in strength. *Molo* distrusted his owne followers: and thought, that neither his late good success, nor any other consideration, would serue to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience; if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him, to assaile the Kings Campe in the night time. But going in hand with this, He was discomfited by some that fled ouer from him to the King. This caused him to returne backe to his Campe: which, by some error, tooke alarme at his returne; and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in sight. The King was thus forward in giuing battaile to *Molo*, vpon confidence which hee had that many would reuolt vnto him. Neither was hee deceiued in this his beliefe: For not a few men, or Ensignes; but all the left wing of the Enemy, which was opposite vnto the King, changed side forth with as soone as euer they had sight of the Kings person; and were ready to doe him service against *Molo*. This was enough to haue wonne the Victorie: but *Molo* shortened the worke, by killing himselfe; as did also diuers of his friends, who for feare of torments prevented the Hang-man with their owne swords.

After this Victorie came ioyfull newes, that the Queene *Laodice*, daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was married vnto *Antiochus* awhile before, had brought forth a sonne. Fortune seemed bountifull vnto the King: and therefore he purposed to make what vs hee could, other friendly disposition while it lasted: Being now in the Easterne parts of his kingdome, Hee iudged it conuenient to visit his Frontiers, were it onely to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered vpon him. Hereunto his Counsaile *Hermias* gaue assent: not so much respecting the Kings honour;

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as considering what good might thereby happen to himselfe. For if it should come to passe, that the King were taken out of the world by any casualty: then made hee no doubt of becoming Protector to the yong Prince; and thereby of lengthening his owne Government. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Artabazanes*, who reigned among the *Atropians*, hauing the greatest part of his kingdome, situate betwene the *Caspian* and the *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous King was very old and fearefull; and therefore yielded vnto whatsoever Conditions it pleased *Antiochus* to lay vpon him. So in this iourney *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Vpon the way a Physician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truly, how odious hee was vnto the people; and how dangerous he would be shortly vnto the Kings owne life. *Antiochus* beleued this, hauing long suspected the same *Hermias*; but not daring, for feare of him, to vtter his suspitions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden: which was done, he being trained forth by a sleight a good way out of the Campe, and there killed without warning or disputation. The King needed not to haue vsed so much Art, in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howfewer hee seemed gracious whilst hee was alive: yet they that for feare had been most obsequious to him, whilst hee was in case to doe them hurt, were as ready as the foremost, to speake of him as hee had deserved, when once they were secure of him: Yea, his wife and children lying then at *Apamea*, were toned to death by the wiles and children of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outrageously, the longer that it had been concealed.

About these times, *Achæus* (of whom we spake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of those Expeditions which hee tooke in hand; was bold to set a Diademe vpon his owne head, and take vpon him as a King. His purpose was to haue invaded *Syria*: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprize; and studie to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange; that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achæus*; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken, of these his traitorous purposes: but wrote vnto him, signifying that he knew all; and vpbraiding him with so much infidelitie, as any offender might know to be vn pardonable. By these meanes he emboldened the Traitor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintaine his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by submission. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recouer *Callosyria*, or what els he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolemie Philopater* in those parts. He began with *Seleucia*, a very strong Citie neere vnto the mouth of the Riuer *Orontes*; which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with brybes the Capitaines that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonus the great* who founded it, gaue the name of *Antigonia*: but *Seleucus* getting it shortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolemie Evergetes* hauing lately won it, might, if it had so pleased him, haue changed the name into *Ptolemais*. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an endless memorie vnto their names, by workes proceeding rather from their greatnesse, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their owne, than the same greatnesse hath continuance. *Theodotus the Aetolian*, he that before had opposed himselfe to *Antiochus*, and defended *Callosyria* in the behalfe of *Ptolemie*; was now growne forrie, that he had vsed so much faith and diligence, in seruice of an vnthankfull and luxurious Prince. Wherefore, as a Mercinarie, he began to haue regard vnto his owne profit: which thinking to finde greater, by applying himselfe vnto him that was (questionlesse) the more worthe of these two Kings; He offered to deliuer vp vnto *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrrus* and *Ptolemais*. Whilst he was deuising about this treason, and had already sent messengers to King *Antiochus*: his practice was detected, and he besieged in *Ptolemais* by one of *Ptolemies* Capitaines, that was more faithfull then himselfe. But *Antiochus* hailing to his rescue, vanquished this Capitaine who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession,

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not onely of *Tyrrus* and *Ptolemais*, with a good fleet of the *Egyptian* Kings that was in those Hauens: but of so many other Townes in that Countrie, as emboldened him to thinke vpon making a iourney into *Egypt* it selfe. *Agathodes* and *Sosibius* bore all the sway in *Egypt* at that time: *Ptolemie* himselfe being loth to haue his pleasures interrupted, with businesse of so small importance, as the safetie of his Kingdome. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make prouision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be, for the warre: and neuerthelesse, at the same time, to picke *Antiochus* with daily Embassadors to some good agreement. There came in the heate of this businesse, Embassadors from *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewise from the *Stolians*; according to the vsuall courtesie of the *Greekes*, desiring to take vp the quarrell. These were all entertained in *Alempsis*, by *Agathodes* and *Sosibius*: who intreated them to deale effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilst this Treatie lasted, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the warre: wherein these two Counsaillours perswaded themselves reasonably, that the victory would be their owne; if they could get, for monie, a sufficient number of the *Greekes* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard onely what was done at *Alempsis*, and how desirous the Governours of *Egypt* were to be at quiet: wherunto he gaue the readier beliefe, not onely for that he knew the disposition of *Ptolemie*, but because the *Rhodians*, and other Embassadors, coming from *Alempsis*, discoursed vnto him all after one manner; as being all deuiued, by the cunning of *Agathodes* and his fellow. *Antiochus* therefore haueing decayed himselfe, at the long siege of a Towne called *Dara*, which he could not winne: and being desirous to refresh himselfe and his Armie in *Seleucia*, during the Winter which then came on; granted vnto the *Egyptians* a Truce for foure moneths, with promise that he would be ready to hearken vnto equall Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as he would faine haue seemed, but onely to lull his enemies asleepe, whilst he tooke time to refresh himselfe; and to bring *Achæus* to some good order, whose treason dayly grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the *Egyptians* would haue vsed, hee vsed himselfe; as presuming, that when time of the yeere better serued, little force would be needfull; for that the Townes would voluntarily yeelde vnto him, since *Ptolemie* provided not for their defence. Neuerthelesse, he gaue audience to the Embassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of *Egypt*: pleasing himselfe well, to dispute about the iustice of his quarrell; which he purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were iust or no. He said, that it was agreed betwene *Seleucus* his Ancestor, and *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, that all *Syria*, if they could win it from *Antigonus*, should be giuen in possession to *Seleucus*; and that this bargain was afterwards ratified, by generall consent of all the Confederates, after the battaile at *Issus*. But *Ptolemies* men would acknowledge no such bargain. They said, that *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, had wonne *Callosyria*, and the Provinces adioyning for himselfe: as also that he had sufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recouer his Prouince of *Babylon*, and the Countreies about the Riuer of *Euphrates*. Thus whilst neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were, in the end of their disputation, as farre from concluding as at the beginning. *Ptolemie* demanded restitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his owne: Also *Ptolemie* would needes haue *Achæus* comprehended in the League betwene them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to heare of this, exclaiming against it as a shameful thing, that one King should offer to deale so with another, as to take his Rebelle into protection, and seeke to ioine him in Confederacie with his owne Soueraigne Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field againe: contrary to his expectation hee was informed, that *Ptolemie*, with a very puissant Armie, was coming vp against him out of *Egypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountered on the way by those Capitaines of *Ptolemie*, that had resisted him

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the yeere before. They held against him the passages of *Libanus*, whence neuertheless he draue them: and, proceeding onward in his iourne, wan so many places, that he greatly increas'd his reputation; and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with diuers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew neere together: many Captaines of *Ptolemie* forooke his pay, and fled ouer to *Antiochus*. This notwithstanding, the *Egyptian* had the courage to meete his Enemy in the field. The battaile was fought at *Raphia*: where it was not to be decided, whether the *Egyptians* or *Assatians* were the better Souldiers (for that the strength of both Armies consisted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the *Greekes*, *Thracians*, and *Gauls*) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolemie*, with *Arinoe* his sister¹⁰ and Wife, rode vp and downe encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other side: each of them rehearsing the braue deedes of their Ancestors; as not hauing of their owne, whereby to valet themselves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants: as also his, being of *Asia*, had they beene fewer would haue beaten those of *Africke*. Wherefore by the aduantage of these beasts, hee draue the enemies before him, in that part of the battaile wherein hee fought himselfe. But *Ptolemie* had the better men: by whose valour he brake the Grosse of his Enemies battaile, and wan the victory; whilst *Antiochus* was heedlesly following vpon those, whom hee had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field aboute seuentie thousand foot, and six thousand Horse: whereof though hee lost scarce ten thousand foote, and not²⁰ four hundred horse; yet the fame of his ouerthrow tooke from him all those places which he had lately wonne. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch*: hee began to stand in feare, lest *Ptolemie* and *Achæus*, setting vpon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors vnto the *Egyptian* to treat of peace: which was readily graunted; it being much against the nature of *Ptolemie*, to vex himselfe thus with the tedious busines of warre. So *Ptolemie*, hauing staied there moneths in *Syria*, returned home into *Egypt* clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his subjects, and of all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothfull condition.³⁰

Achæus was not comprised in the League betwene these two Kings: or if hee had beene included therein; yet would not the *Egyptian* haue taken the paines, of making a second Expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himselfe strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deale with *Antiochus*. Neither was hee confident without great reason: For besides his many victories, whereby hee had gotten all that belonged vnto *Antiochus* on this side of *Taurus*, hee had also good successe against *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; that was an able man of warre, and commanded a strong Armie. Neither was hee, as *Molo* the Rebelle had beene, one of meane regard otherwise, and carryed beyond himselfe by apprehending the vantage of some opportunitie: but Coulin german to the King, as hath⁴⁰ beene shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a yonger daughter of the same *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was also called *Laudice*, as was her sister the *Queene*, *Antiochus* his wife. These things had added maiestie vnto him; and had made his followers greatly to respect him, euen as one to whome a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a litle for him, That King *Ptolemie* of *Egypt* held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquished in the battaile at *Raphia* and had thereby lost all his gettings in *Syria*. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing: For the King of *Pontus*, if he would meddle in that quarrel betwene his sonnes-in-law, had no reason⁵⁰ to take part against the more honourable. As for the *Egyptian*: hee was not onely slothfull; but hindred by a rebellion of his owne subjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Egypt*, of whom *Ptolemie*, contrarie to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to serue in the late Expedition; began to entertaine a good opinion of their owne valour, thinking it not inferior

to the *Macedonian*. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done: since they lesse esteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings Mercenary *Greekes*; which had hitherto kept them in streight subiection. Thus brake out a warre betwene the King and his subjects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the Multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolemie* thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might haue bene spent, as hee thought, much better in reuelling; or, as others thought, in succouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*, he had no sooner made his peace with the *Egyptian*, than he returned all his care to the preparation of warre against *Achæus*. To this purpose he entred into¹⁰ League with *Attalus*; that so hee might distract the forces of his Rebelle, and finde him worke on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within a while he had pent vp *Achæus* into the Citie of *Sardes*; where he held him about two yeeres besieged. The Citie was very strong, and well victualled: so as there appeared not, when the second yeere came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first yeeres siege. In the end, one *Lagoras* a *Cretan* found meanes how to enter the Towne. The Cattle it selfe was vpon a very high Rocke, and in a manner impregnable, as also the Towne-wall adioyning to the Cattle, in that part which was called the *Sauie*, was in like manner situated vpon steepe Rocks, and hardly accessible; that hung ouer a deepe bottome, whereinto the dead carcases of Horses, and²⁰ other beasts, yea, and sometimes of men, vied to be throwne. Now it was obserued by *Lagoras*, that the Ravens and other birds of prey, which hanted that place by reason of their lood which was there neuer wanting, vied to flie vp vnto the top of the Rockes, and to pitch vpon the walls; where they rested without any disturbance. Obseruing this often, he reasoned with himselfe, and concluded, that those parts of the Wall were leitt vnguarded, as beeing thought vnapproachable. Heereof hee informed the King: who approued his iudgement, and gaue vnto him the leading of such men, as hee desired for the accomplishing of the enterprize. The successe was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had afore conceiued: and, though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those Rockes, and³⁰ (whilst a generall assault was made) entred the Towne in that part; which was, at other times vngarded, then vmthought vpon. In the same place had the *Persians*, vnder *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardes*; when *Craesus* thought himselfe secure on that side. But the Citizens tooke not warning, by the example of a losse many ages past; and therefore out of memorie. *Achæus* held still the Cattle: which not onely seemed by nature impregnable, but was very well stored with all necessaries; and manned with a sufficient number, of such as were to him well assured. *Antiochus* therefore was constrained to waste much time about it; hauing none other hope to preuaile, than by famishing the inclosed. Besides the vsuall tediousness of expectation; his businesse called him thence away into the higher *Asia*, where the *Bactrians*, and *Partians*⁴⁰ with the *Hyrcanians*, had erected Kingdomes taken out of his Dominions, vpon which they still incroched. But hee thought it not safe, to let *Achæus* breake loose againe. On the other side there were some Agents of *Ptolemie* the *Egyptian*, and good friends vnto *Achæus*; that made it their whole studie, how to deliuer this besieged Prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more; but presumed, that when he should appeare in the Countries vnder *Taurus*, he would soone haue an Armie at commaund, and be strong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to worke as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a *Cretan*, that was acquainted well with all the wayes in the Countie, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those Rockes, whereon the Cattle⁵⁰ of *Sardes* stood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receiue at the hands of *Ptolemie*, as well as of *Achæus*; to doe his best for performance of their desire. He vnderooke the businesse: and gaue such likely reasons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote vnto *Achæus*, by one *Arrianus*, a trustie messenger, whom *Bolis* found meanes to conueigh into the Cattle. The faith of these Negotiators

tiators *Achens* held most assured. They also wrote vnto him in priuie characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none faue he and they were acquainted: whereby hee knew, that it was no fained deuice of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the messenger; he was a trustie fellow, and one whom *Achens* found, by examination, heartily affected vnto the fide. But the Contents of the Epistle, which were, That hee should bee confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolis* had wonne vnto the businesse, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him vnknowne: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; vnder whom he had the command of those *Cretians*, which held one of the Forts that blocked vp the Cattle of *Sardes*. Neuerthelesse other way to escape hee saw none, than by putting himselfe to some aduerture. When the messenger had therefore passed often to and fro: it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himselfe should come speake with *Achens*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, saue onely by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*; which were *Cretians*, and (as all their Countreimen,

* Some few excepted, haue bene, and still are) false knaues. These two held a consultation together, that was, as *Polybius* obserues it, rightly *Cretical*: neither concerning the safetie of him whose deluerance they vndertooke, nor touching the discharge of their owne faith; but onely how to get most with least adoe and danger to themselves. Briefly they concluded, That first of all they would equally share betwene them ten Talents, which they had already receiued in hand: and then, That they would reueale the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliuer *Achens* vnto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present monie, and with promise of consideration answerable to the greatnesse of such a seruice, when it should be dispatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promise of *Cambylus*, was no lesse glad; than were the friends of *Achens* well pleased with the comfortable promises of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readinesse on both sides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* was to get vp into the Castle, and conueigh *Achens* thence: Hee first went with *Cambylus* to speake with the King, who gaue him very priuate audience; and confirmed vnto him by word of mouth the assurance of his liberal promises. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithful vnto *Ptolemie* whom he had long serued; He accompanied *Arianus* vp into the Castle. At his comming thither, Hee was louingly entertained; yet questioned at large by *Achens*, touching all the weight of the businesse in hand. But he discouered so well, and with such grauitie; that there appeared no reason of distrustful either his faith or judgement. Hee was an old Souldiour, had long been a Captaine vnder *Ptolemie*, and did not thrust himselfe into this businesse; but was invited by honourable and faithfull men. He had also taken a faine course, in winning (as it seemed) that other Countreiman of his, who kept a Fort that stood in their way; and thereby had already sundry times giuen safe passage and repassage vnto *Arianus*. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an aduerture stirred vp some diffidence. *Achens* therefore dealt wisely, and said, That hee would yet stay in the Castle a little longer: but that he meant to fend away with *Bolis* three or foure of his friends; from whom hee receiued better aduertisement, concerning the likelihood of the enterprise, then would hee issue forth himselfe. Hereby heooke order, not to commit himselfe wholly vnto the faith of a man vnknowne. But, as *Polybius* well notes, he did not consider that he playd the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which is to say, That hee had to doe with one, whose knauey could not be auoided by circumspection. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had layd their plots thus; That if *Achens* came forth alone, then should hee easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should *Arianus* be appointed to leade the way, as one that of late had troden it off; and *Bolis* following behinde, should haue an eye vpon *Achens*, to prevent him not onely from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his owne necke, or otherwise killing himselfe: to the end that being taken aliue, Hee might bee to *Antiochus* the more welcome Present.

* Among the few I doe not except one, calling himselfe *Eudamius* (John Andrew, a *Cretian*: who in one of his late themselfe li-bels, wherein hee tradueth our King, Religion, and Countrey, with all the good & worthy men of whom hee could learne the money, hath, by inserting my name, twice belied me; in calling me a Puritan, & one that haue bene dangerous vnto my Soueraigne. It is an honour to bee ill spoken of by so many a supporter of Treasons, and Architect of Lies: in regard whereof I may not denie him the commendation of *Cretians*: no lesse voluminous, than hee in malitipicities of name; beyond any the *Cretian* in elder times, that were alwayes Iyers, full beasty, and flowbellies, &c. *Polybius* lib. 8.

sent. And in such order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide; the rest following, as the way serued, and *Bolis* in the Rere. *Achens* made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then signified hee the matter to his wife *Laodice*; and comforting her with hopes as well as hee could, appointed foure of his especiall friends to beare him companie. They were all disguised: and one of them alone tooke vpon him to haue knowledge of the *Greeke* tongue; speaking and answering, as needs should require, for all, as if the rest had been *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily deuiling vpon his businesse, and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*) Though he were of *Crete*, and prone to surmise 10 any thing to the mischiefe of another: yet could hee not see in the darke, nor know which of them was *Achens*, or whether *Achens* himselfe were there. The way was very vneale, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were faine to stay in diuers places, and helpe one another vp or downe. But vpon euery occasion, they were all of them very officious toward *Achens*; lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gaue *Bolis* to vnderstand, that hee was the man: and so by their vnseasonable dutie, they vndid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in waite, *Bolis* whistled, and presently clasped *Achens* about the middle, holding him fast that hee should not stirre. So they were all taken by the Ambush, and carried forth with 20 *Antiochus*: who late vp watching in his Pavilion, expecting the event. The sight of *Achens*, brought in bound vnto him, did so astonish the King, that he was vnable to speake a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was hee before informed of the plot, which might haue kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betimes assembling his friends together, Hee condemned *Achens* to a cruell death; which argues, that hee was not moued with pittie towards this vnhappy man. Wherefore it was the generall regard of calamities, incident vnto great fortunes, that wrung from him these teares: as also the raritie of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it bee so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischieuous knaues against one Traitor, doth not rarely succeed 30 well; according to that Spanish Prouerbe, *A un traydor dos aluados*. The death of *Achens* brought such astonishment vpon those which held the Castle, that after a while they gaue vp the place and themselves vnto the King; whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser *Asia*.

Some yeeres passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his Expedition against the *Parthians*, and *Syrcians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obscure beginnings; and commonly subiect vnto those that ruled in *Media*. In the great shuffling for Provinces, after the death of *Alexander*, the Government ouer them was committed by *Antipater* to one *Philip*, a man of small regard; shortly they fell to *Eumenes*; then to *Antigonius*; and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Selenus*: vnder whose posteritie they continued until the Reigne of *Selenus Callicene*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The lustfull insolencie of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Callicene*, that was vanquished and thought to be slaine by the *Gauls*; did stirre vp *Artaces*, a Noble man of the Countrie, to seek reuenge of iniuries done, and animate him to rebell. So hee slue the Kings Lieutenant, made himselfe King of the *Parthians*, and Lord of *Syrcia*; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings; and tooke *Selenus Callicene* prisoner in battaile, whom he royally entertained, and dismissed. Hereby he wanne reputation as a lawfull King; and by good government of his Countrey, procured vnto himselfe such loue of his subjects, that his name was continued vnto his Successors, 50 like as that of the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*, and that of the *Caesars* afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the same time the *Bactrians* rebelled: though these at length, and all belonging vnto the *Seleucida* beyond *Euphrates*, increased the *Parthians* Dominion. Now *Antiochus* went against them with so strong an Armie, that they durst not meet him in plaine field; but kept themselves in Woods, or places of strength, and de-

fended the Streights and passages of Mountaines. The resistances they made auailed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him so great a multitude, and so well sorted, as hee needed not to turne out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him, in Woods and Streights betweene their Mountaines; it being easie to spare out of so great a number, as many as fetching a compasse about, might either get about the Enemies heads, or come behinde, and charge them on the backe. Thus did he often employ against them his light armature: wherewith hee caused them to dislodge, and giue way vnto his *Phalanx*; vpon which they durst not aduenture themselves in open ground. *Asiaces*, the second of the name, (for his Father was dead before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though hee was confident in the fidelitie of his owne subjects; yet feared to encounter with so mighty an invader. His hope was, that the bad wayes, and Defarts, would haue caused *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to giue ouer the journey, without proceeding much further. This not so falling out; He caused the Wel and Springs in the Wildernesse, through which his Enemy must passe, to bee dammed vp and spoyle. By which means, and thereliance before spoken of, when he could no preuaile, Hee withdrew himselfe out of the way; suffering the Enemy to take his pleasure for a time, in walling the Countrey: wherein, without some victory obtained, hee could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Asiaces* was nothing strongly provided for the warre. Wherefore hee marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and then 20 forward into *Hyrcania*; where hee wanne *Tambrace*, the chiefe Cite of that Province. This indignitie, and many other losses, caused *Asiaces* at length, when hee had gathered an Armie that seemed strong enough, to aduenture a battaile. The issue thereof was such, as gaue to neither of the Kings hope of accomplishing his desires, without exceeding difficultie. Wherefore *Asiaces* craued Peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amisse, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a subiect.

The next Expedition of *Antiochus*, was against *Euthydemus* King of the *Bactrians*; one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors: but hauing gotten the Kingdome from those that had rebelled, kept it to himselfe. With *Euthydemus* he fought a battaile by the Riuer *Arus*, where hee had the victory. But the victorie was not so greatly to his honour; as was the testimonie which he gaue of his owne priuate valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to haue demeaned him more courageously, than did any one man in all his Armie. His Horse was slaine vnder him; and hee himselfe receiued a wound in his mouth, whereby hee lost some of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, He withdrew himselfe backe into the further parts of his Kingdome, and afterwards protracted the Warre, seeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadors passed betweene the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, That a Countrey of his was vniuistly vsurped from him: *Euthydemus* answering, That hee had wonne it from the children of the *Vsarpers*: and further, 40 That the *Bactrians*, a wilde Nation, could hardly be retained in order, saue by a King of their owne; for that they bordered vpon the *Scythians*, with whom if they should ioyne, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his owne wearinesse, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, vpon reasonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the sonne of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his Father as Embassador in this Treatie of Peace, was not a little auaileable vnto a good Conclusion: For *Antiochus* liked him so well, that hee promised to giue him in marriage one of his owne daughters: and therewithall permitted *Euthydemus* to retaine the Kingdome; causing him neuertheless to deliuer vp all his Elephants; as also to binde himselfe by 50 oath, to such Couenants as he thought requisite.

So *Antiochus* leauing the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a journey ouer *Caucasus*, and came to the borders of *India*, where hee renewed with *Sophaganeus*, King of the *Indians*, the societie that had been betweene their Ancestors. The *Indians* had re-

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mained subject vnto the *Macedonians*, for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his Warre against *Antigonus*, rayled part of their Countrey. But when *Antigonus* after his victorie turned Westward, and was ouer-buried in a great ciuill Warre: then did one *Sandroctottus*, an *Indian*, stirre vp his Countrey to Rebellion; making himselfe their Captaine, and taking vpon him as Protector of their libertie. This Office and Title hee soone changed, though not without some contention, into the Name and Maietie of a King. Finally hee got vnto himselfe, (hauing an Armie of fixe hundred thousand men) if not all *India*, yetas much of it as had bene *Alexanders*. In this Estate hee had well confirmed himselfe, ere *Seleucus Nicator* could find leisure to call him to account. Neither did Hee faint, or humble himselfe, at the coming of *Seleucus*: but met him in field, as ready to defend his owne; so strongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented, to make both peace and amitie with him, taking only a reward of fiftie Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* kingdomes, was continued by some Offices of loue betweene their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whose number of Elephants were increased thereupon, by the *Indian* King, to an hundred and fiftie: as also he was promised, to haue some treasure sent after him; which hee left one to receiue. Thus parted these two great Kings. Neither had the *Indians*, from this time forwards, in many generations, any bulinnesse worthe of remembrance with the Westerne Countreies. The posteritie of *Sandroctottus*, is thought to haue retained that kingdome vnto the dayes of *Angustus Caesar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in *India*, sent Embassadors with Presents, and an Epistle written in *Greece*; wherein, among other things, Hee saide, That Hee had command ouer fixe hundred Kings. There is also found, scattered in sundrie Authors, the mention of some which held that kingdome in diuers Ages, euen vnto the time of *Constantine the great*: being all peraduenture of the same race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treatie with *Sophaganeus* carried himselfe as the worthier person, receiuing Presents; and after marched home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with such reputation, that all the Potentates not onely in the higher *Asia*, but on the 30 higher side of *Taurus*, humbled themselves vnto him, and called him *The Great*: saw an end of his owne Greatnesse within few yeeres ensuing, by presuming to stand vpon points with the *Romans*; whose Greatnesse was the same in deed, that his was onely in seeming.

¶ III.

The lewd Reigne of *PTOLEMIE PHILOPATOR* in *Egypt*: with the tragickall end of his fauourites, when hee was dead. *ANTIOCHVS* prepares to warre on the young child *PTOLEMIE EPIPHANES*, the sonne of *PHILOPATOR*. His irresolution in preparing for diuers warres at once. His Voyage toward the Hellespont. Hee seeks to hold amitie with the *Romans*, who make friendly shew to him; intending neuertheless to haue warre with him. His doings about the Hellespont: which the *Romans* made the first ground of their quarrell to him.

His Expedition being finished; *Antiochus* had leisure to repose himselfe awhile, and studie which way to conuert the terror of his puissance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three yeeres *Ptolemie Philopator* died: leauing his sonne *Ptolemie Epiphanes*, a young Boy, his successor in the kingdome; unlikely by him to be well defended, against a neighbour so mightie and ambitious. This *Ptolemie* surnamed *Philopator*, that is to say, a lover of his Father, is thought to haue had that surname given him in more derision; as hauing made away both his Father and Mother. His yong yeeres, being newly past his childhood when hee beganne to reigne,

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may seeme to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beautillesse of all his following life, makes him not vnlike to haue done any mischief, whereof he could be accused. Hauing wonne the battaile at *Raphia*, He gaue him selfe ouer to sensuality: & was wholly gouerned by a Strumpet called *Agathodes*. At her instigation Hee murdered his owne wife and sister; which had aduentured herselfe with him, in that onely dangerous Action by him vnderaken and performed with honor. The Lieutenant-ships of his Prouinces, with all Commands in his Armie, and Offices whatsoever, were wholly referred to the disposition of this *Agathodes*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and of *Oenanthe* a filthie Bawd that was mother vnto them both. So these three gouerned the Realme at their pleasure, to the great griefe of all the Countrey, till *Philopator* died: who hauing reigned seuentee yeeeres, left none other sonne than *Ptolemie Epiphanes* a child of five yeeeres old, begotten on *Arinoe* that was his siter and wife. After the Kings death; *Agathodes* beganne to take vpon him, as Protector of young *Epiphanes*, and Gouernour of the Land. He assembled the *Macedons* (which were the Kings ordinarie forces in pay, not all borne in *Macedonia*, but the race of those that abode in *Egypt* with *Ptolemie the first*, and would not bee accounted *Egyptians*; as neither would the Kings themselves) and bringing forth vnto them his siter *Agathodes*, with the yong King in her armes; beganne a Iolenne Oration. He told them, That the deceased father of this their King, had committed the child into the armes of his siter, but vnto the 20 faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole fate of the Kingdome did now relye. He besought them therefore that they would bee faithfull, and, as great need was, defend their King against the treason of one *Tlepolemus*, an ambitious man, who traictrously went about to set the Diademe vpon his owne head, being a meere stranger to the Royall blood. Herewithall hee produced before them a witnesse, that should iustifie his accusation against *Tlepolemus*. Now though it were so, that he deliuered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, and counterfeiting of teares: yet the *Macedons* that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shamelesse dissembler he was, to take so much vpon him, as if he knew nor how greatly hee was hated. And so brake vp the 30 Assembly: Hee that had called it, being scarce aware how. *Agathodes* therefore, whom the old Kings fauour had made mighty, but neither wife nor well qualified; thought to goe to worke, as had formerly bene his manner, by vsing his authoritie, to the suppression of those that hee distrusted. Hee haied out of a Temple the mother-in-law of *Tlepolemus*; & cast her into prison. This filled *Alexandria* with rumors, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilst they were committed in the old Kings name) to meet in knots together, and vtter one to another their mindes; wherein they had conceiued extreme hate, against these pernicious misgouernours of the old King. Besides their consideration of the present iniurie done to *Tlepolemus*, they were somewhat also moued with feare of 40 harme; which, in way of requittall, *Tlepolemus* was likely to doe vnto the Citie. For He was, though a man most vnapt for Gouernment, as afterwards hee proued; yet no bad Souldier, and well beloued of the Armie. It was also then in his power, to stop the prouision of victuals which was to come into *Alexandria*. As these motiues wrought with the people: so by the remedie which *Agathodes* vsed, were the *Macedons* more basely, and more violently stirred vnto vpror. He secretly apprehended one of their number, whom he suspected of conspiracie against him; and deliuered him vnto a follower of his owne, to be examined by torture. This poore souldior was carried into an inner roome of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his apparell to be tormented. But whilst the whippes were brought forth, and all things euen in a readinesse for that purpose, there was brought vnto the Minister of *Agathodes*, a sad report of *Tlepolemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the roome; leauing *Moeragenes* the Souldior alone by himselfe, and the doores open. Hee perceiving this, naked as 45 he

he was, conneighed himselfe out of the Palace, and got vnto the *Macedonians*; of whom hee found some in a Temple thereby at dinner. The *Macedonians* were as fierce in maintenance of their Priuiledges, as are the *Turkes Janizars*. Being assured therefore that one of their fellows had thus bene vsed; they fell to Armes in a great rage, and began to force the Palace: crying out, That they would see the King, and not leaue him in possession of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the Citie, with lowd clamours, made no lesse ado than the Souldiours, though to lesse effect. So the old Bawd *Oenanthe* fled into a Temple: her Sonne and Daughter staid in the Court, vntill the King was taken from them; and they, 10 by his permission which hee easily gaue, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, deliuered vp to the furie of the people. *Agathodes* himselfe was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His siter was dragged naked vp and downe the threets; as was also his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed vpon them a barbarous execution of iustice; biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

These troubles in *Egypt*, serued well to stirre vp King *Antiochus*; who had very good leisure, though he wanted all pretence, to make warre vpon young *Ptolemie*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had the same desire, to get what part he could of the childes 20 estate. But it happened well, that *Ptolemie Philopator* in the Punick Warre, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices vnto the *Romans*. Vnto them theretore the *Egyptians* addressed themselves, and craued helpe against these two Kings: who though they secretly maligned one the other, yet had entred into cōuenant to diuide betwene them, all that belonged vnto this *Orphan*; whose Father had bene Confederat with them both. So *M. Lepidus* was sent from *Rome*, to protect from all violence the King of *Egypt*; especially against *Antiochus*. As for the *Macedonian*; Hee was very soone found bulied, with warre at his owne doores. Also *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, being a Pensioner to the *Egyptian*, was sent into *Greece* to raise an Armie of Mercenaries. What *Lepidus* did in *Egypt*, I doe not find: and therefore thinke it not improbable, that Hee was sent thither onely one of the 30 three Embassadors, in the beginning of the Warre with *Philip*, as hath bene shewed before. As for *Scopas*; He shortly after went vp into *Syria* with his Armie; where winning many places, among the rest of his Acts, He subdued the *Iewes* who seeme to haue yielded themselves a little before vnto *Antiochus*, at such time as they saw him prepare for his Warre, and despaired of receiuing helpe from *Egypt*. But it was not long, ere all these Victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the very next yeeere following, which was (according to *Eusebius*) the same yeeere that *Philip* was beaten at *Cyncephala*; *Antiochus* vanquished *Scopas* in battaile, and recovered all that had bene lost. Among the rest, the *Iewes* with great willingnesse returned vnder his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated. 40

The Land of *Egypt* this great King did forebore to invade; and gaue it out, that he meant to bestow a daughter of his owne in marriage vpon *Ptolemie*: either hoping, as may seeme, that the Countrey would willingly submit it selfe vnto him, if this yong child should happen to miscarrie; or else that greater purchase might be made in the Westerne parts of *Asia*, whilst *Philip* was held ouer-laboured by the *Romans*. It appeares that he was very much distracted, hunting (as we say) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels betwene *Attalus*, *Philip*, and the *Greekes*, promised to afford him great aduantage, if he should bring his Armie to the *Hellepont*. On the other side, the state of *Egypt* being such as hath bene declared, seemed easie to be swallowed vp at once. One while therefore hee tooke what hee could get in *Syria*: where all were willing (and the *Iewes* among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the *Egyptian*) to yeeld him obedience. Another while, letting *Egypt* alone, He was about to make inuasion vpon *Attalus* his Kingdome; yet suffered himselfe easily to be perswaded by the *Roman* Embas- 50 sadors,

* *Isid. lib. 30.*o *Lib. lib. 31.*Vid. *Isid. lib. 30.*
Iud. *lib. 12. c. 3.*

ladours, and delighted from that enterprife. Having thus farre gratified the *Romans*; He sends Embassadors to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amitie betweene him and them. It is not lightly to be ouerpast, that these his Embassadors were lovingly entertained at *Rome*; and dismissed, with a Decree and answer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King *Antiochus*. But this answer of the *Romans* was not sincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their owne intent. They had not as yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great warres at once. Wherefore, not standing much vpon the nice examination of what belonged vnto their honour, they were content to giue good words for the present. In the meane time *Antiochus* fights 10 with *Scopas* in *Syria*, and shortly prepares to winne some Townes elsewhere, belonging vnto *Ptolemie*; yet withall hee sends an Armie Westward, intending to make what profit hee can of the distractions in *Greece*. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much irresolution, How notwithstanding his attempts vpon both of their Kingdomes, he offered one of his daughters to *Ptolemie*, and another to *Eumenes* the sonne of *Attalus*, newly King of *Pergamus*: seeking each of their friendships, at one and the same time, when he sought to make each of them a spoile. This was hee acting and deliberating at once; being carried with an inexplorable desire of repugnancies, which is a disease of great, and ouer-swelling for-unes. Howsoever it was, He sent an Armie to *Sardes* by Land, vnder two of his owne sonnes: 20 willing them there to stay for him; whilst he himselfe with a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other vessels, intended to passe along by the Coasts of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, taking in such places as held for the *Aegyptian*. It was a notable Act of the *Rhodiens*, that, whilst the war of *Philip* lay yet vpon their hands, they adu-entured vpon this great *Antiochus*. They sent vnto him a proud Emassage: whereby they gaue him to vnderstand, That if he passed forward beyond a certaine Promontorie in *Cilicia*, they would meete him and fight with him; not for any quarrell of theirs vnto him; but because hee should not ioyne with *Philip* their enemy, and helpe him against the *Romans*. It was insolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits vnto the King: yet he tempered himselfe, and 30 without any shew of indignation gaue a gentle answer; partly himselfe to their Embassadors; partly vnto their whole Citie, by Embassadors which he thither sent. He shewed his desire, to renew the ancient Confederacies betweene his Ancestors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, lest his coming should tend vnto any hurt, either of them, or of their Confederates. As touching the *Romans* whom they thought that he would molest: they were (he said) his verie good friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better prooffe, than the entertainment and answer by them newly giuen to his Embassadors.


The *Rhodiens* appeare to haue been a cunning people, and such as could foresee what weather was like to happen. This answer of the King, and the relation of what 40 had passed betweene his Embassadors and the Senate, moued them not a whit; when they were informed shortly after, that the *Macedonian* warre was ended at the battaile of *Cynosephala*. They knew that *Antiochus* his turne would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to sit still; vnlesse the Townes on the South Coast of *Asia*, belonging to *Ptolemie* their friend and Confederate, were suffered to bee at quiet. Hercin also they did well; for that they had cuer been greatly beholding to all the race of the *Ptolemies*. They therefore, in this time of necessitie, gaue what aid they could vnto all the subiects of the *Aegyptian* in those parts. In like manner did King *Eumenes*, the sonne of *Attalus*, prognosticate as concerning the warre that followed, betweene *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when King *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to bestow 50 one of his daughters vpon him in marriage: He excused himselfe, and would not haue her. *Antalus* and *Philercus*, his brethren, wondered at this. But he told them, that the *Romans* would surely make warre vpon *Antiochus*; and therein finally pre-uaile.

uaile. Wherefore he said, That by abstayning from this affinity, it should be in his power to ioyne with the *Romans*, and strengthen himselfe greatly with their friendship. Contrariwise, if hee leaned to *Antiochus*: as he must be partaker in his overthrow; so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an ouer-mightie neighbour, if he happened to win the victorie.

Antiochus himselfe wintered about *Ephesus*: where hee tooke such order as hee thought convenient, for the reducing of *Smyrna* and *Lampacus* to obedience; that had vsurped their libertie, and oblinately strove to maintaineir, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring hee sailed vnto the 10 Hellespont: where hauing won some Townes that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, hee passed ouer into *Europe* side; and in short space mastered the *Chersonesus*. Thence went hee to *Lysimachia*: which the *Thracians* had gotten and destroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his Garrison thence, to employ it in the *Roman* warre. The *Aetolians* objected as a crime vnto *Philip*, in the Conference before *T. Quintius*, that hee had oppressed *Lysimachia*, by thrusting thereinto a Garrison. Hercunto *Philip* made answer, that his Garrison did not oppress the Towne, but saue it from the *Barbarians*: who tooke and sackt it, as soone as the *Macedonians* were gone. That this answer was good and substantiall, though it were not accepted as such; might 20 appeare by the miserable case, in which *Antiochus* found *Lysimachia* at his coming thither. For the Towne was vtterly razed by the *Barbarians*; and the people, carried away into slavery. Wherefore the King tooke order to haue it reedified: as also to redeme those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were dispersed in the Countie thereabout. Likewise hee was careful to allure thither, by hopefull promises, new inhabitants; and to replenish the Citie with the wonted frequentie. Now to the end that men should not be terrified from coming thither to dwell, by any feare of the neighbour *Thracians*; hee tooke a iourne in hand against those barbarous people, with the one halfe of his Armie; leaving the other halfe to repair the Citie. These paines hee tooke; partly in regard of the 30 conuenient situation, and former glory of *Lysimachia*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding vnto his owne honour, to recouer and establish the dominion in those parts, which his fore-father *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lysimachus*, and thereby made his Kingdome of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition hee shall dearely pay: and as after that victorie against *Lysimachus*, the death of King *Seleucus* followed shortly; so shall a deadly wound of the Kingdome founded by *Seleucus* ensue very speedily, after the reconquest of the same Countie, which was the last of *Seleucus* his purchases.

¶ IIII.

40 The *Romans* hold friendly correspondence with *ANTIOCHVS*, during their warre with *PHILIP*: after which they quarrell with him. The doings of *HANNIBAL* at *Carthage*: whence hee is chased by his enemies, and by the *Romans*: His flight vnto the King *ANTIOCHVS*. The *Aetolians* murmur against the *Romans* in *Greece*. The warre of the *Romans* and *Acheans*, with *NABIS* the Tyrant of *Lacedaemon*. The departure of the *Romans* out of *Greece*. *T. QVINTIVS* his Triumph. Peace denied to *ANTIOCHVS* by the *Romans*.

50  Or the *Romans*, though they were vnable to smother their desire of war with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was alreadie taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much against their will to keepe the rumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended warre; so long as they wanted matter of quarrell; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprife of the Kings about *Lysimachia*. It

was not long, since King *Attalus*, a friend and helper of the *Romans* in their war with *Philip*, could obtain of them none other help against *Antiochus*, than Embassadors to speake for him; because the one of these Kings was held no lesse a friend than the other. Neither did thereafterwards passe between them any other offices, than very friendly. *Antiochus*, at the request of their Embassadors, withdrew his Inuasion from the Kingdome of *Pergamus*: also verie shortly after he sent Embassadors to them, to make a perfect League of amitie betweene them. This was whilest as yet they were builed with *Philip*, and therefore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward shew. But when the *Macedonian* war was at an end, and all, or mozt of all the States in *Greece*, were become little better than Clients vnto the *Romans*: then was all this good correspondence changed, into termes of worfe, but more plaine, meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten Counsaillors sent from *Rome*, requited (as hath bene shewed before) with a commination of warre, this kings gratulation of their victorie; as also his long-proffessed amitie, and desire to continue in the same.

* ch. 4. §. 11.

These ten Counsaillors were able to informe *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seemes that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of *Antiochus*, hee was the more inclinable vnto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they diuided themselves to make progresse through diuers quarters of *Greece* for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them should visit King *Antiochus*; and the rest, where occasion serued, vse diligence to make a partie strong against him. Neither was the Senate at *Rome* vnmindfull of the busines: wherein left *T. Quintius*, with his ten Assistants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* of purpose, to deale with the King about those controuersies, that were betweene him and *Ptolemie*. What other priuate instructions *Cornelius* had; wee may coniecture by the manning of this his Embassage. For coming to *Selymbria*: and there vnderstanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius*, having bene sent by *Titus*, were at *Lysimachia*, He hastned thither; whither also came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counsaillors) from *Bargilla*, to be present at the Conference. *Hegesianax* and *Lysias* were also there; the same, who had lately brought from *Titus* those peremptorie Conditions, which the Embassadors present shall expound vnto their Master. After a few dayes *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertainment betweene him and these *Romans*, was in appearance full of loue. But when they came to treat of the businesse in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly deliuered his errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reason to deliuer backe vnto *Ptolemie* those Townes of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Herevnto he added, and that very earnestly, That hee must also giue vnto the Townes of late belonging vnto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could bee more absurd, than such folly in the *Romans*; as to let *Antiochus* enioy the profit of that warre, wherein they had laboured so much, and He done nothing? Further He warned the King, that hee should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally Hee demaunded of him, vpon what reason hee was come ouer with so great an Armie into *Europe*; for that other cause of his iouissance there was none probable, than a purpose to make war vpon the *Romans*. To this the King made answer, That hee wondered why the *Romans* should so trouble themselves, with thinking vpon the matters of *Asia*: where with He praied them to let him alone; euen as He, without such curiositie, suffered them to doe in *Italie* what they thought good. As for his coming ouer into *Europe*: they saw well enough what busines had drawne him thither; namely, the warre against the barbarous *Thracians*: the rebuilding of *Lysimachia*, and the recourie of Townes to him belonging in *Thrace* and *Chersonesus*. Now concerning his title vnto that Countrey, He deriued it from *Seleucus*: who made conquest thereof, by his victorie against *Lysimachus*. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controuersie

betweene

betweene him and the other Kings, had bene still of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Aegyptians*; but had bene seized on by them, or by others from whom they receiued them, at such times as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countreies, were hindered by multiplicitie of busines, from looking vnto all that was their owne. Finally he willed them, neither to stand in feare of him, as if hee intended ought against them from *Lysimachia*; since it was his purpose to bellow this Cite vpon one of his sonnes, that should reigne therein: nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in *Asia*; either against the free Cities, or against the King of *Aegypt*; since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding vnto himselfe, and to ioyne ere long with *Ptolemie*, not only in friendship, but in a bond of neere affinitie. *Cornelius* haue heard this, and being perhaps vnable to refuse it; would needs heare further, what the Embassadors of *Smyrna* and of *Lampascus*, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The Embassadors of *Lampascus* being called in, began a tale; wherein they seemed to accuse the King before the *Romans*, as it were before competent Iudges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them holde their peace; forasmuch as he had not chosen the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators betweene him and them.

Thus the Treatie held some few dayes, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, hauing not laide their complaints in such sort, as they might be a conuenient foundation of the war by them intended: nor yet hauing purpose to depart well satisfied, and thereby to corroborate the present peace; were doubtfull how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boisterous *Gallio-Greekes*, pretend only the goodnesse of their swords; nor yet ouer-modestly, to retaine among the *Greekes* an opinion of their iustice, forbear the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other side was wearie of these tedious ghesits; that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came newes, without any certaine author, That *Ptolemie* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into *Aegypt*: *Antiochus*, to take possession of the Kingdome; and *L. Cornelius*, to prevent him thereof, and set the Countrey in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* Embassador, both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolemie*: which gaue him occasion to take leaue, and prepare for his *Aegyptian* voyage. Both He, and his fellow Embassadors, had good leaue to depart all together: and the King forthwith made readie, to be in *Aegypt* with the first. To his sonne *Seleucus* hee committed his Armie; and left him to ouer-see the building of *Lysimachia*; but all his Sea forces Hee tooke along with him, and sailed vnto *Ephesus*. Thence hee sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*: whom he requested to deale with him in this matter of Peace, after such sort, as might stand with honestie and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage; He was perfectly informed that *Ptolemie* was aliue. This made him beare another way from *Aegypt*: and afterwards a tempest, with a grieuous shipwracke, made him, without any further attempt on the way, glad to haue safely recovered his Port of *Seleucia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where hee wintered: secure, as might appeare, of the *Roman* warre.

But the *Romans* had not so done with him. During the Treatie at *Lysimachia*, (at leastwise not long before or after it) one of their Embassadors that had bene sent vnto the *Macedonian* gaue him counsaile, as in a point highly tending to his good; Not to rest contented with the Peace which was graned vnto him by the *Romans*, but to desire societie with them, whereby they should bee bound to haue the same friends and enemies. And this he aduised him to doe quickly, before the warre brake out with *Antiochus*; lest otherwise he might seeme, to haue awaited some fit occasion of taking Armes againe. They who dealt thus plainly, did not meane to be satisfied with weak excuses. Inlike manner some of the *Greekes* were sollicit; and particularly the *Atolians*, That constantly and faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the People of *Rome*. It was needfull to say plainly

ly whereto this entreatie tended: the froward answer made by the *Aetolians*, declares them to have well understood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the Victorie, as they had bene during the Warre. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cryed out, that they had bene wronged, and defrauded of what was promised vnto them: vpraying withall the *Romans*, as men to them beholding; not only for their Victorie ouer *Philip*; but euen for helping them to set foot in *Greece*, which else they neuer could haue done. Hereto the *Roman* gaue gentle answers: telling them that there was no more to doe, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and vtter their griefes; and then should all be well.

Such care tooke the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their Warre intended against *Antiochus*. The same hereof arriving at *Carthage*, gaue matter vnto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to picke a thanke of the *Roman* Senate; and to chace out of their Citie this honourable man, whom they so greatly hated. Hee had of late exercised his vertue against them in the Ciuill administration; and giuen them an overthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Iudges at that time bore all the sway in *Carthage*: holding their places during life; and hauing subiect vnto them, the lues, goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither did they vse this their power with moderation: but conspired in such wise together, that who so offended any one of them, should haue them all to be his enemies; which being once knowne, He was sure to be soone accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the Citie, *Hannibal* was chosen Prætor. By vertue of which Office, though hee was superiour vnto them during that yeere: yet had it not bene their manner to beare much regard vnto such an annual Magistrate, as at the yeeres end must be accomptable to them, if sought were laid vnto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore sending for one of the *Questors*, or officers of the Treasurie, to come and speake with him: the proud *Questor* set lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the aduersè Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place were to bee chosen into the Order of Iudges: in contemplation whereof, hee was filled already with the spirit of his future Greatnesse. But he had not to doe with such a tame Prætor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* sent for him by a Pursuant; and hauing thus apprehended him, brought him into judgement before a publique assemblie of the people. There he not onely shewed, what the vndutiful stubbornnesse of this *Questor* had bene; but how vsufferable the insolencie of all the Iudges at the present was: whose vnbridled power made them to regard neither Lawes nor Magistrates. To this Oration when hee perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and fauourable; He forthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the generall good likings; That the Iudges should be chosen from yeere to yeere, and no one man be continued in that Office two yeeres together. If this Law had bene passed, before he passed ouer *Ibeis*: it would not perhaps haue bene in the power of *Hanno*, to haue brought him vnto necessitie of reforming another grievance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were faine to leuie by Taxation layed vpon the whole Commonaltie; as wanting money in their publique Treasurie, wherewith to defray eyther that, or diuers other needefull charges. *Hannibal* considering this, beganne to examine the publique Reuenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treasurie, by wayes and meanes whatsoeuer; and in what fort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinarie charges of the Common-wealth did not exhaust the Treasurie: but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their owne vse, were thereby faine to load the people with needlesse burdens. -Hereof he made such plaine demonstration, that these Robbers of the common Treasurie were compelled to refore, with shame, what they had gotten by knauerie: and so the *Carthaginians* were freed from the necessitie of making such poore shifts, as formerly they had vsed, when they knew not the valew of their owne Estate. But as

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the vertue of *Hannibal*, was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: so they of the *Roman* Faction, which had, since the making of the peace vntill now, little regarded him, beganne to rage extremely: as being by him stript of their ill-gotten goods, and ill-employed authoritie, both at once, euen when they thought themselves to haue been in full possession of the vanquished *Carthage*. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends at *Rome*: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew strong againe, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in armes. Questionlesse, if oppressing the Citie by multitude, and robbing the Treasurie, were the onely way to hold *Carthage* in peace with some: these enemies to the *Barchines* might well crye out, That hauing done their best already to keepe all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of Warre. But hauing none other matter to alledge, than their owne inuentions: they said, That *Hannibal* was like vnto a wilde beaist, which would neuer be tamed: That secret messages past betwene him, and King *Antiochus*: and that hee was wont to complaine of idlenesse, as if it were harmefull to *Carthage*; with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not vnto the Senate: but addressing their letters crailty, euery one to the beil of his owne friends at *Rome*, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neither publike notice of their Conspiracie was taken at *Carthage*; nor the authoritie of the *Roman* Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Onely *P. Scipio* is said to haue admonished the *Fathers*, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become Seconds to the accusers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppress, by suborning or countenancing false witnesses against him, the Man, against whom in warre they had not of long time preiudil, nor vsed their Victorie in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were not all so great-minded as *Scipio*: they wished for some such advantage against *Hannibal*, and were glad to haue found it. Three Embassadors they sent ouer to *Carthage*, *C. Serulius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, whose very names import sufficient cause of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These hauing past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their coming; and, being by them instructed how to carrie themselves, gaue out, That they were sent to end some controuersies, betwene the *Carthaginians* and *Misiansis*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good espiall vpon the *Romans*, that hee knew their meaning well enough: against which he was neuer vnprepared. It were enough to say, That hee escaped them by flight: but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Hauing openly shewed himselfe, as was his manner, in the place of Assembly, Hee went forth of the Towne when it beganne to waxe darke, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though such as he might well trust. Hee had appointed Horses to be in a readinesse at a certaine place: whence riding all night, Hee came to a Towre of his owne by the Sea-side. There had hee a Ship furnished with all things needfull, as hauing long expected the necessitie of some such journey. So Hee bade *Africk* farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Countrie, more than his owne. Passing ouer to the Ile of *Cerina*, he found there in the Haven some Merchants ships of *Carthage*. They saluted him respectfully: and the chiefe among them beganne to enquire, whether hee was bound. He said, Hee went Embassador to *Tyre*: and that he intended there in the Iland to make a sacrifice; whereto Hee inuited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Shippes. It was hote weather: and therefore Hee would needs hold his Feast vpon the shore; where, because there wanted conert, He made them bring thither all their sailes and yards to be vsed instead of Tents.

They did so; and sealed with him till it was late at night: at which time hee left them there asleepe; and putting to Sea, held on his course to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, Hee was sure not to bee pursued. For the Merchants did neither make haile to send any newes of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embassador: neither could they, without some losse of time, such of them as

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made most speed homeward, get away from *Cecina*; being busied awhile in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage*, the mill of so great a person was diversely contrived. Some guessed aright, That he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the *Romans* had made him away. At length came newes where he had been scene: and then the *Roman* Embassadors, having none other errand thither, accused him (with an euill grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they onely discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of their Senate; mistaking the while their purpose, and causing men to vnderstand, that Hee fled not thus without great reason.

Hannibal, comming to *Tyre*, the Mother-Citie of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whose great worth and honour the *Tyrians*, by reason of affinity betwene their Citie, thought themselves to haue interest. Thence went hee to *Antioch*; and, finding the King departed, visited his sonne in *Daphne*: who friendly welcommed him, and lent him vnto his Father at *Ephesus*, that exceedingly reioyced at his comming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad, in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: so had the *Romans* no great cause to bee therefore forie; otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discovery of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Countrey. For it would not prooue alike easie vnto this great Commander, to make stout souldiours of base *Asiatiques*; as it had been by his trayning and discipline, to make very seruiceable and skilfull men of Warre of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, and other Nations, that were hardie though vnexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinary, could alter the nature of a cowardly people: yet was it therewithall considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the baseness of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would bee farre more powerfull in making vnprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*; now a desolate and banished man, than had been the villanie of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in those Actions wherein hee had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great *Carthaginian*, would onely helpe to ennoble the *Roman* Victorie: or if it further serued to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him lesse carefull to avoid the warre; then should it further serue, to iustifie the *Romans* in their quarrell. And it seemed indeed, that it was no little part of their care, to get a faire pretence of making warre. For *Antiochus*, as is said before, having newly sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that he had any meaning to take Armes; vnlesse by meere violence hee were there-to enforced. Onely the *Ætolians* were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of inuasion, and therefore practising with this Great King; whom they wished to see among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appeale them; they had of late been answered with gentle words by one of the ten Counsaillours, That the Senate would grant them whatsoeuer with reason they should aske. But this promise was too large, and vnaudited. For when their Embassadors came to *Rome*, the Senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who fauoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselves: otherwise than by speaking such words, as might hasten the *Romans* out of *Greece* for very shame; who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talke at *Rome* was of warre with *Antiochus*; but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leaue the Countrey. For the *Ætolians* were wont to vpbraide the rest of the *Greekes*, with the vaine libertie which the *Romans* had proclaimed, saying, That these their Delinckers had layd heavier fetters vpon them, than formerly they did weare; but yet brighter and fairer, than those of the *Macedonian*: likewise, That it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the legs of the *Greekes* their chaine, & tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romans* had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* had made no de-

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laie, in accomplishment of that which was laid vpon him: all the Townes of *Greece* were at libertie, and the whole Countrey at peace, both with the *Romans*, and with it selfe. As for *Antiochus*; He made it his daily suit, That the Peace bee a scene him and *Rome*, such as it was, might be continued, and strengthened by a League of more assurance. Neuertheless *T. Quintius* would needs feare that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to seize vpon *Greece*, as soone as hee and his Armie were thence departed. And in this regard, He retained still in his owne hands *Chalcis*, *Pemecris*, and the *A-crocrinthus*: by benefit of which Townes, he might the better withstand the dangerous Inuasion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Suitable vnto the doings of *Quintius* were the reports of the tenne Embassadors, that had been sent ouer to assist him; when they returned backe into the Citie. *Antiochus*, they said, would questionlesse fall vpon *Greece*: wherein he should finde not onely the *Ætolians*, but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*, readie to giue him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to doe somewhat against these their suspected enemies: especially against *Nabis*, who could worst make resistance; whilest *Antiochus* was farre away in *Syria*, and not intuentue to his businesse. These reports went not onely current through the Citie, among the Vulgar; but found such credit with the chiefe of the Senate, that in the following yeere, against which time it was expected that *Antiochus* should be ready to take his great enterprize in hand; *P. Cornelius Scipio* the *African* desired, and obtained, a second Consulship, with intention to be Generall in the Warre, against the King and the *Hannibal*. For the present, the businesse with *Nabis* was referred vnto *Titus*; to deale with him as hee thought good. This would bee a faire colour of his longer tarryance in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereat also hee knew that many of the *Greekes* would not be sorry; though for his owne part, hee wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendship with him, two or three yeeres before this, as is already shewed, whilest hee had Warre with *Philip*: and had further bene contented for the *Romans* sake to bee at peace with the *Acheans*; neither since that time had hee done any thing, whereby hee should draw vpon himselfe this Warre. Hee was indeed a detestable Tyrant, and hated of the *Acheans*; as one, that besides his owne wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great mischief. *Titus* therefore had a plausible Theme, whereon to discourse before the Embassages of all the Confederate Citie; Which hee caused to meete for that purpose at *Corinth*. He told them, That in the warre with *Philip*, not onely the *Greekes*, but the *Romans* themselves, had each their motives apart (which hee there briefly rehearsed) that should stirre them vp, and cause them to be earnest. But in this which hee now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other interest, than onely the making perfect of their honour, in setting all *Greece* at liberty: which noble Action was in some sort maimed, or incomplete, whilest the noble Citie of *Argos* was let in subiection to a Tyrant; that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged vnto them, the *Greekes*, duly to consider, whether they thought the deliuerance of *Argos* a matter worthy to be vnderaken; or whether otherwile to auoid all further trouble, they could bee well contented to leaue it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who in taking this worke in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greekes* themselves. The *Athenian* Embassadour made answer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleasing as he could deuise. He gaue thanks to the *Romans* for what was past; extolled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their Proposition: wherein vnrequested they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the vehement request of their poore Associates, they had already of late extended vnto the *Greekes*. To this Hee added, That great pittie it was to heare, such notable vertue and high deserts ill spoken of by some: which tooke vpon them, out of their owne imaginations to foretell, what harme these their Benefactors meant to doe hereafter: when as Thankfulness rather would haue required an acknowledgement,

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ment, of the benefits and pleasures already received. Every one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the *Aetolians*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Aetolian* rose up, and told the *Athenians* their owne: putting them in minde of their ancient glorie, in those times when their Citie had bene the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recouerie of the libertie generall: from which honour they were now so farre fallen, that they became Parasites vnto those whom they thought most mighty; and by their base assentation, would lead all the rest into seruitude. Then spake Hee against the *Achaens*, Clients that had been a long time vnto the *Macedonian*; and souldiers of *Philip*, vntill they ranne away from his aduersitie. These, Hee said, had gotten *Corinth*, and must now haue warre be made for their sakes, to the end that they might also bee Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Aetolians*, that had first made warre with *Philip*, and alwayes been friends vnto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did hee thus containe himselfe, but objected vnto the *Romans* fraudulent dealing: so far as much as they kept their Garrisons in *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the *Acrocorinth*; hauing been alwayes wont to profess, That *Greece* could neuer bee at libertie, whilst those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seeke by this discourse of warre with *Nabis*, than businesse wherewith to finde themselves occupied, that so they might haue some seeming cause of abiding longer in the Countrey? But they should doe well, if they meant as they spake, to carrie to their Legions home out of *Greece*: which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*, the *Aetolians* themselves did promise, and would undertake, That they would either cause him to yeeld to reason, and relinquish *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Armes, to submitt himselfe to the good pleasure of all *Greece*, that was now at vnitie. These words had been reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common libertie wrought so much with these *Aetolians*; as did their owne rauenous desire of oppressing others, and getting vnto themselves, that worse would vse it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*, which *Philip* had lost. Neither could they well dissemble this; making it no small part of their grievance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had been covenanted, That the *Romans* should enioy the spoile of all, but leaue the Townes and Lands in possession of the *Aetolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefs by them done in former times, made the whole Assembly, especially the *Achaens*, cry out vpon them: entreating the *Romans* to take such order before they went, that not onely *Nabis* might be compelled to doe right; but the *Aetolian* theues be enforced to keepe home, and leaue their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of *Titus*: who saw, that by discountenancing the *Aetolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well, that *Antiochus* his Embassadors did presently after lie hard vpon him, to drawe the peace to some good conclusion, it may be greatly doubted. Hee cast them off with a slight answer: telling them, That the ten Embassadors or Counsaillours which had bene sent vnto him from *Rome*, to be his assistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude vpon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedemonian* warre: it was very soone ended. For *Titus* vsed the helpe of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation against *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea; as if he should haue had to doe with *Philip*. Besides the *Roman* forces, King *Eumenes* with a Nauie, and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were invited to the seruice: as also *Philip* of *Macedon* sent aid by Land; doing therein poorly, whether it were to get fauour of the *Romans*, or whether to make one among the number, in seeking reuenge vpon *Nabis*, that had done him iniurie. But the most forward in this Expedition were the *Achaens*, who set out ten thousand Foote, and a thousand Horse. As for the *Aetolians*: rather to hold good fashion, and found their dispo-

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sitions, than in hope to speed, their helpe was required; whereof they excused themselves as well as they thought best. Thus are the *Achaens* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; hauing remooued the *Aetolians* from that degree of fauour: like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all haste) shall be supplanted of the same *Lacedemonians*, against whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argiues* more bold then vey, began a conspiracie against the *Lacedemonians* that held their Towne; meaning to open their gates vnto the *Roman*. But ere *Titus* drew neare, they were all detected and slaine: excepting a very few, that escaped out of the Towne. The fame of this Commotion, cauled the Arme to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no stirre within the Walles: the execution done vpon the first mouers, hauing terrified all the rest of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to assaile *Nabis* in the head of his strength at *Lacedamon*, than to consume time about other places; especially at *Argos*: for the freedom wherof since the Warre was made, pittie it were, that the calamities of the warre should thereon fall most heauily.

Nabis had in readinesse an Arme of fiftene thousand, whereby to defend himselfe against these Inuaders. Five thousand of them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his owne Countrey; but such as were of all others the worst, as manumitted slaues, malefactors and base peasants, vnto whom his Tyrannie was beneficiall. Of these good and worthy Citizens hee stood in doubt, and since he could not hope to win their loue, his meaning was to hold them quiet by feare. He called them all to an Assembly: and compassing them round in with his Arme, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves; they might, he said, hope the better to withstand the common Enemy. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and worke dangerous treason: it seemed vnto him the safest, and (withall) the mildest course, to arreist beforehand, and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keepe them innocent perforce; and thereby preserve not onely the Citie and his owne person from danger, but them also from the punishment, which else they might haue incurred. Hereupon hee cites and apprehends about fourescore of them; whom hee leads away to prison, and the next night puts them all to death. Thus was he sure that they neither should offend, nor yet breake loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad: what could it else doe than terrifie the people; who must thereby vnderstand, that it was a mortall crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended it selfe vnto some poore wretches: whom hee accused of a meaning to flee to the Enemy. These were openly whipt through all the streetes, and slaine. Hauing thus alighted the Citizens: He turned the more freely all his thoughts toward the Enemy, that came on apace. Hee welcomed them with a sallice: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiours of the Towne had the better at first; but were at length repelled with losse. *Titus* abode not many dayes before *Sparta*: but ouer-ran the Countrey; hoping belike to prouoke the Tyrant forth to battaile. The *Roman* Fleet at the same time with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodian*s, layd siege vnto *Gythium*, the onely or principall Hauen-towne that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to haue taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two Governours within the Towne equall in authoritie: whereof the one, either for feare, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithfull, due the Traitor; after whose death, he himselfe alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Arme came thither to *Gythium*: this Captaine of the Towne had not the heart to abide the uttermost, and awate what either Time or his Master might doe for him, but was contented to giue vp the place; yet vpon Condition, to depart in safety to *Sparta* with his Garrison. *Pythagoras*, the sonne-in-law of *Nabis*, and brother vnto his wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Government

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with a thousand Souldiours Mercenaries, and two thousand *Argines*: it being (as may seeme) the Tyrants purpose, to relieue *Gythium*: which he thought would haue held longer out. But when they heard that it was lost, then began they to thinke vpon finishing the warre, by some reasonable Composition. *Pythagoras* therefore was sent his Embassador to *Titus*: requesting only that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and speake with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant spake very reasonably for himselfe: prouing, that hee suffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments; whereof the summe was, That whatsoeuer they now did, or could obiect vnto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, That neither for his keeping the Towne of *Argos*, nor for any other cause by them alleadged, they ought to make warre vpon him; since *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatsoeuer, had not hindered them, in time of their more neede of him, from entering into that League with him; which was neuer broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintus* was not herewith satisfied. Hee charged him with Tyrannie; and gaue instance, as easily he might, of diuers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, so far as much as they knew this *Nabis* to be guiltie, before they made Peace and Confederacie with him; it was expedient, that some other cause of this Inuasion should be alleadged. Wherefore he said further, That this Tyrant had occupied *Messene*, a Towne Confederate with the *Romans*: That he had bargained to ioyne with *Philip*; when he was their enemy, not only in League, but also in affinitie: and that his Fleete had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Piracie, since in the Articles by *Titus* propounded vnto *Nabis*, there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships, by him taken from the *Greekes* his neighbours, with whom he had long held warre: it may seeme to haue bene objected, onely by way of Complement, and to encrease the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise very frivolous. As for *Messene*, and the bargain of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betwene the *Romans* and this Tyrant; and therefore not to haue bene mentioned. All this it seemes that *Ariflanus*, the Pretor of the *Achaens*, verie well perceived: who therefore doubting lest the *Romans*, (that were wont to talke so much of their owne iustice, honour, and faithfull dealing) should now relent, and forbear to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate; and had neuer done them wrong: framed his discourse to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to consider well of his owne estate; and to settle his fortunes, whilest he might doe it without hazzard: alleadging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to surrender their Estates, and liued in great securitie, honour, and happines, as priuate men. Thus they discouraged vntill night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquish *Argos*; and requested them, to deliver vnto him in writing their other demands, that hee might take counsaile with his friends. The issue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates must bee, for maintenance of an Armie to lie in Leaguer all that Winter (as there was no hope of making short worke) before the Citie of *Sparta*: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, vpon such Conditions as *Titus* should thinke meete. Besides the restitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending: *Titus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and some of them very grievous. Hee would not suffer the *Lacedemonian* to haue ought to doe in the Ile of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor war, either in that land or else where; nor to build any Towne or Castle vpon his owne Lands; nor to keepe any other shipping, than two small Barks; besides many other troublesome iniunctions; with imposition of an hundred talents in siluer to be paid out of hand, and fiftie talents yearly, for eight yeeres next ensuing. For obseruance of these Covenants he demanded fise hostages, such as he himselfe should name; and one of them to be the

the Tyrants owne sonne. If it had bene the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the war from *Nabis*, because it was not grounded vpon iustice: then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which hee himselfe did offer, though it were for feare, to deliuer vp. But if it were thought reasonable, to dispense a little with the *Roman* faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound vnto the state of their best friends in *Greece*, by the extirpation of this Tyrannie: then should this enterprize, when once it was taken in hand, haue bene prosecuted vnto the very utmost. As for this middle course which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable vnto them, to enrich themselves by the spoile of one that had not offended them: nor pleasing to the *Achaens*, who iudged it euill after a great blemish to the noble acts of *Titus*: so did it minister vnto the *Aetolians*, and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which tooke vpon them to bee Patrons of *Greece*, no barren Subject of malicious discourse. For since *Philip*, a King, and descended of many famous Kings, might not bee suffered by these Maltierly *Romans*, to hold any one of those Countries or Townes in *Greece*, that had belonged vnto his Ancestors: it was thought very strange, that *Lacedemon*, once the most famous Citie among all the *Greekes*, was by the same *Romans* left in possession of a Tyrant, that had vsurped it but yesterday: and Hee therein rooted by their authoritie, as their friend and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other side thought himselfe vnmiserically dealt withall, by the selfe-same *Romans*, whose amitie he had preferred in time of a doubtfull warre, before the loue and affinitie of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the Citie of *Argos* into his hands. But fallily had he dealt with the *Macedonian*: and fallily was he dealt with by those, to whom he did betake himselfe. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him; save onely that for the banished *Lacedemonians*, (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Campe, hauing among them *Agellipolis* the naturall King of *Sparta*, that being a yong childe was driuen out by *Lyseus*, the first of the Tyrants) there was made no provision, to haue them restored vnto their Citie and Estates; but onely leaue required for as many of their wives, as would be so contented, to liue abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore hee forbore to giue consent vnto their demands: and sustained an assault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would loone be wearie. But his fearefull nature shortly overcame the resolution, which the sense of these iniuries had put into him. So yeelding vnto all that had bene propounded, Hee deliuered the hostages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the Senate and People. From this time forward, Hee thought the *Romans* more wicked than himselfe; and was readie vpon the first advantage, to doe them all mischief that he could.

The *Argines* had heard newes that *Lacedemon* was euen at point of being taken: This erected them, and gaue them heart to thinke vpon their owne good. So they aduentured to set vpon the Garrison; which was much weakened, by the remooue of the three thousand carried thence by *Pythagoras*, to helpe the Tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed vnto their libertie no more, than that all of them ioyntly should set their hands to the getting of it; which no sooner they did than they obtained it. Presently after this came *T. Quintus* to *Argos*, where hee was joyfully welcommed. Hee was deferuedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, wheront the Citizens had laied hold without staying for him: and that hee might the better entitle himselfe thereto, he caused the libertie of the *Argines* to be proclaimed at the *Neamean* games; as ratifying it by his authoritie. The Citie was annexed againe to the Countie of *Achaia*; whereby the *Achaens* were not more strengthened, than the *Argines* themselves were secured from danger of relapse, into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, *Titus* found little busines or none wherewith to set on worke his Armie in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to send another Embassador to *Rome*, desiring peace and friendship of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance who-

ly disposed vnto quiet; *Scipio the African*, that was chosen Consul at *Rome*, could not haue his desire, of being sent Commander into *Greece*. The vninsincere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous disposition of the *Ætoliens*, were held as considerations worthie of regard: yet not sufficient causes of making Warre. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of consulting the *Ætoliens*, and of thoroughly persuading all the *Greekes* (which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to allure vnto themselves the Patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Countrie, was their sole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation vnto it selfe, till occasion should be ripe, and call them ouer againe. Wherefore after *Titus* had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any neere distance appearing; he called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: where hee meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted vnto them all that had passed since his coming into those parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsaile; touching the moderate vse of their libertie, and the care which they ought to haue of liuing peaceably, and without faction. Lastly hee gaue vp *Acrocorinthus* to the *Acheans*; withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garrison, and promising to doe the like (which verie soone hee did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that so it might be knowne, what liers the *Ætoliens* were, who had accused the *Romans*, of a purpose to retaine those places. With joyfull acclamations did the *Greekes* tellie their good liking of that which *Titus* had said and done: as also (at his request) they agreed, to ransome and enlarge all *Romans*, that had bin sold into their Countrie by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happie end: and by leaving the Countrie before his departure was vrge, left therein behind him the memorie of his vertue and benefits, vntainted by ielousie and suspicion of any euill meaning. At his coming to the Citie, hee had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodliest of all that *Rome* had vntill that day beheld. Three dayes together the shew of his pompe continued: as being set out with the spoiles of a Countrie, more abundant in things worthie of such a spectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made Warre. All sorts of Armes, with Statues and curious pieces of Brasse or Marble, taken from the Enemy, were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The second day, was brought in, all the treasure of Gold and Silver: some in the rude Masse vnwrought; some, in diuers sorts of Coine; and some, in Vessels of sundrie kinds, that were the more highly prized by the workmanship. Among these were tenne shields, all of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himselfe entred the Citie in his Triumphphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteene Crownes of Gold, bestowed vpon him by diuers Cities. There were also led the beasts for Sacrifice; the Prisoners, and the hostages; among which, *Demetrius* the sonne of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the sonne of *Nabis*, were 40 principall. After him followed his Armes; and (which added much grace, and good liking, to the shew) the *Roman* Captiues, by his procurement redeemed from slavery in *Greece*.

Not long after his Triumph; He procured audience of the Senate for many Embassages, that were come out of *Greece* and *Asia*. They had all very fauourable answers, excepting those of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not heare, but referred ouer to *T. Quintius*, and the tenne that had bene his Counsaillors; because their businesse was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embassadours wondred. They said vnto *Titus* and his Associates, That they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexitie of their message. For all Treaties of 50 peace and friendship, were either betwene the Victor and the vanquished; betwene those, that hauing warred together, were vpon equall termes of aduantage; or betwene those that had liued alwayes in good agreement, without any quarrell. Vnto the Victor, they said, that the vanquished must yeild; and patiently endure the

the imposition of some Coucnants, that else might seeme vnreasonable. Where Warre had been made, and no aduantage gotten: there was it vsuall to demand and make restitution of things and places claimed, gotten, or lost; accordingly as both parts could agree. But betwene those which had neuer fallen out, there ought no Conditions of establishing friendship to be propoed: since it was reasonable, that each part should hold their owne; and neyther carrie it selfe as superiour vnto the other, in prescribing ought that might bee troublesome. Now of this last kind, was the League and friendship that had bene so long in conclusion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being so; they held it strange, that the *Romans* should thus insit on points no way concerning them, and take vpon them to prescribe vnto the King, what Cities of *Asia* he should set at libertie; from what Cities they would giue him leaue to exact his wonted Tributes; eyther putting, or not putting, his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should thinke fit. Hereto *Quintius* answered, That since they went so distantly to worke, hee would also doe the like. Wherefore he propounded vnto them two Conditions, and gaue them their choice whether to accept: Eyther that it should be lawfull for the *Romans*, to take part in *Asia* with any that would seeke their friendship; Or, if King *Antiochus* disliked this, and would haue them forbear to meddle in *Asia*, that then hee should abandon whatsoeuer hee had gotten in *Europe*. This was plaine dealing; but no 20 reasonable nor pertinent answer, to that which the Kings Embassadours had propounded. For if the *Romans* might behiold to abstaine from *Asia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately wonne in *Europe*; then did not the affaires of *Smyrna*, *Lampsaes*, or any other *Asiatiques*, whom they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, bind them in honour to make warre with a King that sought their loue, and had neuer done them iniurie. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great shame be so base, as to deliuer vp vnto them the Citie of *Lysimachia*, whereon of late he had bin at so much cost; in building it vp euen from the foundations, and repeopleing it with inhabitants, that had all bene disperfed, or captiue to the *Barbarians*. And so much the Embassadours with great indignation 30 alleaged: saying, that *Antiochus* desired friendship of the *Romans*; but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the *Romans* tooke vpon them as if their cause were farre the superiour. For it was, they said, their purpose, to set at libertie those Townes, which the King would oppress and hold in subjection: especially since these Townes were of *Greeks* blood and language; and fell in that regard vnder the patronage, which *Rome* had afforded vnto all *Greece* besides. By this colour they might soone haue left *Antiochus* King of not many subiects on the hither side of *Euphrates*. Neyerth did they forbear to say, That, vnlesse he would quit what hee held in *Europe*, it was their meaning not onely to protect those which relied vpon them in *Asia*, but therein to make new Alliances: 40 namely (as might bee vnderstood) with such as were his subiects. Wherefore they vrge his Embassadours to come to a point, and tel them plainly which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lacke of a pleasing answer, which the Embassadours could not hereto make, little wanted of giuing presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to be entreated, and were contented once againe to send ouer *P. Villius*, and others that had bene already with the King at *Lysimachia*; by whom they might receiue a finall answer, whether these demands made by *Quintius* and his Associates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitlesse Treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two yeeres, or thereabouts, to prepare for warre; finding in the *Romans*, all that while, no 50 disposition to let him liue in peace.

p. V.

Of the long Warres which the Romans had with the Gaules, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of M. PORCIVS CATO. Injuries done by MASSA to the Carthaginians, that sue to the Romans for iustice in waie.

ch. 5. §. 5. of
this Booke.

THe Infubrians, Boians, and other of the Cisalpine Gaules, together with the Ligurians; made often, and (in a manner) continuall warre vpon the Romans in Italie, euen from such time as Hannibal and his brother Mago departed thence, vntill such time as they themselves were vterly subdued: which was not, before the Romans were almost at the height of their Empire. These Nations, hauing serued vnder Mago for wages, and afterwards hauing gotten Amilcar a Carthaginian, to be Leader vnto them all, as hath bene already shewed; by this their fellowship in Armes, grew to be such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldome afterwards either the Gaules or Ligurians did stirre alone, but that their companions, hearing it, were ready to second them. How the Romans first preuailed, and got large possessions in Gallia Cisalpina now called Lombardie; it hath bene long since rehearsed, betweene the first and second Punic Warres. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Countrie, by meanes of Hannibal his passage there-through. Neither is it likely that the reconquest would haue bene more difficult or tedious vnto the Romans, than was the first purchase; if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed vnto this warre had not bene distracted by the Ligurians; that alwayes made them to proceed warily, hauing an eye to the danger at their backs. The Ligurians were a stout Nation, light and swift of bodie; well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight againe. Their Countrie was mountainous, rough, wooddie, and full of streight and dangerous passages. Few good Townes they had; but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither bee taken nor besieged. They were also very poore; and had little or nothing that might giue contentment, vnto a victorious Armie that should spoile their Land. In these respects they serued excellently well, to traine vp the Roman Souldiours to hardnesse and militarie patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of warre) to endure much, and liue contented with a little. Their quarrell to Rome, grew partly from their loue vnto the Gaules, their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territorie of their borderers, that were subiect vnto Rome. But their obstinate continuance in the Warre which they had begunne, seemes to haue bene grounded vpon the Condition of all Salvages; To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Iudgement: and to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, or formall conclusions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from vying their aduantage, or taking reuenge of injuries when they returne to minde. This qualitie is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Warres betweene them and any of their neighbours, vse commonly this answer, *it hath still bene the custome for vs and them, to fight one against the other.*

Diuers overthrowes, though none that were great, these Ligurians gaue vnto the Romans: but many more, and greater, they received. Often they sought peace, when they found themselves in distresse; and brake it againe as often, when they thought it profitable so to doe. The best was, that as their Countrie was a good place of exercise vnto the Romans, so out of their own Countrie they did little harme:

not

not sending any great Armies farre from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make warre, saue on their owne ground.

The Countrie of *Spain*, as it was the first part of the Continent out of *Italie* that became subiect vnto the Romans: so was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly and thoroughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers vnto an Oxe-hide: and the Romans found in it the propertie of that Oxe-hide, which *Calanus* the Indian shewed vnto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For, treading vpon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with *Spain*. Seldome did it happen, that those parts from which the Roman Armies lay furthest, were not vp in rebellion. The Spaniards were a very hardie Nation, and easily stirred vp to armes; but had not much knowledge in the Art of warre, nor any good Captaines. They wanted also (which was their principall hinderance) good intelligence among themselves: and being diuided into many small Signories, that had little other communion than of language, they seldome or neuer provided in generall for the common good of their Countrie; but made it their chiefe care, each of them to looke vnto their owne Territorie. Such private respects made them often to fall asunder; when many had vnted themselves together, for chasing out of the Romans. And these were the causes of their often overthrowes: as desire of libertie, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking armes.

The Carthaginians had bene accustomed, to make euacuation of this Chollerick Spanish humour; by employing, as Mercenaries in their warres abroad, those that were most likely to bee vniuersal at home. They had also taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrie, and vsed them in another: finding meanes to pay them all, out of the profits which they raysed vpon the whole Countrie; as being farre better husbands, and of more dexterity than were the Romans, in that kind. But contrariwise the Romans, vying the seruice of their owne Legions, and of their sure friends the Latines, had little businesse for the Spaniards; and therefore were faine to haue much businesse with them. *Spain* was too farre distant, and withall too great, for them to send ouer Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they tooke in *Italie*. Wherefore it remained, that they should alwayes maintaine such Armies in the Countrie, as might serue to hold it in obedience perforce; and such heedfull Captaines, as might bee still ready to oppose the Barbarians in their first Commotion. This they did: and thereby held the Countrie, though seldome in peace.

Very soone after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raised warre in *Spain* against the Romans, euen vpon the same general ground, that was the foundation of all the Spanish warres following. It was thought vnreasonable, that the Spaniards should one while helpe the Carthaginians against the Romans, and another while the Romans against the Carthaginians; basely forgetting to helpe themselves against those that were strangers, yet vsurped the Dominion ouer them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behind him in that Countrie, being well acquainted with the manner of warre in those parts, suppressed this Rebellion by many victories: and, together with subiection, brought peace vpon the Countrie; which lasted five yeeres. This Victorie of the Romans, though it happily ended the warre: yet left it still remaining the cause of the warre; which after five yeeres brake out againe. The Spaniards fought a battaile with the Roman Proconsul, whom they slew; and had a great Victorie, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happie successe of their Warres in Greece, made the Romans thinke it enough to send thither two Pretors, and with each of them some two Legions. These did somewhat: yet not so much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Consul the yeere following, and sent into that Province; found at his coming little lesse to doe, than the reconquering of all *Spain*. But it fell out happily, that all the Spaniards were not of one minde: some were faithfull to Rome; and some were idle beholders of the paines that

that others tooke. Yet when *Cato* had wonne a great Victorie vpon the chief of them; they rose against him in many parts of the Countrey, and put him to much new trouble. While hee was about to make a iourne against those that were as yet vnsubdued: some of the lately vanquished, were euen readie to rebell. Hee therefore disarmed them: which they tooke so heauily, that many of them slew themselves for very grieke. Hearing of this, and well vnderstanding, that such desperation might worke dangerous effects; Hee called vnto him the principall among them: and commending vnto them peace and quietnesse, which they neuer had disturbed but vnto their owne great losse. Hee praied them to deuise what course might be taken, for holding them assured vnto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would giue counsaile in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their inuention barren in this kind of Subiect; He gaue expresse charge, That vpon a day appointed they should throw downe the wals of all their Townes. Afterwards he carried the Warre about from place to place; and with singular industrie finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an Armie of the *Celiberians*, against other of their Countrymen: exalting the indignitie, such as it seemed, with a iest, That if he were vanquished and slaine, then should he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victorie, hee could pay them with the Enemies monie. Finally Hee brought the Warre to so good end, 20 that in long time after, though *Spain* were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. He increased also the publike Reuenues in that Prouince, by causing some Mines of Iron and Siluer to be wrought, that had before laine vnregarded. Herein he did benefit the Common-wealth, by a vertue much agreeable to his owne peculiar disposition.

For this *M. Cato* was not onely very notable in the Art of War, which might well be then termed The Occupation of the *Romans*; but so well furnished with all other vlesful qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might seeme requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. Hee was very skilful in the *Roman* Lawes, a man of great Eloquence, and not vnprofitable in any businesse either private or 30 publike. Many Bookes he wrote: whereof the principal were, of the *Roman* antiquities, and of husbandrie. In matter of husbandrie he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance; being of meane birth, and the first of his House. Strong of bodie hee was, and exceeding temperate: so as he liued in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him vnto the better sort of the *Romans*, was his great sinceritie of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himselfe to the ancient laudable Customes of the Citie. Herein hee had merited singular commendations, if the vehemencie of his nature had not caused him to maligne the vertue of that Noble *Scipio* the *African*, and some other worthe men; that were no lesse honest than himselfe, though farre lesse rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. 40 Otherwise, Hee was a very good Citizen, and one of such temper, that hee could fashion himselfe to all occasions; as if he neuer were out of his Element. Hee lused businesse so well, or rather hated vice so earnestly; that euen vnto the end of his life, Hee was exercised in defending himselfe, or accusing others. For at the age of fourescore and sixe yeeres, He pleaded in his own defence: and foure yeeres after, he accused *Sergius Galba* vnto the People. So beganne the Nobilitie of *Cato* his family; which ended in his great grandchild *M. Cato* the *Pitican*: one, that being of like vertue and seruencie had all his good purposes dashed, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such Nobilitie and grauenesse as this his Ancestor had continually vexed.

The *Spanish* Warres, after *Cato* his departure out of the Countrey, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the Countrey seldom free from insurrection, in one part or other. The *Roman* Prætors therefore, of which two euery yeere were sent ouer Commanders into *Spain* (that was diuided into

two

two euery yeere were sent ouer Commanders into *Spain* (that was diuided into two Governments) did rarely faile of such worke, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One slew thirteene thousand *Spaniards* in a battaile: another tooke fittie Townes, and a third enforced many States of the Countrey to sue for Peace. Thus euery one of them, or most of them, did some laudable seruice; yet so, that commonly there were of men, towne, and people, new that rebelled, in stead of the old that were slaine, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof I haue already pointed; and therefore thinke it enough to say, That the businesse in *Spain* required not the employment of a *Roman* Consul, from such time as *Cato* thence departed, vntil the

10 *Numantian* Warre brake out; which was verie long after.

In all other Countreies to the West of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had peace; but so had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* House promised all felicitie which *Rome* could grant, vnto themselves and their obedient Citie: *Masaniissa* fell to disputing with the sword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitfull Region about the lesser *Syria*: wherein among other Cities was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent vnto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Countrey the *Numidian* challenged, and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claime vnto the whole. He had a great advantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any Warre,

20 without leave obtained from their Masters the *Romans*. They had none other way offered, than by sending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And surely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the Iudges had been vnpartiall. For besides that *Scipio*, in limiting out vnto them their bounds, had left them the possession of this Countrey: *Masaniissa* himselfe, now very lately, pursuing a Rebelle that fled out of his Kingdome, desired leave of the *Carthaginians*, for him'selfe to passe through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise beene questionable) that the Countrey was theirs. This notwithstanding, *Masaniissa* had wherewith to iustifie his proceedings, especially vnto the *Roman* Senate. Hee gaue the *Fathers* to vnderstand by his Embassadors, what faithlesse people the *Carthaginians* were, and 30 how ill affected to the State of *Rome*. There had lately been sent vnto them from *Hannibal*, one that should perswade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined vpon some suspicion of his errand; yet neither arressting him nor his ship, had thereby afforded him meanes to escape. Hence the *Numidian* concluded, That certainly it was their purpose to rebell: and therefore good policie to keepe them downe. As for the Countrey of *Emporia*: it had alwayes, he said, bene theirs, that were able to hold it by strong hand: and so belonged sometimes vnto the *Numidian* Kings; though now of late it was in possession of the *Carthaginians*. But if truth were knowne, the Citizens of *Carthage* had no very warrantable title vnto any more ground, than that whereon their Citie stood; or scarcely to so much.

40 For they were no better than strangers in *Africa*, that had gotten leave there to build vpon so much ground, as they could encompass with an Ox-hide cut into small thongs. Whatsoeuer they held without such a compasse, was purchased by fraud, and wrongfull encroachments. This considered, *Masaniissa* requested of the Senate, That they would not adiudge vnto such vsurers, the Countrey sometimes pertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The *Romans* hauing heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtfull, that they could not on the suddentell what to determine. Wherefore because they would doe nothing rashly; they sent ouer three Embassadours, of whom *P. Scipio* the *African* was one and the chiefe, to decide the controuersie: yet secretly giuing them

50 instructions, to leaue all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embassadours followed their directions, and left all doubtfull. So was it likely, that *Masaniissa* with a strong Armie should quickly preuaile, against those that could no more than talke of their right, and exclaime against the wrong. By such Arts were the *Carthaginians* held, not onely from sitting in fauour of King

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Antiochus,

Antiochus, if they had thereto any disposition; but were prepared by little and little vnto their final destruction: that came vpon them, when the *Romans* had leisure to expresse the vtmost of their hatred.

¶ VI.

The Aetolians labour to provoke ANTIOCHVS, PHILIP, and NABIS, to warre vpon the Romans; by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced. NABIS besiegeth Gytheum, and wasteth some part of Achaia. The exact skill of PHILOPÆOMEN, in advantage of ground: whereby he utterly vanquisheth NABIS. ANTIOCHVS being denied Peace by the Romans, ioynes with the Aetolians. The Aetolians surprize DEMETRIAS, and by killing NABIS, their Confederates seize vpon Sparta. But they are driven out by the Citizens: who as PHILOPÆOMEN his persuasions annex themselves to the Achæans.

ALL Greece being at peace, and the Roman Armies thence departed: it grieved much the *Aetolians* to thinke, that they who had promised vnto themselves the whole spoile of Philip, and the highest reputation among the *Greekes*; were not only disappointed of their courteous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most vnregarded. Yet was there made a great access to their Estate; by adding much vnto them, of that which had bene taken from the *Macedonians*. This might haue well sufficed them, if their desires had not bene immoderate; and their indignation, more vehement, than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the deniall of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had vn-sufferable wrong. Wherefore they desired, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what meanes they best might right themselves; and giue the *Romans* a sorrowfull knowledge of the difference, betwene their enmitie and friendship. To this purpose they soone agreed, as concurring all in one affection, That they would not onely perswade *Antiochus* to make warre vpon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refused Peace; but that they would deal with the King of *Macedon* their ancient Enemy, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, to ioyne all together in a new Confederacie: whose ioynt forces could not in all likelihood but farre surmount those of the *Romans*, *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the *Aetolians* tooke in hand; and well becoming them, for they were great darers. They sent Embassadors to all these Kings, with persuasions as they thought most forcible. But *Philip* was irrelolute; and *Antiochus* willing to trie first all other courses. *Nabis* the *Lacedæmonian*, who neither (as *Philip*) had lost much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in feare of any warre; yet shewed himselfe of all other the most forward: and not staying so much as to seeke any good pretence, beganne immediately to lay siege to *Gytheum*, that had bene lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achæans*, to whose care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had commended the affaires of *Peloponnesus*, were not slow to admonish *Nabis* of his dutie: neither would they haue faied long from repreffing his violence by open warre; had not some of them thought it wisdome to aske counsaile of the *Romans*, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themselves in a businesse of such importance. Whilest thus they spent the time in sending Embassadors, and were aduised by *Quintius* to let all alone, and to waite for the coming of the *Roman* forces that would shortly be amongst them: *Nabis* was bold to giue them iuster cause of complaint, by waisting their owne Territorie.

Philopæmen was then Prætor of the *Achæans*, who had long been absent in *Crete*; making

making war there for his mindes sake and recreation. Vnto him the *Achæans* referred themselves, giuing him leave to order the warre at his pleasure; either flying vntill the *Romans* came; or doing other wise, as hee should thinke best. He made all haste to relieue *Gytheum*, by Sea; fearing lest the Towne, and the *Achæan* Garrison within it, should bee lost, if hee vied any delay. But *Philopæmen* was so bad a Seaman, that he knew not a strong Ship from a rotten. He made a Quadrieme Gallie his Admirall, that had fourescore yeeres agoe been counted a gallant vessel, in the Naue of *Antigonus Gonatas*. Neither was theret of his Fleet so good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedæmonian*. Onely it fell out well, that he committed himselfe to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her wings, than with her tallons. For his Admirall Gallie was stemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leakes, and tooke in water so fast, that she was faine to yeeld without further resistance. When the rest of the Fleet saw what was become of their Admirall, all were presently discouraged, and faued themselves with what speede they could. But *Philopæmen* was not bereft with danted. If hee had failed in Sea-service, which was none of his Occupation, Hee said, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Armie from the siege of *Gytheum*, to stop the *Achæans* if they should inuade his Countie. But vpon these which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopæmen* came unexpected; fired their Campe; and put all, save a very few of them, to the sword. Then marched he with all his Armie towards *Lacedæmon*: within ten mile whereof he was, when the Tyrant met him that had already taken *Gytheum*. It was not expected that *Nabis* would haue been ready for them so soone. Or if hee should come from *Gytheum*, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that hee must ouertake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almost securely, in a long Troupe reaching some fife miles; hauing their Horse, & the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to beare off any sudden impression. But *Nabis*, who formerly vnderstood, or at least suspected, what course they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Armie; encamped there where they meant to haue lodged. It was the custome of *Philopæmen*, when he walked or trauelled abroad with his friends, to marke the situation of the Countie about him; and to discourse, what might befall an Armie marching the same way. Hee would suppose, That hauing with him there such a number of Souldiours, ordered and sorted in such manner, and marching towards such a place; he were vpon that ground encountered by a greater Armie, or better prepared to the fight. Then would he put the question, whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand; what piece of ground it were meete for him to seize vpon; and in what manner he might best doe it; in what sort he should order his men? where bestow his Carriages, and vnder what Gard? in what sort encampe himselfe? and which way march the day following? By such continuall meditation Hee was growne so perfect, that he neuer mette with any difficultie, whence he could not explicate himselfe and his followers. At this time hee made a stand: and hauing drawne vp his Rere, Hee encamped neare vnto the place where he was; within halfe a mile of the Enemy. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Rocke; encompassing them round with his Souldiours. The ground was rough, the wayes bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as *Nabis* could not at the present greatly molest him. Both Armies were to water at one Brooke; whereto the *Achæans* lay the nearer. This watering therefore was like to minister the first occasion of skirmish. *Philopæmen* vnderstood this; and layd an ambush in place conuenient; wherinto the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Presently after this, he caused one of his owne Auxiliaries to goe to the Tyrant, as a fugitive, and tell him, that the *Achæans* had a purpose to get betwene him and *Lacedæmon*; wherby they would both debarre his returne into the Citie, and withall encourage the people, to take armes for the recovery of their

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freedom. The Tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his Campe, which hardly otherwise would have been forced. Some Companies hee made to stay behinde, and shew themselves vpon the Rampart, thereby to conceale his departure. But *Philopamen* was not to be beguiled. He easily won the Campe and gaue chase to *Nabis*; whose followers being overtaken, had no courage to turne about and make head. The enemies being thus dispersed, and fled into Woods, where they lay in covert all that day; *Philopamen* conceived aright, that their feare and necessitie would teach them to crepe homewards, and saue themselves, when it grew darke. Wherefore in the Evening, when he had gathered together all those of his Light-armature, which had followed the chase whilst it was day, Hee led forth the rest that had well refreshed themselves, and occupied the two moit ordinarie passages vnto *Lacedaemon*. So *Nabis* his men, when it was darke night, perceiving in *Philopamen* Campe great store of lights; thought that all had been at rest: and therefore aduentured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirtie dayes together after this, did *Philopamen* waste the Countrey round about, whilst *Nabis* durst not issue forth of his Towne; and then returned home, leaving the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The Roman Embassadours were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintius* among them; labouring to make their partie strong against *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew 20 to be solicited by the *Ætoliens*. Verie faire countenance they also made vnto *Philip*; and with comfortable promises drew him to make shew, whatsoeuer he thought, of good correspondence. They promised to restore vnto him his sonne: and were contented to let him hope, that hee should receive other fauours at their hands; and regaine possession of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the Romans prepare for warre against *Antiochus* in *Greece*, whilst their Embassadours that were with him in *Asia*, denied otherwise to grant him Peace, than if he would yeeld vnto one of the Conditions, by them so often propounded. The long absence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accomplished the marriage betweene *Ptoleme* and his daughter; together with the death of yong *Antiochus* the Kings sonne, 30 which happened during the Treatie, and hindered, or seemed to hinder the King, from giuing audience in person to the Embassadours; caused them to returne home to *Rome*; as vncertaine of their answer as at their setting forth. One thing that might haue bene, and partly was, beneficiall vnto them, they brought to passe during their abode at *Ephesus*; either by cunning, or (as *Livius* rather thinks) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they discoursed often with him, and blamed him for hauing thus fled vnto *Antiochus*, vpon a causelesse suspition whercin hee held the Romans: that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harme. Many haue affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of these Embassadours; and that hee, among other discourses with *Hannibal*, demanded once, Which of all the famous Captaines that had liued, 40 *Nabis* iudged the most worthy? So *Hannibal* gaue to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the first place: to *Pyrrhus* the second: and the third hee challenged vnto himselfe. But *Scipio* who thought his owne title better, than that it ought to be forgotten: asked yet further, What wouldst thou haue said then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadst vanquished mee? To whom the *Carthaginian* replied, Then would not I haue giuen the first place to *Alexander*, but haue claimed it as due vnto my selfe. Now whether this were so, or otherwise: the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the Roman Embassadours, made him suspected of *Antiochus*: who therefore did forbear awhile to vse his counsell. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceived this change in the King: and plainely desiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was; He easily recovered his former grace, and credit. For he told how his Father had caused him to sweare at the *Alcers*, when hee was a little boy, That hee neuer should be friend vnto the Romans. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vaine fur-

mises:

mises: but to know thus much, That as long as he thought vpon warre with *Rome*, so long would *Hannibal* doe him all good seruice: whereas contrariwise if he intended to make peace, then should it behooue him to vse the counsaile of some other man.

The *Ætoliens*, and their friends, were no lesse busied all this while, in making their partie strong against the Romans, than were the Romans, in multering vp their friends in *Greece*. They had so often dealt with *Antiochus*, vnting much of their owne forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the victorie against *Philip*; that finally they preuailed with him: especially when the Roman Embassadours left him without hope of peace, vnlesse hee would buy it at too deare a rate. They dealt in like sort with the *Macedonian*. But in vaine. Hee vnderstood the Romans, and himselfe, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their owne forces to the vtmost: as knowing, that all the burthen must lie vpon *Antiochus* and themselves, without helpe from any; saue onely from some few that were discontented in *Greece*. Whilst they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the King *Antiochus* that animated them to resolution: the *Athenian* Embassadours, whom *Titus* had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemencie a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the Romans, that lay neere at hand. For want of a ready answer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the buisnes worthy of his presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himselfe against the Romans: it would bee no small peece of seruice, to withdraw from his friendship, those by whose encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore hee came to their *Panathenium*, or great Assemblie of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might serue to appease them. Hee willed them to consider the weight of the enterprise which they tooke in hand; whereby *Greece* was like to become a *Champaigne-field*, on which, to the ruine of the Countrey, the Romans, and King *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Maistrie: the *Ætoliens*, as Masters in that kinde of Fence, setting them on, and becoming *the *Sticklers*. 30 for those grievances which did thus exasperate them, and vrge them to such violent courses, Hee willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might doe to send Embassadours to *Rome*, that should either plead their right in the Senate, or (if their right vnto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to haue what they desired: than thus to set the world in an vprore, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he sayd, or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embassador of the King, whose helpe they had sought, waite so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the Romans. Neither was it newes vnto them to beare those comfortable words, That, by sending to *Rome*, they might happen 40 to obtaine what they desired; either as their right, or else by way of fauour. For with such termes had they beene sealed once already: and were by the Senate reiecte vnto *Titus*: who, hauing it in his owne power, gaue them no satisfaction; yet would now againe referre them to the Senate. This were onely losse of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore without more ado they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus* the Great should be entreated to come ouer into *Greece*, as well to set the Countrey at libertie, as also to decide the controuersies depending betweene the Romans and *Ætoliens*. Such a Decree they would not haue made, had they not vnderstood the Kings minde before. Hauing made it, they forgot no point of brauerie, vvhether by to vaunt themselves to the Kings Embassadours, and against the Romans. *Titus* desired of their Prator, to let him see a Copie of this new Decree. The Prator answered, That then hee had other things to do: but that this Decree, & their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if he came to their camp in *Italy* vpon the river of *Tiberis*. Gentler words would haue

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* Liv. l. 25. ad-
missit Antiochum
fortis, iam fuisse

done better, as the *Ætoliens* are like to vnderstand hereafter. But hauing thus begun, they meant henceforth to goe roundly to worke. The care of the warre they referred vnto the more priuate Council of their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the Authoritie of a generall Assembly. The *Apocleti* (so were the Priuie Councell of *Ætolia* called) went as hotly to worke as any of the yongest heads could haue done. They layd a plotte, how to get into their hands at one time the Townes of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they sent men for the purpose. *Demetrias* they tooke vpon the sudden; entering, some of them as friends to conduct home a principall man of the Citie; who for speaking words against *T. Quintius*, had been driuen to flee thence, but was, by intercession of those that loued him, againe recalled. His *Ætolian* companions, that were not many, seized vpon a Gate; whereat they let in a Troupe which they had left not far behind them; and so fell to murdering the chiefe of the *Roman* Faction. At *Chalcis* they sped not so well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home: but they came so strong, that their purpose was discovered; and the Towne prepared to defend it selfe against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostilitie, they gaue a gentle answer, saying, That they came not thither as enemies, but only to deliuer the Towne from the *Romans*; who more insolently domiered ouer it, than euer the *Macedonians* had done. By which Rhetorick they preuailed no more, than they could doe by plain force. For the Towne-men replied, That they neither found any abridgement of their libertie, nor needed any Garrison to keepe them from the *Romans*; from whom they neither feared any danger, nor receiued iniurie. So this busines was dashed. The attempt vpon *Sparta* was more strange and desperate. *Nabis* their good friend, was Lord of the Towne; styling himselfe King: but, more truly by all men called Tyrant. He had wel-neare lost all, by means of the ouerthrow which *Philopamen* had lately given him: since, he durst not stirre abroad; and dayly expected the mischiefe, that on all sides threatned him. Wherefore he sent messengers, one after another, to the *Ætoliens*; requesting them, That as He had not been slow to stirre in their behalfe, but aduentured himselfe vpon the vtmost of danger, when all others were backward; so They would be pleased to send him what helpe they might, since his bad fortune had caused him presently to need it. It hath been often sayd, That the raucous *Ætoliens* were onely true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship otherwise than as it might conduce to their owne ends. And so dealt they now. For since *Nabis* his mercinarie forces, which vpheld his Tyrannie, were in a manner consumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way; and, by so doing, to assure *Lacedamon* vnto themselves. To this purpose, they sent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a worke. To him they gaue a thousand Foot, and thirtie Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirtie were by *Damocritus* the Prætor brought into the Councell of the *Apocleti*, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should bee, nor to thinke that they were sent to make warre with the *Acheans*, or to doe ought else, save onely what *Alexamenus* should command them; which, were it neuer so desperate, and in seeming against all reason; yet must they vnderstand, that vnlesse they performed it, they should haue no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom hee encouraged with braue words: telling him that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to couer all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the *Romans* were like to finde other manner of worke, than of late with *Philip*: since the Elephants of this great King, without other helpe, would suffice to tread them downe. As for the *Ætoliens*, Hee said, that if need should so require, they would presently find away to *Lacedamon* all the forces that they could raise: But that they were very desirous at the present, to make as goodly a muster as they could before the great King; which caused them to send him thither afore

with

with no greater companie. Hercupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart, bring forth his men, that had been long pent vp in the Citie; and traine them without the wals; as if shortly he should employ them in worke of conquest, rather than defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exercised his men in the field; riding vp and downe with his *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or foure horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexamenus* made it his fashion to step aside alone to his *Ætoliens*, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned againe to *Nabis*. But when he saw time for the great worke that he had in hand: Hee then went aside to his thirtie Horsemen, and bade them remember the taske enioyned them at their setting forth; telling them that they were all in case of banished men, vnlesse they would anon come vp to him, and helpe him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant beganne to draw neere them: and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and struck him downe. The thirtie *Ætoliens* neuer stood to deliberate vpon the matter: but all flew in; and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently vpon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercinaries ranne vnto the dead bodie: where in stead of seeking reuenge, they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his *Ætoliens* hasted into the Citie, and seized on the Palace; where hee fell to ransacking the Treasurie; and troubled himselfe with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Towne, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who seeing themselves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to see those that had slaine him, beginne to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Towne was shortly in Armes: and for lacke of another Captaine, they tooke a little Boy of the Royall stocke, that had beene brought vp with *Nabis* his children; whom they mounted vpon a Good Horse, and made him their chiefe. So they fell vpon the *Ætoliens* that were idly stragling about; and put them all to the sword. *Alexamenus* with not many of his Companie, were slaine in keeping the Citadell: and those few that escaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magistrates; who solde them all as bond-slaves. In this doubtfull Estate of things at *Lacedamon*, *Philopamen* came thither: who calling out the chiefe of the Citie, and speaking such wordes vnto them, as *Alexamenus* should haue done after hee had slaine the Tyrant; easily perswaded them for their owne good and safetie, to incorporate themselves with the *Acheans*. Thus by the enterprise, no lesse dishonourable than difficult, of the *Ætoliens*, and the small, but effectual, traualle of *Philopamen*; the *Acheans* made a notable purchase: and *Lacedamon*, that had hitherto bin gouerned eyther by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themselves Kings, became the member of a Common-wealth; wherof the name had scarce any reputation, when *Sparta* ruled ouer all *Greece*.

b. VII.

ANTIOCHVS, perswaded by THOAS the *Aetolian*, comes over into Greece, ill attended. Sundrie passages betwene him, the *Aetolians*, *Chalcidians* and others. Hee winnes *Chalcis*, and thereby the whole Ile of *Euboea*. The vanitie of the Kings Embassadors and the *Aetolians*, with the Civill answer of TITVS to their discourse, before the *Achaens*. That it concerned the *Greekes* to have desired peace, betwene the *Romans* and ANTIOCHVS, as the best assurance of their owne libertie. Of many petite Estates that fell to the King. Of AMINANDER, and an idle vanitie, by which 10 King PHILIP was lost. HANNIBAL gives good counsaile in vaine. Some Townes wonne in *Thessalie*. The King retires to *Chalcis*; Where hee marrieth a young Wife, and sends away the rest of Winter. Upon the comming of the Roman Consul all forsake ANTIOCHVS. Hee with two thousand *Aetolians* keeps the Straights of *Thermopylae*. Hee is beaten, and flies into *Asia*: leaving all in Greece vnto the Victors.



ANTIOCHVS was troubled much in *Asia* with *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leave them Enemies behind him; and to 20 winne them by force, was more than hitherto hee was able. Yet was hee desirous with all speed convenient to shew himselfe in Greece; where he had bin told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, That in all the Countrie there was a very small number, which bore heartie affection vnto the *Romans*: That *Nabis* was already vp in Armes: That *Philip* was like a Bando in a chaine, desiring nothing more than to breake loose; and that the *Aetolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could haue done, were ready to conferre vpon him the greatest, which they had unworthily bestowed vpon insolent *Barbarians*. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made such a noise, as added credit vnto all the rest. Whilest therefore the King 30 was thinking to send *Hannibal* into *Africke*, there to molest the *Romans*, and so giue him the better leisure of vsing his owne opportunities in Greece: *Thoas* the *Aetolian* came ouer to him, and bade him lay all other care aside; for that his Countreymen had already taken *Demetrius*; a Towne of maine importance, that should giue him entertainment, whence hee might proceed as became the greatnesse of his vertue and fortune. This did serue to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*: *Thoas* was bold to tell the King, first, That it was not expedient for him to diuide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into Greece, might serue to lay open vnto him all places, without need of vsing violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more vnfit 40 man to be employed in the Kings seruice, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he said, That the King should as greatly feele the losse of a Fleet or Armie, perishing vnder such a notable Commander if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried vnder one of meaner qualitie: whereas neuertheless if *Hannibal* preuailed, *Hannibal* alone should haue all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard hee was of opinion, That such a renowned Warriour should bee alwayes nere vnto the Kings person, to giue aduice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good successe would wholly redound vnto the honour of him that had the soueraigne Command; euen of the King himselfe. *Antiochus* gladly hearkned vnto this admonition; being icalous of the vertue, that shined 50 brighter than the Maistie of his owne fortune. And therupon hee laid aside the determination; which tended more to the aduancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought vpon.

Presently after this He made ready for Greece. Before his setting forth, in a friuolous

lous pomp of ceremony, he went vp from the Sea-side to *linus*; there to do sacrifice to *Minerva* of *Troy*. Thence passing ouer the *Aegean* Sea, Hee came to *Demetrius*. *Euryteles* the *Magnesian*, the same whome the *Aetolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they wanne *Demetrius*; was now the chiefe man and Ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countreymen, in great frequency, came to doe their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this: and tooke it as a signe of good lucke, to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, that the *Magnesian* found not the like cause of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Armie more fortie were seruiciable for the Warres; with an Armie of tenne thousand Foot, five hundred Horse, and fixe Elephants. The *Aetolians* no sooner heard of his comming, than they called a Parliament; and made a Decree, whereby they invited him into their Countrie. He knew before that they would so doe; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his comming to *Lemna*, the *Aetolians* gaue him as ioyfull entertainment as they could deuise. Being brought into their Councell, He made an Oration: wherein hee desired them to hold him excused, that hee came not followed with a greater Armie. This was, he said, in true estimation a signe of his good will: in that hee said not to 10 make all things ready; but halted vnto their aid, euen whilest the season was vnfit for navigation. Yet it should not be long, ere the hope of all those that had expected him, would be satisfied vnto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all Greece with Armies, and all the Sea-coast with his Fleets. Neyther would hee spare for any charge, trauaile, or danger, to follow the businesse which hee had undertaken: euen to driue the *Romans* and their authoritie out of Greece; leaving the Countrie free indeed, and the *Aetolians* therein the chiefe. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be very great: so was it his meaning, that all prouisions to them belonging should be correpndent; because hee would not be any way burdensome vnto his Confederates. But at the present hee must needs entreat them, ha- 30 uing thus hastily come ouer vnto their aide, vnprovided of many necessaries: that they would helpe him with Corne and other victuals, whereof he stood in need. So he left them to their consultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute, (for a vaine motion was made by some, that the differences betwene the *Romans* and them, should be pur by Compromise to the decision of *Antiochus*) That they would yeeld vnto the Kings desire, and assist him with all their forces. Here we may obserue, how vaine a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himselfe, as did *Antiochus*, in a businesse of dangerous importance, vpon the promised assurance of a State that is meere popular. For if the vchecemie of *Thoas*, and some other of that Faction, had not preuailed in this Councell: the *Aetolians*, for gaine of two 40 or three Townes, yea for hope of such gaine that might haue deceived them, were like to haue abandoned this King their friend, vnto the discretion of the *Romans*. And what remedie had there bene, if this had so fallen out? He could haue bemoaned himselfe to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong; but hee must haue been contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side, whom *Thoas* would therefore haue pronounced to bee very wicked men. It happened much better for the present; though in the future it proued much worse, both for him, and for the *Aetolians*. He was chosen Generall of all their forces: and thirte Commissioners were appointed to bee about him, as a Councell of Warre for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilest it was in dispute 50 where they should beginne the Warre. *Chalcis* was thought the meetest place to be first undertaken: whether if they came suddenly, they should not peradventure need to vse much force. The King had brought with him into *Aetolia* but a thousand Foot; leaving the rest behind him at *Demetrius*. With these hee hasted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being ouertaken by no great number of the *Aetolians*, which

which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the Magistrates, and some of the chiefe Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the *Ætolians* beganne, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had onely in words and false semblance, set *Greece* at libertie. But such libertie, as might be true and vsfull, they said would neuer be obtained; vntill by remouing the necessitie of obeying their pleasure that were most mightie, euery seuerall Estate had where to find redresse of any pssure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well able to counterpoise, yea to ouerweigh the *Romans*: who neuertheless desired them onely, so to joyne with him in League, as that if either the *Romans* or Hee should offer them wrong, they might keepe it in their power, to seeke redresse at the other hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedome was not imaginarie, but absolute; for which they were to thanke the *Romans*; without whose good liking, they would enter into no new confederacie. That which they spake of themselves, they could likewise affirme of all the *Greekes*: forasmuch as none of them payed any Tribute; was kept vnder, by any Garrison; or liued otherwise than by their owne *Lanes*, and without being tied vnto condition which displeased them. Wherefore they wondered, why the King should thus trouble himselfe, to deliuer Cities that were already free. But since hee, and the *Ætolians*, requested their friendship: they besought both him, and the *Ætolians*, to doe a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in such good case as they were. With this answer the King departed: for he was not, as then, strong enough to force them. But very soone after, hee brought thither a greater power; which terrified them, and made them yield: before all the succours could arrive, which *Titus* had sent for their defence.

The chiefe Cite of *Eubœa* being thus gorten; all the rest of the Iland shortly yielded to *Antiochus*. Foure or five hundred *Roman* Souldiers, that came ouer late so haue defended *Chalcis*, reposed themselves at *Delium*, a little Towne of *Boeotia*, lying ouer against the Iland; where was a Temple and Groue, consecrated vnto *Apollo*, that had the priuiledge of an inuolable Sanctuary. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to be seene, whilst others were busied as they found cause: without feare of any danger; as being in such a place, and no warre hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captaines, that had wearied himselfe in many vaine Treaties of peace; tooke aduantage of their carelesnesse, and vsed them with all extremite of werr. Very few of them escaped: fiftie were taken; and the rest slaine. Hereat *Quintus* was grieved: yet so, as it pleased him well to consider, that his *Romans* had now more iust cause than before, to make warre vpon the King.

Antiochus liked well these beginnings, and sent Embassadors into all quarters of *Greece*, in hope, that his reputation should perswade very many to take his part. The wiser sort returned such answer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some referred themselves vntill hee should come among them: knowing that eyther, if hee came not, Hee must holde them excused for not daring to stirre; or, if hee came, the *Romans* must pardon their iust feare, in yielding to the stronger. None of those that lay farre off, joynd with him in true meaning; save the *Eleans*, that alwayes fauoured the *Ætolians*, and now feared the *Achaens*. Little reason there was, that hee should thinke to draw the *Achaens* to his partie. Neuertheless hee assayed them, vpon a vaine hope that the enuie, which *Titus* was said to beare vnto *Philopemenus* verue, had bred a secret dislike betweene that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both Hee and the *Ætolians* sent Embassadors to the Councell at *Argum*; that spured not braue wordes, if the *Achaens* would haue to beene taken. The Kings Embassadors told of great Armies and Fleets that were coming: reckoning vp the *Dahans*, *Medians*, *Elimæans* and *Cadusians*; names that were not euery day heard of, and therefore as hee thought,

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the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydenians*, *Tyrrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphylians* were; such indeed as could not be resisted. Now concerning monie and all warlike furniture: it was, he said, well knowne, that the Kingdomes of *Asia* had alwayes thercof great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who considering the late warre made against *Philip*, did thinke that this with *Antiochus* would proue the like: the case was too faire different. Yet this most powerful King, that for the libertie of *Greece* was come from the vtmost parts of the East; requested no more of the *Achaens*, than that they would hold themselves as neutrall, and quietly looke on, whilst Hee tooke order with the *Romans*. To the same effect spake the *Ætolian* Embassadors: and further added, That in the battell at *Cynosephale*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a Generall, nor the *Romans* of good Souldiers: but that both Hee and his Armie had bene there destroyed, had they not bene protected by vertue of the *Ætolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was present at the Councell, and heard all this: to which he made as fit answer, as could haue bene desired. He told the *Achaens*, That neither the Kings Embassadors, nor the *Ætolian*, did so greatly labour to perswade those vnto whom they addressed their Orations; as to vnto themselves the one vnto the other. So as a man might well discern, what good correspondence in vanitie it was, that had thus lincked the King and the *Ætolians* together. For euery such bragges as heretofore made, before the *Achaens* who knew them to beliers, had the *Ætolians* also made vnto King *Antiochus*: proclaiming the victorie ouer *Philip* to be merely their Act: and the whole Countrie of *Greece* to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they bene sealed by the King, with such tales as his Embassadors told euery now; of *Dahans*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimæans*, and many others: that were all but a companie of *Syrians*, such as were wont to be sold about for bondslaves, and good for little else. These diuers names of rascall people were, he said, like to the diuersitie of *Venison*, wherewith a friend of his at *Chalcis* (no such vanter as were these Embassadors) had sometime feasted him. For all that varietie, whercoat hee wondered, was none other, as his Host then merrily tolde him; than so many pieces of one same swine, dressed after seuerall fashions with varietie of sawces. Setting therefore aside this vanity of idle pomp: it were good to make iudgement of the great King, by his present doings. He had, notwithstanding all this great noyse, no more than ten thousand men about him: for which little Armie he was laine in a manner, to begge vittualles of the *Ætolians*; and take vp monie at vsurie, to defray his charges. And thus he ran vp and downe the Countrie: from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; thence backe to *Chalcis*; and being there shut out, to *Demetrias* againe. These were the fruits of lies: wherewith since both *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* had each deluded other: meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilst wiser men tooke heed by their example. To a fauourable Auditorie much perswasion is needlesse.

The *Achaens* did not loue so well the *Ætolians*, as to desire that they should become Princes of *Greece*: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest abjects. Wherefore they stood not to hearken after newes, what *Antiochus* did, how he sped in *Eubœa*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed war against him, and against the *Ætolians*.

How the hatred betweene these two Nations grew inueterate: sufficiently appears in the storie foregoing. Now haue they gorten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*; the other, King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them vnwisely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid, on the turbulent spirits of the *Ætolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece*, and left the Countrie at rest: there was nothing more greatly to haue bene desired, than that they might neuer finde occasion to returne with an Armie thither againe. And in this respect ought the *Greekes* to haue sought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus* might recover their libertie (which had neuer bene held a matter worth regarding, vntill now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, diuided and kept asunder by their Countrie, as two

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Seas by an *Isthmus* or necke of land, might be kept from overflowing the barre that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their seeking to make free those bafe *Asiatiques*, which originally were *Greekish*; than the generall applause, wherewith all the Nation entertained this their louing offer. Yet were *Lysimachus*, and the *Townes in Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cause of feare, that should moue them to take armes euen in their owne defence. But if all *Greece* would haue made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promising ioyntly to assit the *Romans*, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, whensoever King *Antiochus* should make the least offer to stirre against them: then had not only this quarrell bene at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage ouer the Countrey, had been far from growing, as soone after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Achaens* were at this time, in a manner, the only Nation of *Greece*, that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the *Romans*, their friends and benefactors. All the rest gaue doubtfull answeres of hope vnto both sides: or if some few, as did the *Thessalians*, were firme against *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrell, nor shewed themselves his enemies, till hee pressed them with open force. The *Boeotians* willingly receiued him, as soone as hee entered vpon their borders, not so much for feare of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*; by whom they had bene somewhat hardly vsed. *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, besides his old friendship with the *Ætolians*, was caught with a bait; which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the daughter of an *Arceadian*, that was an idle-headed man, and wanted himselfe to be defended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two sonnes, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his sifter to the poore Court of *Athamania*: where hauing made his follie knowne, by talking of his Pedigree; He was iudged by *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, a man fit for their turnes. They made him beleue, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memorie of *Alexander* his forefather; it was their purpose, to doe their best for the conquest of *Macedon* to his behoofe: since no man had thereto so good title as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto; it behoued him to draw *Aminander* to their partie, that so they might the sooner haue done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by persuasions of himselfe, or of his sifter, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of seruice done by this imaginarie King (whether it proceeded from his owne phrenzie, in hope to get loue of the *Macedonians* that should be his subiects; or whether from some vanitie in King *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harme to his friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to doe good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched vnto *Cynosephala*, there to gather vp the bones of the slaughtered *Macedonians*; whom their King had suffered all this while to lie vnburied. The *Macedons* troubled not themselves to thinke on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King *Philip* tooke it in high indignation; as intended merely vnto his despight. Wherefore he presently lent vnto the *Romans*; and gaue them to vnderstand, that hee was readie with all his power to aid them wherein soeuer they should be pleased to vse him.

The *Ætolians*, *Magnetians*, *Eubœans*, *Boeotians*, and *Athamanians*, hauing now all ioynd with him; *Antiochus* tooke counsaile of them about the prosecution of the warre in hand. The chiefe question was, Whether it were meet for him to invade *Thessalie*, that would not hearken to his persuasions; or whether to let all alone vntill the Spring; because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, 50 and some another: confirming each his owne sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could alledge; as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long bene cast aside, as a vessell of no vse; but was now required to deliuer his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he should now vtter,

ter, was euen the same which hee would haue spoken, had his counsaile at any time before been asked since their coming into *Greece*. For the *Magnetians*, *Boeotians*, and other their good friends, which now lo willingly tooke their parts: what were they else than so many poore Estates, that, wanting force of their owne, did adioyne themselves for feare vnto him, that was strongest at the present; and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as readie to fall to the contrary side, all adging the same feare for their excuse? wherefore hee thought most behouefull, to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* vnto their partie: who (belides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards haue power to recoyle and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty Prince, and one that had meanes to sustaine the *Roman* Warre with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be easily persuaded to ioyne with them; the benefit likely to redound vnto himselfe, by their societie, was a very strong Argument: though indeed what neede was there, of proouing by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, said hee, These *Ætolians* here present; and namely, *Thimoas*, being lately Embassador from them into *Asia*, among other Motiues which hee then vsed to excite the King vnto this Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told vs that *Philip* was moued beyond all patience, with the Lordly insolence of the *Romans*: likening that King to some wild beest, that was chained or lockt up within some grate, and would faine breake loose. If this be so: let vs breake his chaine, and pull downe the grate, 20 that hee may regaine his libertie, and satisfie his angry stomacke, vpon those that are common Enemies to vs and him. But if it proue otherwise, and that his feare be greater than his indignation: then shall it behoue vs to looke vnto him, that hee may not seeke to please his good masters the *Romans*, by offending vs. Your sonne *Seleucus* is now at *Lysimachia*, with part of your Armie: if *Philip* will not hearken to your Embassage, let *Seleucus* be in readines, to fall vpon *Macedon*, and finde him worke to defend his owne on the other side, without putting vs here to trouble. Thus much concerning *Philip* and the present War in *Greece*. But more generally for the manning of this great enterprize, wherein you are now embarked against the *Romans*, I told you my opinion at the beginning: Whereto had you then giuen care, the *Romans* by this time should haue heard other newes, than that *Chalcis* in *Eubœa* was become ours. *Italy* and *Gaul* should haue bene on fire with warre: and, little to their comfort, they should haue vnder stood, that *Hannibal* was againe come into *Italy*. Neither doe I see what should hinder vs euen now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleet and Armie hither (but in any case let Shippes of burden come along with them, laden with store of vittuals: For as the case now stands, we haue here too few hands, and too many mouths.) Whereof let the one halfe be employed against *Italy*; whilst you in person with the other halfe, carrying on this side the *Ionian* Sea, may both take order for the affaires of *Greece*, and therewithall make countenance, as if you were euen readie to follow vs into *Italy*: yea, and be ready to follow vs indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my aduice: who though perhaps I am not very skilfull in all sorts of warre: yet how to warre with 40 the *Romans*, I haue bene instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine oyne. Of this counsaile which I giue, I promise you my faithfull and diligent seruice for the execution: but what counsaile soeuer you shall please to follow, I wish it may be prosperous. Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said hee had spoken brauely: but of all this was nothing done; saue onely that one was sent into *Asia*, to make all things ready there. In the meane while they went in hand with *Thessalie*, about which they had before disputed. There when they had won one Towne by force, many other places, doubting their owne strength, were glad to make submission. But *Larissa*, that was chiefe of the Countrey, stood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King that lay before the wals with his whole Armie. Tis their faith 50 and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *Mabius*, a *Roman* Proprietor did send helpe thither. Likewise *Philip* of *Macedon* professed himselfe Enemy vnto *Antiochus*: where by the fame of the succour comming to *Larissa* grew such, as wrought more than the succour could haue done, had it arriued. For *Antiochus* perceiving many fires on the Mountaines toppes afarre off; thought that

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a great Armie of *Romans* and *Macedonians* had beene coming vpon him. Therefore excusing himselfe by the time of the yere; Hee brake vp his siege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in loue with a yong Maiden, daughter vnto a Citizen of the Towne: whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was betwene them, both in yeeres and fortune, He shortly married; and so spent the Winter following, as delightfully as he could, without thinking vpon the war in hand. His great men and Captaines followed his example; and the souldiours as readily imitated their Captaines: in such wise that when heooke the field, he might evidently perceiue in what loose manner of discipline his Armie had passed the Winter. But *M. Atilius Glabrio*, the *Roman* Consul, shall meet him very shortly, 10 and helpe him to reclaime them from this loosefelle of nuptiall Reuels; by setting them to harder exercise.

M. Atilius was chosen Consul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*. The warre against *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise He was no way so honourable, as *Nasica* his Colleague: vnto whom fell a charge, of farre lesse credit and importance. *Nasica*, besides the great Nobilitie of his Familie, had beene long sice, in time of the *Punicke Warre*, crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome*: when the Senate, for very feare and superstition, durst not haue so pronounced him, had they not so thought him; as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the verie best, should entertaine an old stone, which the Diuell then taught 20 them to call *The Mother of the gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gaue such advantage to the better man, as to make choice of his owne Province; or arrogate more vnto himselfe, than his lot should afford him. This vnpartiall distribution of employments, helped well to maintaine peace and concord. *P. Scipio* therefore was appointed to make warre against the *Boians*: wherein he purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with harder seruice, requiring the more abilitie in matter of warre. But *M. Atilius* went ouer into *Greece*, with ten thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, and fiftene Elephants. *Ptolemie* King of *Aegypt*, notwithstanding his late Alliance with King *Antiochus*: and *Philip* King of *Macedon*; had lately sent Em- 30 bassadours to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into *Ætolia*, there to assist the Consul in this warre. *Ptolemie* sent also gold and siluer, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earnest. But hee was too yong, and dwelt too farre off. So his monie was returned vnto him with thanks; and his louing offer as louingly refused. Vnto *Philip*'s Embassadors answer was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of *Rome* would thinke themselves beholding to him, for the assistance that Hee should giue to *Atilius* the Consul. *Masanissa* likewise, and the *Carthaginians*, did strue, which of them should be most forward in gratifying the *Romans*. Each of them promised a great quantitie of graine; which they 40 would send partly to *Rome*, partly to the Armie in *Greece*. And herein *Masanissa* tarre out-went the poore Citie of *Carthage*: as also, in that he offered to lend the Consul fise hundred Horse, and twentie Elephants. On the other side, the *Carthaginians* vnderooke to set out a Fleet at their owne charges: and to bring in at one payment all the Tribute-monie, which was behinde, and ought to bee discharged by many yeerly penfions. But the *Romans* did neither thinke it good, to let them arme a Fleet; nor would let them redeeme themselves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corne; it was accepted with Condition, That they should be contented to receiue the price of it.

The hastie and ridiculous issue of this war, that began with such noyse and pro- 50 parations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great, betwene the *Roman* and the *Asiatick* souldier. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few townes of *Acarnania*, after the same manner as hee had preuailed in other parts of *Greece*; partly by faire words, and treason of the Rulers; partly by terror, that was like to

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proue their excuse, when they should againe forsake him. But King *Philip* and *Berius*, hauing recovered many places; and the *Roman* Consul being arruied, against whom none made resistance; He was glad to withdraw himselfe. *Antiochus* fled out of his *Athamania*: which the *Macedonian* tooke and enioyed; as in recompence of his good seruice to the *Romans*. *Philip*, the brother of *Antiochus*'s wife, was taken by the Consul; made a mocking flocke: and sent away prisoner to *Rome*. The *Thessalians* vsed much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yielding to the King. All their Cities, one after other, gaue vp themselves: the Garrisons of *Antiochus*, compounding onely for their owne liues, 10 and departing vnarmed: yet so, that a thousand of them layed behind, and tooke pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplex *Antiochus*: who hauing withdrawn himselfe to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cried out vpon his friends: and said, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deale of toile during one halfe of a Winter, and spent the other halfe in such Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, He found all the promises of the *Ætolians* meere verbal: and himselfe reduced into termes of great extremitie. Hee therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wise man, yea a very Prophet, that had foreseene all this long before. Neuertheless He sent word to the *Ætolians*, that they should now make readie all their forces: as considering their owne need to bee no lesse than 20 his. But the *Ætolians* had caule to thinke, that they themselves were shamefully disappointed by *Antiochus*: who hauing promised to doe great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of *Asia*, than so many as would fill vp the same ten thousand which he first brought ouer. Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which ioyned with him. Hereat the King was angry: and could get no better satisfaction, than that *Thas* and his fellows had done their best, in vaine, to haue made all the Nation take armes. Since therefore neither his owne men came ouer to him out of *Asia*, nor his friends of *Greece* would appeare in this time of danger: He seized vpon the Streights of *Thermopylae*: as meaning to defend them against the *Romans*, vntill more helpe should 30 come. Of the Streights of *Thermopylae* there hath beene spoken enough before, *13. 6. 53. vpon many occasions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* against the huge Armie of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may easily be conceiued, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and so came onwards into *Thessalie*, were vnable to passe that Ledge of Mountaines, diuiding the one halfe of *Greece*: vnlesse they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference betwene *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of these, with an handfull of men, defended this passage two or three dayes together, against a World of men coming to inuade the Countrey. The latter, hauing taken vpon him to doe great miracles, and effect what he listed himselfe in *Greece*: did commit himselfe vnto the falcitie of this place, 40 when he was charged by not many more than he had in his owne Armie. There whilst he lay, Hee sent earnest messages one after other to the *Ætolians*, entreating them not to forsake him thus: but at leastwise now to helpe, and keepe the tops of the Mountaines, lest the *Romans* finding any by-path, should come downe vpon him. By this importunitie, he got of them two thousand, that vnderooke to make good the few passages: by which onely, and not without extreme difficultie, it was possible for the Enemy to ascend. The *Roman* Consul in like sort, prepared to force the Streights: without staying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindered by sickenesse from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them beene Consuls. These he sent forth by night 50 with two thousand men, to trie whether by any means they could get vp to the *Ætolians*. He himselfe encouraged his Armie: not onely by telling them, with what base-conditioned enemies they had to deale: but what rich Kingdomes *Antiochus* held, that should bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battaile. All that night *Cato* had a fore iourney (for what

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happened vnto *L. Valerius* it is vncertaine, save onely that hee failed in his intent; and so much the worse, for that he had no skilfull guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tired, with climbing vp steepe Rocks and crooked wayes: Hee commanded them to repose themselves; whilst Hee, being a verie able man of bodie, tooke in hand the discoverie, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himselfe. After a great deale of trouble, He found at length a path: which he tooke to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading vnto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till toward breake of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace there was a faire way through the Straights below, that required no such trouble of climbing: neyther had this entrance of the *Thermopylae* bene so often the Seat of Warre, as might cause any traualers to search out the passages of those desolate Mountaines. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the best: yet did it lead him to a bogge at the end, which would suffer him to passe no further. So he staid there vntill day-light: by which he discovered both the Campe of the *Greekes* vnderneath him; and some of the *Ætolians* verie nere vnto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore sent forth a luttie Crue of his men, whom he thought fittest for that service, and willed them by any meanes to get him some prisoners. This was effected: and he thereby vnderstood, that these *Ætolians* were no more than fixe hundred; as also that King *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So he presently let vpon the *Ætolians*; where-
 20 threw them; slue a great part of them; and chased the rest, that by flying to their Campe, guided him vnto it. The fight was alreadie begun between the Armies below: and the *Romans*, that had easily repelled the Kings men, and driven them into their Campe, found it in a manner a desperate piece of worke to assault the Campe it selfe; which occupied the whole bredth of the Straights; was notably fortified; and not onely defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were best at that kinde of service; but by Archers and Slingers that were placed over them on the Hill-side, and powred downe a shower of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approach determined the matter. It was thought at first, that the *Ætolians* had bene coming to helpe the Kings men: but when the *Roman* armes and ensignes were discovered, such was the terror, that none made offer of resistance; but all of them forsooke the Campe, and fled. The slaughter was not great: for that the badnesse of the way did hinder the *Roman* Armie from making pursuit. Yet this dayes losse draue *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, who directly fled to *Chalcis*; and from thence, with the first opportunitie, got him backe into *Asia*.

All the Cities that had embraced the friendship of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertaine the *Romans*, and entreat for pardon: setting open their gates; and presenting themselves vnto the Consul, in manner of suppliants. Briefly, in few dayes all was recovered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Ætolians* onely standing out, because they knew not what else to doe. Neither did the Consul giue them any respite.
 40 At his returne from *Chalcis* He met with King *Philip*, that hauing recovered health, came to ioyne with him against *Antiochus*: over whom since the victorie was already gotten, Hee did gratulate vnto the *Romans* their good successe; and offered to take part with them in the *Ætolian* Warre. So it was agreed, That the Consul should besiege *Heraclea*; and *Philip*, *Lamia*; at the same time. Each of them plied his worke hard; especially *Philip*, who saime would haue taken *Lamia* before the Consul should come to helpe him. But it could not be. For his *Macedonians* that vied to worke by Myne, were ouermuch hindered by the stonie ground. Yet was *Lamia* euen ready to be taken, when the Consul, hauing wonne *Heraclea*, came thither; and told *Philip*, that the spoile of these Townes was a reward vnto those that had fought at *Thermopylae*.
 50 Herewith *Philip* must be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Antius*, that could so ill endure to see *Philip* in likelihood of thriving by the *Romans* victorie, got not *Lamia* himselfe: vntill such time as another Consul was readie to ease him of his charge.

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The losse of *Heraclea* did so affright the *Ætolians*, that they thought no way safer than to desire peace. Yet had they sent vnto King *Antiochus* presently after his flight: entreating him not to forsake them vtterly, but eyther to returne with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into *Greece*; or if any thing withheld him from comming in person, at leastwise to helpe them with money and other aid. They prayed him to consider, that this did not onely concerne him in honour; but appertained vnto his owne safetie: since it would be much to his hurt, if the *Ætolians* being wholly subdued, the *Romans*, without any Enemies at their backes, might set vpon him in *Asia*. He considered well of this; and found their words true.

10 Therefore He deliuered vnto *Nicanor*, one of their Embassadors, a summe of money, that might serue to defray the charges of the Warre: promising that ere long he would send them strong aid, both by Land and Sea. *Thoas*, another of their Embassadors, He retained with him: who willingly staid, that he might vrge the King to make his word good. But when *Heraclea* was taken from them: then did the *Ætolians* lay aside all hope of amending their fortune by the helpe of *Antiochus*; and made suit vnto the Consul to obtaine peace, vpon any reasonable Condition. The Consul would scarce vouch safe to giue them audience, but said Hee had other businesse in hand: onely He granted them tenne dayes of Truce, and sent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*; willing them to make him acquainted with as
 20 much, as they would haue deliuered vnto himselfe. At their comming to *Hypata*; they began, as men fauouring their owne cause, to alleadge how well they had deserved of the *Romans*. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memorie of all such good Offices past, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore hee willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to doe so euen betimes, than to stay till they were reduced into termes of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves vnto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect sent Embassadors to the Consul. This phrase of committing vnto the faith; signified, in their vse of it, little else, than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* vsed those words in another sense; and counted
 30 them all one, as *yielding to discretion*. Wherefore when the Consul heard them speake in this manner: Hee asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was: and shewed him the Decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then sayde Hee, I command you first of all, That none of yee presume to goe into *Asia*, vpon any businesse priuate or publike: then, That yee deliuer vp vnto me *Dicarchus* the *Ætolian*, *Menestratus* the *Epirot*, *Aminander* the *Albanian*, and such of his Countenmen as haue followed him in revolt from vs. Whilst hee was yet speaking: *Phameas* the Embassador interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the Custome of the *Greekes*, who
 40 had yielded themselves vnto his faith; not vnto his avarice. What? (saide the Consul) Doe yee stand to pleade Custome with mee, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chaine. With that, chaines were brought; and an iron collar by his appointment fitted vnto euerie one of their neckes. This did so affright them, that they stood dumbe and knew not what to say. But *Valerius* and some others entreated the Consul, not to deale thus hardly with them, since they came as Embassadors; though since, their Condition was altered. *Phameas* also spake for himselfe: and said, That neither He nor yet the *Apocletor* ordinarie Councel of the Nation, were able to fulfill these iniunctions; without approbation of the generall Assembly. For which cause Hee entreated yet further ten dayes respite; and had granted vnto him Truce
 50 for so long.

This surceance of warre, during tenne and other tenne dayes together, began presently after the taking of *Heraclea*; when *Philip* had bene commaunded away from *Lamia*, that else he might haue wonne. Now because of the indignitie herein offered vnto that King, and to the end that hee might not returne home with his

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Armic, like one that could not bee trusted in employment: especially the *Romans* being like hereafter to haue further need of him, in the continuance of this Warre: He was desired to set vpon the *Athamanians*, and some other petite Nations their borderers, whilst the Consul was busie with the *Ætoliens*; taking for his reward, all that He could get. And Hee got in that space all *Athamania*, *Perrhebia*, *Ape-
ranta*, and *Dolopia*. For the *Ætoliens*, hearing what had befallen their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill provided for Warre; yet they could not endure to heare more talke of peace. And it happened, that *Nicanor* a-
bout the same time was come backe from *Antiochus*, with money and hopefull promises: the *Romans* abiding still about *Heracles*; and *Philip* hauing lately risen 10
from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gone thence. His monie *Nicanor* conueighed into *Lamia*, by verie vnusuall dexteritie. But hee himselfe being to passe further to the Assembly of the *Ætoliens*, there to make report of his Embassage, was verie much perplexed about this his iourne, which lay betwene the *Roman* and *Ma-
cedonian* Campes. Yet hee made the aduenture: and keeping as farre as hee could from the *Roman* side, fell vpon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom hee was taken, and led vnto their King. He expected no good; but cyther to bee deliuered vnto the *Romans*, or vnto ill enough by *Philip*. But it seemed, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignitie, of his being sent away from *Lamia*. For Hee commanded his seruants to entreat *Nicanor* friendly: and hee himselfe being then 20
at supper, did visit him as soone as hee rose vp: giuing him to vnderstand; That the *Ætoliens* did now reape the fruits of their owne madnesse; forasmuch as they could neuer hold themselves contented, but wold needs bee calling strangers into *Greece*. They had pleased themselves well, in their acquaintance first with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus*; but himselfe, being their neighbour, they could neuer well endure. It was now therefore, He said, high time for them to haue regard vnto his friendship, whereof hitherto they had neuer made any trial: for surely their good affection, one vnto the other, would bee much more auailable vnto each of them; than their mutuall catching of aduantages; whereby they had wrought themselves much displeasure. Thus much the King willed *Nicanor* to signifie vnto 30
his Countreymen; and privately to hold in minde the courtesie which hee then did him, in sending him safe home. So giuing him a Conuoy to gard him to *Hypata*; Hee lovingly dismissed him. For this benefit, *Nicanor* was alwayes after dutifully affected to the Crowne of *Macedon*: so as in the warre of *Perseus* hee made himselfe suspected vnto the *Romans*; and therefore was had away to *Rome*, where he ended his life.

When the Consul vnderstood, that the *Ætoliens* refused to make their submis-
sion, in such wise as he required it: hee forthwith meant to prosecute the warre-
against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make
head against him at *Naupactus*: whether hee therefore directly marched, to trie what 40
they could or durst. The siege of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had preconceiued it: for it was a strong Citie, and well manned. But *Achilles* stood vpon point of honour; wherein he thought that hee should haue bene a loser, by rising from before it without Victorie. So Hee staid there welneere all the following time of his Consulship; whilst the *Macedonian* King and the *Acheans* made farre better vse of the *Roman* Victorie. *Philip*, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had revolted vnto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, wan the strong Citie of *Demetrias*; and with an hastie course of Victorie, subdued the *Athamanians* and others. The *Acheans* called to accompt the *Eleans* and *Messenians*: which had long bene addicted to the *Ætolian* side; and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gaue good wordes; whereby they saved themselves from trouble awhile. The *Messenians* being more stout, before they were invaded; had none other helpe when the *Achean* Prætor wasted their Countrie, than to of-
fer themselves vnto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth*; to whom they sent word,

word, That at his Commandement their gates should be opened; but that vnto the *Acheans* it was not their meaning to yeeld. A message from *Titus* to the *Achean* Prætor, did suffice to call home the Armie, and finish the Warre: as also the per-
emptorie Command of the same *Titus* caused the *Messenians* to annex themselves vnto the *Acheans*, and become part of their Common-wealth. Such was now the Majestie of a *Roman* Embassador. *Titus* did fauour the *Acheans*; yet could not like it well, that cyther they or any other should take too much vpon them. He thought it enough, that they had their libertie, and were strong enough to defend it against
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the *Romans* vpon euen termes; it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the lie of *Zacynthus* which had once bene *Philips*, and was after-
ward given by him to *Aminander* who sent a Gouernour thither. But when *Aminander* in this present Warre, was driuen out of his owne Kingdome by *Philip*: then did the Gouernour of *Zacynthus* offer to sell the Island to the *Acheans*; whom hee found readie Chapmen. *Titus* liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their owne Caruers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their Enemies; as a reward of the victorie which they had obtained. It was bootlesse to dispute. Wherefore the *Acheans* referred themselves vnto his discretion. So he told them, that their Common-wealth was like a Tor-
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toile, whereof *Peloponnesus* was the shell: and that holding themselves within that compasse, they were out of danger; but if they would needs bee looking abroad, they should lie open to blowes, which might greatly hurt them. Hauing settled things thus in *Peloponnesus*, Hee went out to *Naupactus*: where *Glabrio* the Consul had laine two moneths, that might haue bene laine better spent. There, whether out of compassion which Hee had vpon the *Ætoliens*, or out of dislike of King *Philip* thriving so fast: Hee perswaded the Consul to grant vnto the besieged, and to the whole Nation, so long Truce, that they might send Embassadours to *Rome*; and sub-
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mitting themselves, crave pardon of the Senate. Most like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: else would not the *Ætoliens* haue made such earnest suit as they did vnto *Titus*, for procuring of this fauour. But if *Glabrio* had bene sure to carrie it, in any short space: it may well bee thought hee would not haue gone away without it; since the winning of that Towne, wherein was then the whole floure of the Nation, would haue made the promised submission much more humble and sincere. When they came to *Rome*, no entreatie could helpe them to better Conditions, than one of these two; That either they should wholly permit themselves to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or else pay a thousand Talents, and make neither Peace nor Warre with any, further than as the *Romans* should giue approbation. They had not so much monie: neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withall, if they should giue themselves away vnto discretion; which what it signified, they now vnder-
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stood. Wherefore they desired to haue it set downe, in what points, and how farre forth, they should yeeld vnto the good pleasure of the Senate. But heereof they could get no certaine answer: so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and vaine attendance.

Whilst the *Ætoliens* were pursuing their hopes of peace, the Consul had little to doe in *Greece*; and therefore tooke vpon him grauely to setting in order among the tractable *Acheans*. Hee would haue had them to restore the banished *Lacedæmonians* home into their Countrie; and to take the *Eleans* into the fellowshipe of their Common-wealth. This the *Acheans* liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the *Romans* should bee meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they de-
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ferred the restitution of the banished *Lacedæmonians*: intending to make it an Act of their owne mere grace. As for the *Eleans*; they were loth to bee beholding to the *Romans*, and thereby to disparage the *Acheans* into whose Corporation they were desirous to bee admitted; and saw that they should haue their desire, without such compulsiue mediation.

The

The Roman Admirall C. *Linus*, much about the same time, fought a battaile at Sea with *Polyxenus*, Admirall to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought helpe to the *Romans*, though it was not great: and five and twentie saile of *Rhodiens* came after the battaile, when they were following the Chace. The Kings Fleet was the better of saile: but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenus* being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger; as loone as hee betooke himselfe to a speedie retreat.

And such end had the first yeeres warre, betwene King *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this, as many of the *Greekes* as had followed the vaine hopes of the *Ætolians*, were glad to excuse themselves by feare; thinking themselves happie when by Embassadors they had obtained pardon. On the contrarie side, *Philip of Macedon*, Arch-enemie of late vnto the *Romans*, did now send to congratulate this their Victorie: and, in recompence of his good affection, had restored vnto him *Demetrius* his younger sonne; whom some few yeeres they had kept as an hostage. Also King *Ptolemie* of *Egypt*, gratulating the Roman Victorie, sent word how greatly all *Asia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard hee desired the Senate not to foregoe time; but to send an Armie, as loone as might be, into *Asia*: promising, that his assistance, wherein soeuer it pleased them to vse it, should not bee wanting. This *Ptolemie* was the sonne-in-law of King *Antiochus*: but hee was the friend of Fortune. Hee vnderstood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the Contention, that the *Romans* were like to haue the vpper hand. The same did *Antiochus* now beginne to suspect, who had thought himselfe awhile as safe at *Ephesus*, as if hee had beene in another World: but was told by *Hannibal*, that it was not so farre out of *Greece* into *Asia*, as out of *Italy* into *Greece*; and that there was no doubt but the *Romans* would soone be there, and make him trie the chance of a battaile for his Kingdome.

§. VIII.

LVCIVS SCIPIO, having with him PVLIVS the African his elder Brother, for his Lieutenant, is sent into *Greece*. He grants long Truce to the *Ætolians*, that so he might at leisure passe into *Asia*. Much troublesome businesse by Sea; and diuers fights. An invasion vpon *Eumenes* his Kingdome; with the siege of *Pergamus*, raised by an handfull of the *Acheans*. L. SCIPIO the Consul comes into *Asia*: where ANTIQCHVS most earnestly desireth peace, and is denied it. The battaile of *MAGNESA*: wherein ANTIQCHVS being vanquished, yeeldeth to the *Romans* good pleasure. The Conditions of the peace. In what sort the *Romans* used their Victorie. L. CORNELIVS SCIPIO, after a most sumptuous triumph ouer ANTIQCHVS, is surnamed The *Asiatique*, as his brother was stiled The *African*.

LVCIUS CORNELIVS SCIPIO, the brother of P. Scipio the African, was chosen Consul at Rome with C. *Lælius*. *Lælius* was verie gracious in the Senate: and therefore being desirous (as generally all Consuls were) of the more honourable employment; offered to referre to the arbitrement of the Senate; if L. *Cornelius* would be so pleased, the disposition of their Provinces; without putting it to the hazard of a Lotterie. *Lælius* having talked with his brother *Publius*, approved well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time beene put vnto the Fathers: who therefore were the more desirous, to make an vnblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent: P. Scipio the African said openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the warre against *Antiochus*, He himselfe would follow his brother in that warre, as his Lieutenant. These words were heard with such approbation, that the controuersie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied

relyed vpon *Hannibal*, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great Captaine: what better man could they oppose, than *Scipio*; that had beene victorious against the same Great Worthie? But indeed a worser man might haue frused well enough the turne. For *Hannibal* had no absolute Command, nor scarce any trutt of great importance: excepting now and then in consultation; where his wilddome was much approued, but his libertie and high spirit as much disliked. Itis worthe of remembrance; as a signe of the freedome that he vied in his censures, euen whilst he liued in such a Court. *Antiochus* mulctred his Armeie in presence of this famous Captaine: thinking, as may seeme, to haue made him with, that hee had beene ferued by such braue men in *Italy*. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horse, and Elephants, with such costly furniture of Gold, Silver, and Purple; as glittered with a terrible brauerie on a Sun-shine day. Whereupon the King, well pleasing himselfe with that goodly spectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*. Enough (said *Hannibal*) were the *Romans* the most couetous men in all the World: meaning, that all this Coll vpon the backs of Cowardly *Asiatiques*, was no better than a spoile to animate good Souldiers. How little this answer pleased the King; it is easie to ghesse. The little vse that he made of this *Carthaginian*, testifies that his dislike of the man, caused him to lose the vse of his seruice, when he stood in greatest neede of it thereof.

The *Scipio*'s made all haile away from Rome as soone as they could. They carried with them, besides other Souldiers newly prest to the warre, about five thousand Voluntaries, that had serued vnder P. *Africanus*. There was also a Fleet of thirtie Quinquereme Gallies, and twentie Triremes newly built, appointed vnto L. *Æmilius Regillus*, that was chosen Admirall the same yeere for that Voyage. At their coming into *Greece*, they found the old Consul *Glabrio* besieging *Amphissa* a Citie of the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* after that they were denied peace, had expected him once againe at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not onely fortified that Towne: but kept all the passages thereto leading; which heerdlesly, as in a time of confusion, they had left vngarded the last yeere. *Glabrio* knowing this, decciued their expectation, and fell vpon *Lamis*: which being not long since much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the sudden; was carried at the second assault. Thence went hee to *Amphissa*: which he had almost gotten; when L. *Scipio*, his successor, came with thirteene thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, and tooke charge of the Armeie. The Towne of *Amphissa* was presently forsaken by the inhabitants, but they had a Castle, or higher Towne, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embassadors had dealt with P. *Scipio*, in behalfe of the *Ætolians*: entreating him to stand their friend, and helpe them in obtaining some tolerable Condition of peace. He gaue them gentle words: and willed them to perswade the *Ætolians*; that they should faithfully and with true meaning desire it. This was gladly taken. But many messages passing to and fro: though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Consul made still the same answer, with which they had beene chased from Rome. The conclusion was, That they should sue for a longer time of respite from warre: whereby at more leisure they might attend some better disposition of the Senate; or any helpfull commoditie which time should afford. So they obtained halfe a yeeres Truce: after which, the Winter was like to afford them another halfe yeeres leisure of breathing. Hereof were not they more glad, than was P. *Scipio*: who thought all time lost, which with-held the Warre from passing ouer into *Asia*.

The businesse of *Ætolia* being thus laide aside: and the olde Consul *Glabrio* sent home into *Italy*: the *Scipio*'s marched into *Theffalie*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Alacedon* and *Thrace* vnto the *Hellepont*. Yet they considered, That hereby they must commit themselves vnto the loyalte of King *Philip*: who might either doe them some mischief by the way, if hee were disposed to watch a notable advantage: or at the least, would be vnfaithfull, though he were not so courageous;

couragious; yet might he take such order with the *Thracians*, that euen for want of victualles, it by no greater inconvenience, they should be disgracefully forced to returne. He had promised them the vtmost of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant sincerely, they thought to make some triall; by causing a Gentleman to ride Post vnto him, and obserue his doings as hee should take him on the sudden. The King was merrie at a feast, and drinking, when the Messenger came: whom he louingly bade welcome; and shewed him the next day, not only what prouision of victualles he had made for the Armie, but how he had made bridges ouer the ri- uers, and mended the bad wayes by which they were to passe. With these good newes *Gracchus* returned backe in haste vnto the *Scipio's*: who entring into *Macedon*,¹⁰ found all things in a readines, that might helpe to aduance their iourney. The King enterdayned them royally; and brought them on their way, euen to the *Hellepont*: where they stayed a good while, vntill their Nauie was in readinesse to transport them into *Asia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this yeere; though, for the most part, little of importance. *Polyxenus*, the Admirall of *Antiochus*, was a banished *Rho- dian*: true to the King; and desirous of reuenge vpon his Countrey men that had ex- pelled him. Hee, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eu- menes* hauing not as yet put to Sea; thought to doe somewhat vpon those that were so early in their diligence, before their followes should arrive to helpe them. Yet²⁰ went he craftily to worke; and lent word, as in great secrecie, to the *Rhodian* Ad- mirall, That if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, He would, in re- quitall thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was beleeued: and the *Rhodian* Admirall grew so carelesse, expecting still when he should receiue a watch word from *Polyxenus*, that he himselfe was taken by *Polyxenus* in his owne Haven. The Kings Fleet setting forth from *Ephesus* by night; and, for feare of being discouered, resting one day in harbour by the way; came the second night to *Samos*: where, by morning, it was readie to enter the Haven. *Pausistratus* the *Rhodian* Admirall seeing this, thought it his best way of resistance, to bestow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Haven; so to gard the mouth of it:³⁰ for that he saw no likelihood of defending himselfe by Sea. But *Polyxenus* had al- ready landed some companies, in another part of the Iland: which falling vpon the backe of *Pausistratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboard. This could not be without great confusion: so as the enemies tooke him out of all order; and funke or boarded all his Nauie, five excepted, that by a sudden deuice made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Cresset vpon two poles; at the Beake-head: and then rowed forwards directly vpon the Enemy: who hauing not bethought himselfe what shift to make against such vnexpected danger of firing, was content to giue way vnto these desperate Gal- lies, for feare lest they should burne, together with themselves, a part of the Kings⁴⁰ Fleet.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had some losse by tempest: whereof *Polyxenus* could not take such aduantage as hee had hoped; because, putting to Sea for that purpose, Hee was driuen backe againe by the like foule weather. But the *Rhodians*, to shew that they were not discouraged, set forth twentie other Gallies: the *Romans* also with King *Eumenes* repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great bra- uerie, presented battail to *Polyxenus* before the Haven of *Ephesus*. When hee durst not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as cy- ther they were entreated by the *Rhodians*, or perswaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were⁵⁰ hindred by stormes at Sea; and another while by strong resistance, made against them at Land.

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to forsake them; and returne home to the defence of his owne Kingdome. For *Antiochus* wasted all the grounds about *Elea* and

and *Pergamus*: and leaving his sonne *Selenus* to besiege the royall Citie of *Pergamus*, did with the rest of his Armie spoile the whole Countrey thereabout. *Attalus*, the brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; hauing with him no better men to defend the Citie, than were they that lay against it. Wherefore hee had reason to stand in feare; being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thou- sand Foot, and an hundred Horse of the *Achaens*: old souldiers all, and trayed vp vnder *Philopamen*; whose Scholler, in the Art of war, *Diophanes* their Commander was. This *Diophanes*, beholding from the walles of *Pergamus*, which was an high Towne, the demeanour of the Enemy; began to didd ine, that such men as they¹⁰ should hold him besieged. For *Selenus* his Armie which was encamped at the hill- foot, seeing that none durst fallie forth vpon them, grew so carelesse: as otherwise, than by spoyling all behind their backes, they seemed to forget that they were in an Enemies Countrie. *Diophanes* therefore spake with *Attalus*: and told him that hee would goe forth to visit them. *Attalus* had no liking to this aduerture; for he said, that the match was nothing equall. But the *Achaen* would needs haue his will: and issuing forth, encamped not farre from the Enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the besiegers, they wondered at first what his meaning was: but when they saw that he held himselfe quiet, they made a iekt of his boldnesse; and laughed to see with what an handful of men he looked so stout-²⁰ ly. So they returned vnto their former negligence and disorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, Hee commanded all his men to follow him, euen as fast as they well might; and he himselfe, with the hundred Horse, brake out on the sudden vpon the Station that was next at hand. Verie few of the enemies had their Horles readie saddled, but more few, or none, had the hearts to make resistance: so as Hee draue them all out of their Campe; and chased them as farre as he might safely ad- uenture, with great slaughter of them, and no losse of his owne. Hereat all the Ci- tizens of *Pergamus* (who had covered the wals of the Towne, men and women, to behold this spectacle) were very ioyfull; and highly magnified the vertue of these³⁰ *Achaens*. Yet would they not therefore issue forth of their gates, to helpe the *Achaens* in doing what remained to bee done. The next day *Selenus* encamped halfe a mile further from the Towne, than hee had done before: and against him went forth *Diophanes* the second time; who quietly rested awhile in his old Station. When they had staid many houres, looking who should begin: *Selenus*, in faire order as he came, withdrew himselfe toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moued not whilest the Enemy was in sight: but as soone as the ground betweene them hindred the prospect, he followed them in all haste, & soone ouertaking them with his Horle, charged them in Rere; so as hee brake them, and with all his forces pursued them at the heeles, to their very Trenches. This boldnes of the *Achaens*, and the balenesse of his owne men, caused *Selenus* to quit the siege, little to his honour.

Such being the qualitie of these *Asiaticques*; *Philopamen* had cause to tell the *Romans*,⁴⁰ That hee enuied their victorie. For when *Antiochus* lay leafling at *Chalcis* after his marriage, and his souldiers betooke themselues to Riot, as it had beene in a time of great security: a good man of war might haue cut all their throates, euen as they were tripling in their victualing houles; which *Philopamen* said that he would haue done, had hee beene Generall of the *Achaens*, and not, as he then was, a priuate man.

Antiochus was full of busines; and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deale of trauaile, brought almost nothing to passe. He had beene at *Pergamus*: into which *Eumenes*, leaving the *Romans*, did put himselfe with a few of his Horle and light armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his sonne as before hath⁵⁰ bene shewed, and went to *Elea*: whether hee heard that *Amilius* the *Roman* Ad- mirall was come, to bring succour to *Eumenes*. There hee made an Ouerture of peace: about which to consult, *Eumenes* was sent for by *Amilius*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made without the Consul; this Treatie brake off. Then followed the Ouerthrow newly menti- oned;

oned; which caused *Seleucus* to give over the siege of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, foure or fife Townes of scarce any worth or note were taken by the King: and the *Syrian* Fleet, being of fceuen and thirtie Saile, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which was of like number. But of this victorie the *Rhodians* had no great cause to reioyce: for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courtier of *Antiochus*, was Admirall of the *Syrians*, did them in manner as great hurt as they could doe to *Apollonius*; and hauing the victorie taken out of his hand by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made such a retreat, that the *Rhodians* durst not farre aduenture vpon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Praefaces vnto the war; the last and greatest was a victorie of the *Romans* by Sea, against *Polyxenus* as the Kings Admirall. The battle was fought by *Myonnesus* a Promontorie in *Asia*: where *Polyxenus* had with him fourefcore and nine Gallies; and fife of them greater, than any of the *Romans*. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of those bragges, wherewith *Antiochus* wanted the last yeere, That his *Armada* should couer all the shores of *Greece*. The *Romans* had eight and fiftie Gallies; the *Rhodians*, two and twentie: the *Roman* being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the *Rhodian* more light timbered and thin plankt, hauing all aduantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forget they to helpe themselves by the same deuice; with which, fife of their Gallies had lately escaped from *Samos*. For with fire in their prowes they ran vpon the *Enemie*: who declining them for feare, laid open his side: and was thereby in greater danger of being flemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Nauie hoysted saile: and hauing a faire wind, bore away toward *Ephesus* as fast as they could. Yet fortie of their Gallies they left behind them: whereof thirtene were taken: all the rest burnt or funke. The *Romans* and their fellows lost only two or three ships: but got hereby the absolute Maisterie of the Sea.

The report of this misaduenture, may seeme to haue taken from *Antiochus* all vfe of reason. For as if no hope had bene remayning, to defend those places that hee held in *Europe*: Hee presently with-drew his Garrisons from *Lysimachia*: which might easily haue been kept, euen till the end of Winter following, and haue reduced the besiegers (if the siege had bene continued obstinately) to termes of great extremities. He also gaue ouer the siege of *Colophon*: and laying aside all thought faue onely of defence, drew together all his Armie; and sent for helpe to his father-in-law, King *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Consul, without impediment, not onely came to the *Hellefpont*; but had yeelded vnto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on *Europe* side. The Fleet was then also in readinesse, to transport him ouer into *Asia*: where *Enmenes* had taken such care before, that Hee landed quietly at his owne good case; euen as if the Countrey had bene his already. The first newes that hee heard of the *Enemie*, was by an Embassadour that came to sue for peace. This Embassadour declared in his Masters name, That the same things which had hindered him from obtaeyning peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now perswade him, that hee should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputations heretofore, *Smyna*, *Lampscus*, and *Lysimachia*, had bene the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now alreadye giuen ouer *Lysimachia*; and was further purposed, not to strue with the *Romans* about *Lampscus* and *Smyna*: what reason was there, why they should neede to trouble him with warre? If it was their desire, that any other Townes vpon the Coast of *Asia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should be also set at libertie, or otherwise deliuered into their hands: the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take some part of *Asia*: so as the bounds, diuiding them from the King, might not be vncertaine; and it should bee quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough: the King would likewise beare halfe the Charges, wherewith they had bene in this warre. So praying the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with these good offers, and not to bee too insolent vpon confidence of their fortune; Hee expected their

their answer. These offers which to the Embassadour seemed so great, were iudged by the *Romans* to be verie little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should beare all the charges of the warre, since it began through his onely fault: and that He should not onely depart out of those few Townes, which hee held in *Asia* and *Ionis*; but quite out of *Asia* the lesse, and keepe himselfe on the other side of Mount *Taurus*. When the Embassadour therefore law, that no better bargain could bee made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in priuate; and to him he promised a great quantitie of gold, together with the free restitution of his sonne; who (it is vncertaine by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor other wise to the restitution of his sonne, than vpon Condition, That it might bee with making such amends for the benefit, as became a priuate man. As for the publike businesse: Hee onely said thus much, That since *Antiochus* had alreadye forsaken *Lysimachia*, and suffered the warre to take hold on his owne Kingdome; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yeeld to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said He, tell your King in my name, that I would aduise him to refuse no Condition whereby he may haue peace.

The King was not any whit moued with this aduice. For seeing that the Consul demanded of him no lesse, than if hee had bene alreadye subdued: little reason there was that he should feare to come to battaile; where in hee could lose, as hee thought, no more, than by seeking to auoid it the most giue away. He had with him threecore and ten thousand Foot, and twelue thousand Horse; besides two and fiftie *Indian* Elephants, and many Chariots armed with hookes or fythes, according to the manner of the *Easterne* Countries. Yet hee was nothing pleased, to heare that the Consul drew neere him apace, as one halting to fight. But howsoever hee was affected; Hee made so little shew of feare, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie sicke at *Elee*, He sent thither vnto him his sonne without ranfome: as one both desirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his sickness, and withall not desirous to retaine the yong Gentleman for a pledge of his owne safetie. Thus ought his bounde to bee constant. Otherwise it might be suspected, That herein hee dealt craftily. For since hee could haue none other ranfome of *Scipio*, than such as an honourable man, that had no great store of wealth, might pay: better it was to doe such a courtesie before the battell, as would afterwards haue bene little worth; than to stay vntill the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the recouerie of his sonne: so as the ioy thereof was thought, to haue bene much auailable vnto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanitie, Hee did onely thus much vnto those that brought him this acceptable Present, I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by aduising him not to fight, vntill hee shall heare that I am in the Campe. What he meant by this, it is hard to coniecture. *Antiochus* resolved to follow his counsaile: and therefore withdrew himselfe from about *Thyatira*, beyond the Riuier of *Phrygius* or *Hyllus*, vnto *Magnesia* by *Sipylus*: where encamping, He fortified himselfe as strongly as hee could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Consul; and fate downe within foure miles of him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, most of them *Gallo-Greekes*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at first they slue some; and were anon, with some losse driuen backe ouer the Riuier. Two dayes were quietly spent, whilst neither the King nor the *Romans* would passe the water. The third day the *Romans* made the aduenture: wherein they found no disturbance; nor were at all opposed, vntill they came within two miles and an halfe of *Antiochus* his Campe. There, as they were taking vp their lodging, they were charged by three thousand Horse and Foote: whom the ordinarie Corps du gard repelled. Four dayes together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and set them in order before the Trenches, without aduancing any further. The fift day the *Romans* came halfe way forward, and presented battaile; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Consul

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ful tooke aduice what was to bee done. For either they must fight vpon whatsoeuer disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all Winter, farre from any Countrey of their friends, and therefore subiect vnto many difficulties: vniuersally they would flaine their honour by returning farre backe, to winter in a more convenient place, and so deferre the warre vntill the next Spring. The Roman souldier was thoroughly perswaded of that Enemies bale temper. Wherefore it was the generall Crie, that this great Armie should bee assailed, euen in the Campe where it lay: as if rather there were so many beasts to be slaughtered, than men to bee fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discouering the fortifications of Antiochus, and the safest way to set vpon him. All this while P. Scipio came not. Wherefore the King, being loth to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in feare of the Enemy, resolved to put the matter to triall. So when the Romans tooke the field againe, and ordered their Battailles: He also did the like; and aduanced so farre, that they might vnderstand his meaning to fight.

The Roman Armie consisted of foure Legions, two Roman and two Latine: in each of which were fiftie thousand and foure hundred men. The Latines, as vsually, were in the points; the Romans in the maine battell. All of them, according to their wonted forme, were diuided into Maniples. The Hastati had the leading: after them followed the Principes, at such distance as was vsuall; and last of all, the Triarij. Now beside these, there were about three thousand Auxiliaries; partly 10 Achaeans; and partly such as belonged to Eumenes: which were placed in an equall Front beyond the Latines in the right wing. Vnto most of all (saue some five hundred Cretians, and of the Trallians) were almost three thousand Horse: of which, Eumenes had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being Roman. The left wing was fenced by the banke of the riuer: yet foure Troups of horse were placed there, though such helpe seemed in a manner needlesse. Two thousand Voluntaries, Macedonians and Thracians, were left to guard the Campe. The Consul had with him fixteene African Elephants, which he bestowed in his Rere: forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of Antiochus, they onely would haue serued to discourage his men; as being sure to be beaten: the Indian being farre the greater, and more 30 courageous beasts: whereof Antiochus had likewise much aduantage in number.

The Kings Armie being compounded of many Nations, diuersly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the severall kindes, in such wise as each might be of most vse. The maine strength of his Foote consisted in fixteene thousand, armed all Macedonian-like, and called Phalangiers. These hee placed in the midst; and diuided into tenne Battalions: euery one having two and thirtie in File, and fiftie in Front. Betwene euery Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beasts, and such as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their backs, and besides him that gouerned the Elephant, foure men in euery Tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these 40 were fiftene hundred Horse of the Gallo-Greekes: then, three thousand Barbd Horse: and Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, called the Agema, that were all Medians, the choice of the Countrey, and accompanied by some others. All which Troupes of Horse, diuided in their severall kindes, doe seeme to haue followed one another in depth, rather than to haue been stretched out in Front. Adioyning to these, were fixteene Elephants together in one flocke. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings owne Regiment; called the Argyraspides, or Silvershields, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name, that had serued vnder Great Alexander: then, twelue hundred Archers on horsebacke, three thousand light-armed Foote, two thousand and five hundred Archers of Mysia; with foure thousand slingers and Archers of the Carians, and Elymaeans. On the left hand of the Phalangiers, were placed the like numbers of Gallo-Greekes, and Barbd Horse: as also two thousand Horse 50 that were sent from Ariarathes, with two thousand and seuen hundred of diuers Nations,

Nations; and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called the Kings Troupe, being Syrians, Phrygians, and Lydians. In Front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, and the Dromedaries, whereon late Arabians with long Rapiers, that would serue to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, Carians, Cilicians, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Cyrtians, Elymaeans, and many others, hauing all with them fixteene Elephants. Antiochus himselfe commanded in the right wing: Seleucus in the left: and three of his principall Captaines commanded ouer the Phalangiers.

10 The first onset was giuen by the Dromedaries, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horse; the other, to breake the Squadrons of the Foot; Eumenes with a few light-armed Cretians, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatned by them both. For with showings, and noyses, and some wounds, they were driuen out of the field; and running backe vpon their owne men, did the same harme which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the Roman Horse following this aduantage, charged vpon the left wing: where they found no resistance; some being out of order; others being without courage. It is shamefull to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly seeme credible: that the Phalangiers, with such variety of Auxiliaries, made little or 20 no resistance; but all of them fled, in manner, as soone as they were charged. Onely the Kings Antiochus himselfe, being in the left wing of his owne battaille: and seeing the Latines, that stood opposite vnto him, weakly flanked with Horse: gaue vpon them courageously, and forced them to retire. But M. Anullus, that had the Guard of the Roman Campe, issued forth with all his power to helpe his fellowes: and, what by perswasion, what by threats, made them renew the fight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the Romans were already victorious: whereof when Antiochus discouered the approach; He not onely turned his Horse about, but ranne away vpon the spur without further triarance. The Campe was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled 30 into it. Antiochus is said to haue lost in this battaille fiftie thousand Foot, and foure thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the Romans, there were not slaine about three hundred Foot, and foure and twentie Horse: of Eumenes his followers five and twentie.

Antiochus fled to Sardes, and from thence to Apames, the same night; hearing that Seleucus was gone thither before. He left the custodie of Sardes, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithfull. But the Townsmen and Souldiers were so dismayed with the greatnesse of the Ouerthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Townes in those parts, without expecting summons, yielded vpon themselves by Embassadors: whom they sent to the Romans, whilist they were on the way. Neither were many dayes spent, ere Antiochus his Embassadour was in 40 the Campe: hauing none other errand, than to know what it would please the Romans to impose vpon the King his Master. P. Scipio was now come to his brother, who obtained leaue to make the answer, because it should be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, That hee should quite abandon his Dominions on this side of Taurus. For their charges in that warre they required fiftene thousand Talents: five hundred in hand; two thousand and five hundred, when the Senate and People of Rome should haue confirmed the peace; and the other twelue thousand, in twelue yeeres next ensuing by euen portions. Likewise they demanded foure hundred Talents for Eumenes; and some more 50 of Corne, that was due to him vpon a reckoning. Now besides twentie hostages which they required, very earnest they were to haue Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Thous the Aetolian, with some others who had stirred vp the King to this warre, delivered into their hands. But any wise man might so easily haue perceived, that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principall demands; as no great

art was needfull to beguile their malice. The Kings Embassadour had full commission, to refuse nothing that should be enjoyed. Wherefore there was no more to doe, than to send immediatly to Rome for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Consuls chosen in the meane while at Rome, *M. Fulvius*, and *Cn. Manlius Volsus*. The *Ætoliens* desired peace, but could not obtaine it: because they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Consuls should make Warre vpon the *Ætoliens*, the other, vpon *Antiochus* in *Asia*. Now though shortly there came newes, that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in battaile, and had submitted himselfe vnto all that could be required at his hands: yet since the State of *Asia* was not like to bee so thoroughly settled by one Victorie, but that many things might fall out worthe of the Romans care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whom *Asia* fell by lot, had not his Prouince changed.

Soone after this came the Embassadours of King *Antiochus* to Rome, accompanied with the *Rhodiens* and some others: yea by King *Eumenes* in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the businesse in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King *Antiochus*, there was no disputation: it was generally approoved. All the trouble was, about the distribution of the purchase. King *Eumenes* reckoned vp his owne deserts: and comparing himselfe with *Masaniissa*, hoped that the Romans would bee more bountifull to him than they had bene to the *Numidian*,²⁰ since they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Masaniissa* was onely such in title; and since both he and his father had alwayes bene their friends, euen in the worst of the Roman fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what he would haue: He still referring himselfe to their courtesie; and they desiring him to speake plaine. At length he craued that they would bestow vpon him, as much of the Countrey by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had no purpose to keepe in their owne hands. Neither thought hee it needfull, that they should trouble themselves with the care of giuing libertie to many of the Greeke Townes, that were on *Asia* side. For since the most of those Townes had bene partakers with the King in his Warre; it was no reason that they should begainers by his overthrow. The *Rhodiens* did not like of this. They desired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the *Grecian* liberty: and to call to minde, that no small part of Greece it selfe had bene subiect vnto *Philip*, and serued him in his Warre: which was not allcaded against them as a cause why they should not be made free, after that *Philip* was overcome. But the maine point whereon they insisted, was this, That the Victory of the Romans against King *Antiochus* was so great, as easily might satisfie the desires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to heare of this; and very bountifullly gaue away so much, that euery one had cause to be well pleased.

Such end had the Warre against King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted vnto him the honour of a Triumph: the pompe whereof exceeded in riches, not onely that of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, but of any ten that Rome had beheld vntill that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of *The African* had bene giuen vnto *P. Scipio*, it was thought conuenient by some, to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of *The Asiatick*: which the fortune of his Victorie had no lesse deserued; though the vertue, requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

¶ IX.

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The Ætoliens, and the Gallogreeces, vanquished by the Roman Consuls Fulvius and Manlius. Manlius hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged (among other obstructions) with attempting to haue passed the bounds appointed as fatall to the Romans by Sibyl. Of Sibyls Prophecies; the Bookes of Hermetes; and that Inscription, SIMONI DEO SANCTO, The ingratitute of Rome to the two Scipios: and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobilitie.

¹⁰ **M**ARC. FULVIUS and *Cn. Manlius* had the same charge diuided betwene them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now styled *Asiaticus*, had lately vndergone. It was found more than one mans worke, to looke at once to Greece and to *Asia*. And for this reason was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had graunted to long a Truce to the *Ætoliens*. But since, in this long interim of Truce, that haughtie little Nation had not sought to humble it selfe to the Roman Maieste, it was now to bee brought vnto more lowlie termes than any other of the *Greekes*. The best was, that so great a storme fell not vnexpected vpon the *Ætoliens*. They had foreseene the danger, when their Embassadours were vtterly denied peace at Rome: and they had provided the last remedie; which was, to entreat the *Rhodiens* and *Athenians* to become intercessours for them. Neither were they so dejected, with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well deuise, euen vpon helping themselves, by repurchase of Countreies lost, where they spied advantage.

Poore King *Aminander* liued in exile among them, whilst *Philip* of Macedonia kept, for him, possession of his Lands and Cattles. But the *Athamanians* (besides that manie of them bore a naturall affection to their owne Prince) hauing bene long accustomed to serue a Mountaine Lord, that conuersed with them after an homelie manner; could not endure the proud and insolent manner of command, vsed by³⁰ the Captaines of *Philip* his Garrisons. They lent therefore some few of them to their King, and offered their seruice toward his restitution. At the first there were onely foure of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fiftie, which vnderooke the worke. Yet assurance, that all the rest would follow, made *Aminander* willing to trie his fortune. He was at the borders with a thousand *Ætoliens*, vpon the day appointed: at what time his two and fiftie aduenturers hauing diuided themselves into foure parts, occupied, by the readie assistance of the multitude, foure the chiefe Townes in the Countrey, to his vse. The fame of this good successe at first; with letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to doe their best in helping forward the Action, made the Lieutenants of⁴⁰ *Philip* vnable to thinke vpon resistance. One of them held the Towne of *Therium* a few dayes, giuing thereby some leasure vnto his King to provide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence; and could onely tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. *Philip* had brought from home six thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, he left all saue two thousand and bound him, & so came to *Athenium*, a little *Athamanian* Cattle; hat still was his, as being on the frontier of Macedonia. Thence he sent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* awhile, to take place lying ouer *Argitheia*, that was chiefe of the Countrey. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the King had the boldnesse to descend vpon *Argitheia*, or that they might perceiue the *Athamanians*,⁵⁰ all along the hill sides, readie to come downe vpon them, when they should be busie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retreat: specially when *Aminander* came in sight with his thousand *Ætoliens*. The *Macedonians* were called back from wards *Argitheia*, and presently withdrawn by their King towards his owne borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet at their pleasure.

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The *Athamanians* and *Ætolians* way-layd them, and pursued them so closely, that their retreat was in manner of a plaine flight, with great losse of men and armes; few of those escaping, that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Countrey, vntill *Philip* his returne.

The *Ætolians*, hauing found the businesse of *Athamania* so easie, made attempt, in their owne behalfe, vpon the *Amphilochians* and *Aperantians*. These had belonged vnto their Nation, and were lately taken by *Philip*; from whom they diligently reuolted, and became *Ætolian* againe. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had beene euer belonging to the *Macedonian*, and so did still purpose to continue. These tooke armes at first; but soone layed them away; seeing their neighbours ready to fight with them in the *Ætolian* quarrell, and seeing their owne King so hastily gone, as if hee meant not to returne.

Of these victories the joy was the lesse; for that newes came of *Antiochus* his last ouerthrow, and of *M. Fuluius* the new Consul his bailing with an armie into *Greece*. *Aminander* sent his excuses to *Rome*, praying the Senate, not to take it in despight, that he had recouered his owne from *Philip* with such helpe as hee could get. Neither seemes it that the *Romans* were much offended to heare of *Philip* his losses: for of this fault they neither were illaure correctors, nor earnest reprovers. *Fuluius* went in hand with the businesse, about which he came, and layed siege to *Ambracia*, a goodly Citie, that had beene the chiefe seat of *Pyrrius* his Kingdome. 29 With this hee began; for that it was of too great importance to bee abandoned by the *Ætolians*; yet could not by them beerecused, vnlesse they would adventure to fight vpon equal ground. To helpe the *Ambraciens*, it was not in the *Ætolians* power: for they were, at the same time, vexed by the *Illyrians* at sea, and ready to be driuen from their new conquest, by *Perseus* the sonne of *Philip*, who invaded the Countreies of the *Amphilochians* and *Dolopians*. They were vnable to deale with so many at once; and therefore as earnestly sought peace with the *Romans*, as they stoutly made head against the rest. In the meane while the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors came; who besought the Consul to grant them peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made strong resistance, and would not be terrified, by any violence of the assaillants, or danger that might seeme to threaten. The Consul had no desire to spend halfe his time about one Citie, and so be driuen to leaue vnto his successor the honour of finishing the warre. Wherefore he gladly hearkened vnto the *Ætolians*, and bade them seeke peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it ouer-deare, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend *Antiochus* had made the same purchase. He also gaue leaue to *Aminander*, offering his seruice as a mediator, to put himselfe into *Ambracia*, and trie what good his persuasions might doe with the Citizens. So, after many demands and excuses, the conclusion was such, as was grievous to the weaker, but not vnsubuerable. The same Embassadors of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians* accompanied those of the *Ætolians* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this intercession, for that *Philip* had made very grievous complaint about the losse of those Countreies, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it hindered not the peace, which those good Mediators of *Rhodes* and *Athens* did earnestly sollicite. The *Ætolians* were bound to vphold the maiestie of the people of *Rome*, and to obserue diuers Articles, which made them lesse free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than any people of *Greece*; they hauing been the first that called these their Masters into the Countrey. The Ile of *Cephalenia* was taken from them by the *Romans*: who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Achaens*, by flattery pressing their owne right) that so they might haue possession along the coast of *Greece*, whilst they seemed to forbeare the Countrey. But concerning those places, whereto *Philip*, or others, might lay claime, there was set downe an Order so perplexed, as would necessarily require

require to haue the *Romans* Iudges of the controuersies, when they should arise. And hereof good vse will be shortly made: when want of employment elswhere, shall cause a more Lordly Inquisition to be held, vpon the affaires of *Macedon* and *Greece*.

Cn. Manlius, the other Consul, had at the same time warre in *Asia*, with the *Gallo-Greekes* and others. His Armie was the same that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whose victorie, his acts were the consummation. Hee visited those Countreies on the hither side of *Taurus*, that had scarce heard of the *Romans*; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among these there were some petty Lords, or Tyrants, some free Cities, and some that were together at warres, without regard of the great alteration happened in *Asia*. From euery of these hee got somewhat, and by their quarrels found occasion to visit those Prouinces, into which hee should els haue wanted an errand. He was euen loaden with bootie, when, hauing fetcht a compasse about *Asia*, he came at length vpon the *Gallagreekes*. These had long dominated ouer the Countrey: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terror of their forepassed acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them vp in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately such trial, when they served vnder King *Antiochus*, as made them to know themselves farre the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safetie, that they dwelt vpon the River *Haly*, in an Inland Countrey, where those enemies were not like to search them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their owne Nation, that had beene friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the rest to yeld: then was no counsaile thought so good, as to forsake their houses and Countrey, and, with all that they could carrie or drue, to betake themselves vnto the high mountaines of *Olympus* and *Margana*. These mountaines were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should undertake the custodie. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as also the naturall strength being helpt, by such fortification as promised greatest assurance: it was thought, that the Consul would either forbeare the attempt of forcing them, or easily be repelled; and that finally, 30 when he had staid there awhile, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this auailed not. For whereas the *Gallagreekes* had beene carelesse of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if the stones would haue serued well enough to that purpose: the *Romans*, who came farre otherwise appointed, found greater aduantage in the difference of armes, than impediment in disadvantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did easily preuaile against casters of stones; especially being such as were these *Gallagreekes*, neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor hauing prepared their stones before hand, but catching vp what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit size. Finally, the *Barbarians*, wanting defensiuie armes, could not hold out against the arrowes and 40 weapons of the *Roman* light armature: but were driuen from a piece of ground, which they had undertaken to make good, vp into their Campe on the top of the mountaine; and being forced out of their Campe, had none other way left, than to cast themselves headlong downe the steepe rocks. Few of the men escaped aliae: all their wiues, children, and goods became a prey vnto the *Romans*. In the very like manner, were the rest of that Nation ouercome soone after, at the other mountaine: onely more of them saved themselves by flight, as hauing fairer way at their backes.

These warres being ended: *Fuluius* and *Manlius* were appointed, by the Senate, each of them to retaine as Proconsul his Prouince for another yeere. *Fuluius*, in his second yeere, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gaue peace to those whom hee had vanquished; as likewise to *Araratius* the *Cappadocian*, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for feare of the *Roman* armes. He drew from them all, what profit he could: and laide vpon them such conditions, as hee thought expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with *Antiochus*; whereto he

he swore, and received the Kings oath by Embassadors, whom hee sent for that purpose. Finally having let in order the matters of *Asia*, he tooke his way toward the *Hellepont*, laden with spoile, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the *Gallogrecians* had in so many yeeres extorted, from the wealthie Prouinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Armie of *Manlius* returne home, rich in money alone, or cattell, or things of needfull use, which the *Roman* souldier had bene wont to take as the only good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous household-stuffe, and flaves of price, excellent Cookes, and Musicians for banquets, and, in a word, with the feedes of that luxurie, which finally ouer-grew and choked the *Roman* vertue.

The Countrie of *Thrace* lay betwene *Hellepont* and the Kingdome of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his iourney homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*; either for that he passed through them, without any such bootie as might prouoke them; or perhaps rather, because *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* should not stirre. But when *Manlius* came along with an huge traine of baggage, the *Thracians* could not so well containe themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* tooke it otherwise than verie pleasantly, to haue this *Roman* Armie robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry; seeing how little himselfe was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he understood, and afterwards gaue the *Romans* to vnderstand, that *Eumenes* could not haue abidden in his owne Kingdome, if the *People of Rome* had not made warre in *Asia*: whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered vnto himselfe three thousand talents, and fiftie ships of warre, to take part with him and the *Ætolians*, promising moreover to restore vnto him all the *Greece* Cities, that had bene taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference betwene him and *Eumenes*, when the warre began: he thought it no euene dealing of the *Romans*, after their victorie, to giue away not onely the halfe of *Asia*, but *Chersonesus* and *Cylinachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas vpon himselfe they bestowed not any one Towne. It agreed not indeed with his Nobilitie, to goe to *Rome* and begge Prouinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two *Scipio's*, whom he thought the most honourable men in *Rome*; and was growne into neere acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby hee made himselfe acquainted with the warres in *Spain* and *Africke*. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due respect of him. But *Eumenes* tooke a surer way. For the *Scipio's* had not the disposing of that which they wanne from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates assisting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore saw these vpstart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as base companions, aduanced so highly, and made greater than himselfe; yea himselfe vnregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wile, that he had not so halfly declared himselfe against *Antiochus*, or rather that hee had ioynd with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, by whom he might haue bene freed from his insolent matters. But what great argument of such discontentednesse the *Macedonian* had, we shall verie shortly be verged to discourse more at large. At the present it was beleued, that the *Thracians* were by him set on, to assaile the *Romans* passing through their Countrie. They knew all aduantages: and they fell, vnexpected, vpon the carriages, that were bestowed in the midst of the Armie; whereof part had alreadye passed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so farre aduanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leave behind: though both the getting, and the sauing, did cost many liues, as well of the *Barbarians* as of the *Romans*. They fought vntill it grew night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themselves; not without as much of the bootie, as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though lesse dangerous, before the

the Armie could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdome they had a faire march into *Epirus*; and so to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of *Greece*.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the Citie, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to *Manlius*; whom some of the ten Delegates, appointed to assist him, did verie bitterly tax, as an vnworthie Commander. Touching the rest of their accusation; it sufficeth that he made good answere, and was approved by the chiefe of the Senate. One clause is worthe of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to haue hindered the peace with *Antiochus*; they said, That with much adoe he was kept from leading his Armie ouer *Taurus*, and aduenturing vpon the calamitie threatened by *Sybil's* verses, vnto those that should passe the fatal bound. What calamitie or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sibyl's* propheticke threatened the *Roman* Captaine or Armie, that should passe ouer *Taurus*, I doe not conceiue. Pompey was the first, that marched with an Armie beyond those limits: though the victories of *Lucullus* had opened vnto him the way, and had before-hand wonne, in a sort, the Countreies on the other side of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gaue to one of *Antiochus* his race, though Pompey occupied them for the *Romans*. But wee finde not, that either *Lucullus* or Pompey suffered any losse, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyl*. Indeed the accomplishment of this propheticke, fell out neere about one time, with the restitution of *Ptolemie* King of *Egypt*; that was forbidden vnto the *Romans* by the same *Sibyl*. It may therefore seeme to haue had reference vnto the same things, that were denounced, as like to happen vpon the reduction of the *Egyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of *Sibyl* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tulle* noteth, sowed at random in the large field of Time, there to take root, and get credit by euent; I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of *Ptolemie* to his Kingdome by *Gabinus* the *Roman*, should haue any way betokened the coming of our Saviour: as some both ancient and moderne *Christian* Writers haue bene well pleased to interpret *Sibyl's* in that propheticke. Of the *Sibylline* prædictions I haue sometimes thought reuerendly: though not knowing what they were (as I thinke, few men know) yet following the common beleefe and good authoritie. But obseruation of the shamefull Idolatrie, that vpon all occasions was aduanced in *Rome* by the bookes of *Sibyl*, had well preuailed vpon my credulitie, and made mee suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the iudgement of *Engelbins*: when that learned and excellent worke of Master *Casaubon* vpon the *Annales* of Cardinal *Baronius*, did altogether free mee from mine error; making it apparent, That not onely those prophesies of *Sibyl*, wherein *Christ* so plainly was foretold, but euen the bookes of *Hermes*, which haue borne such reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained (whosoever deuised them) by the vnderiect zeale of such, as delighted in seeing the *Christian* Religion strengthened with forcaine proofes. And in the same ranke, I thinke, wee ought to place that notable Historie, reported by *Engelbins* from no meane Authors, Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in *Rome*; namely, of an Altar to him erected, with an inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, To *Simon* the holy God. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publike, should haue bene quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and Poets would not haue suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it bene true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then liued and flourished, would haue abstained from speaking any word of an Argument so famous. Wherefore I am perswaded, that this inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by some bad Criticisme, taken amisse in place of *SEMONI SANGO*: a title foure hundred yeeres older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the goods of one *Vitruuius* a Rebel, had many ages before bene consecrated *SEMONI SANGO*, that is, To the Spirit or Demi-god *Sanguis*, in whose Chappell they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old *Roman* letters,

letters, or by some spoile that Time had wrought vpon them; it might easily come to passe, that the words should bee mille-read, *SIMONI SANCTO*, and that some *Christian* who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sanguis*, thereupon should frame the coniecture, which now passeth for a true Historie. Such coniectures, being entertained without examination, finde credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more Historiall, than was conceived by the Authour. But it cannot be safe, to let our faith (which ought to stand firme vpon a sure foundation) leane ouer-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten, post.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbred among a 10 few of the richest, which euer the Citie beheld. Out of that which hee brought into the Treasurie, was made the last payment of those monies which the Common-wealth had borrowed from priuate men, in the second *Punicke warre*. So long was it, that *Rome* had still some feeling of *Hannibal*: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memorie, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, euen as long as hee well could: for that he thought it not safe, to make his entrance into the Citie, vntill the heat of an Inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two *Scipios* were called, one after other, into iudgement, by two Tribunes of the people; men, onely by this accusation, knowne to Politicke. *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they began, could not endure that 20 such vnworthy men should question him, of purloining from the Common Treasurie, or of being hired with bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his Countrey. When therefore his day of answer came; hee appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great traine of his friends and Clients, with which hee passed through the middelt of the Assembly, and offered himselfe to speake. Having audience, hee told the People, That vpon the same day of the yeere hee had fought a great battell with *Hannibal*, and finished the *Punicke Warre*, by a signall victory. In memory whereof, hee thought it not fit 30 season to bragge at the Law; but intended to visit the *Capitall*, and there giue thanks to *Iupiter*, and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at other times, hee had well and happily discharged the most weighty businesse of the Common-wealth. And hereto hee invited with him all the Citizens: requesting them, That if euer since the seventeenth yeere of his life, vntill hee now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred vpon him, had preuented the capacitie of his age, and yet his deserts had exceeded the greatnesse of those honourable places: then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their Citie might still bee like to him. These words were heard with great approbation: so as all the people, euen the Officers of the Court, followed *Scipio*; leauing the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their owne laues and a Crier, by whom ridiculously they cited him to iudgement, vntill for very shame, as not knowing what else to doe, they granted him, 40 vnrequested, a further day. After this, when the *African* perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their suit, but enforce him to submit himselfe to a disgracefull triall: hee willingly relinquished the Citie, and his vnthankfull *Romans*, that could suffer him to vndergoe so much indignitie. The rest of his time hee spent at *Literum*: quietly, with a few of his inward friends, and without any desire of seeing *Rome* againe. How many yeeres hee liued, or whether hee liued one whole yeere, in this voluntarie banishment; it is vncertaine. The report of his dying in the same yeere, with *Hannibal* and *Philopomen*, as also of his priuate behauiour at *Literum*, render it probable, that hee out-liued the Tribuneship of his accusers; who meant to haue drawne him backe to his answer, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. Howsoeuer it was; the same Tribunes went more sharply to worke with *L. Scipio* the *African*. They propounded a Decree vnto the People, touching monie receiued of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treasurie; That the 50 Senate

Senate should giue charge vnto one of the Prators, to inquire, and iudicially determine, thereof. In fauour of this Decree, an Oration was made by *Cato*, the supposed author of these contentions, and instigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, vertue; temperate, valiant, and of singular induritie; frugal also, both of the publike, and of his owne; so as in this kinde hee was euen faultie: for though hee would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was hee vnmisericfull and vnconscionable, in seeking to increase his owne wealth, by such means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poysoned with enuie, troubled both himselfe and the whole Citie, whilst hee liued. His meane birth caused him to hate the Nobility, especially those that were in chiefe estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his owne ranke, men raised by desert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrie*, whose Lieutenant hee had been at *Thermopylae*, was his Competitor for the Censorship, and likely to carrie it, hee tooke an Oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious periturie. That he had not brought into the common Treasurie some vessels of gold and siluer, gotten in the Campe of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare vnto the *Scipios* grew partly, (besides his generall spight at the Nobility) from his owne first rising, wherein hee was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from some checke, that was giuen vnto himselfe, in the *African* voyage, by *P. Scipio*, whole Treasurer he then was. For when 20 *Cato* did utter his dislike of the Consuls bad husbandry (iudging Magnificence to be no better) in some peremptory manner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That he had no neede of such double diligence in his Treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies hee published, or for want of iudgement, thinking unworthy of the vertue that was farre aboue him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with vntrue reports against his Generall, whose noble deedes confuted sufficiently the author of such false tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought vpon by the *Scipios*, whilst it was nourished by their enemy, brake out vpon aduantage, especially against *L. Scipio*, his brother being dead, or out of the way. A seuerer inquirie and 30 iudgement being appointed of purpose against *Scipio*, matters were so carried, that he was scene condemned in a summe of money, farre exceeding his abilitie to pay. For non payment, his bodie should haue bene layd vp in prison: but from this rigour of the Law hee was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the same Tribune who had caused the suite against the *African* to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the vse of the Citie, when there neither appeared any signe of his hauing bene beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had bene condemned to pay; then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of the People. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kinned, friends, and Clients made such a collection for him, as would haue set him in better 40 estate than before, if he had accepted it. Hee tooke no more than such of his owne goods, as were of necessity vsed, being redeemed for him by his nearest friends.

And thus began the ciuill warre of the *Tongue*, in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not bene, or not bene much regardable, vntill now, since the *Punicke Warre*. Securitie of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient employment, were especiall helpes to the kindling of this fire; which first caught hold vpon that great Worthy, to whose vertue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into so great securitie her extreme danger. But these factious contentions did no long while containe themselves within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in such quarrellsome businesse, grew to perfection, they that found themselves ouer-matched by their aduersaries, at this kinde of weapon, began to make opposition, first with clubbes and stones, afterward with swords; and finally, proceeded from frayes and murders in the streets, vnto battail in the open field. *Cornelia*, daughter of *Scipio* the *African*, a Ladie of rare vertue, that in honour of her two sonnes was more commonly named *Mother of the Gracchi*,

Gracchi, saw those her two sonnes, whilest they were but yong, slaughtered in Rome, together with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not reuenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At these times the Senatours began to take vpon them authoritie, more than was to them belonging. They conferred vpon the Consuls all the whole power of the Citie; vnder this forme, *Let the Consuls provide, that the Commonweale receiue no detriment.* By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen *enemie to the State*, they thought to haue woon a great aduantage ouer the multitude. But alter the death of C. Gracchus, and of Saturninus a popular man, whom by such authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere Marius, a famous Captaine of theirs, was so condemned, who by force of armes returned into the Citie, and murdered all the principall Senatours: whereupon began the ciuill warres; which giuing vnto Sylla, who preuailed therein, meanes to make himselfe absolute Lord of Rome, taught Caesar, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obtaine the like soueraigne power, when by the like Decree of the Senate hee was prouoked. It is true, that neuer any Consul had finally cause to reioyce, of his hauing put in execution such authoritie to him committed by the Senate. But as the furie of the multitude, in passing their Lawes, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the Citie stand in neede of a Soueraigne Lord: so the vehemencie of the Senate, in condemning as enemies those that would not submit themselves, when they were ouer-topped by voyces in the Houfe, did compell Caesar, to giue him at least pretence, to right himselfe by armes: wherewith preuailling against his aduersaries, hee tooke such order, that neither Senate, nor People, should thereafter be able to doe him wrong. So by intestine discord, the Romans consuming all or most of their principall Citizens, lost their owne freedom, and became subiects vnto the arbitrarie gouernment of One: suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their insolent rule, wherein they tooke vpon them as the highest Lords on Earth, to doe euen what they listed. Yet had not Rome indeed attained hitherto vnto compleat greatnesse, nor beleued of her selfe as if she had, whilest a King sat crowned on the Throne of Alexander, continuing and vpholding the reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this consummation of her honour was thought vpon betimes. How it was effected, the sequelle will discoure.

CHAP. VI.

The second Macedonian Warre.

§. I.

The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were associates of the Romans, when the warre with Antiochus was finished. The Romans quarrelled with Philip. They dealt insolently with the Achæans. The Macedonian, being wearied for warre, obtains peace at Rome, by his sonne Demetrius; of whom thenceforth hee becomes zealous.



AFTER the ouerthrow of Antiochus, although Philip of Macedon, Eumenes King of Pergamus, the Commonweale of the Achæans, and all other the States of Greece, were gouerned by the same Lawes and Magistrates, as they formerly had bene, before the arriuall of the Romans in those parts: yet in verie truth (the publike declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute vassalls to the People of Rome. For of those due Prerogatiues belonging to a Monarch, or vnto Soueraigne power, in whomsoever

fewer it rest; namely, *To make Lawes, To create Magistrates, To arbitrate Peace and Warre, To bestow Monie, and to reserve* (as the French call it) *le dernier resort*, or the last Appelles, the Romans had assumed foure; and the greatest of them so absolute, that is, *The Appelle*, or last resort, as euery pettie iniurie offered to each other by the fore-named Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the Roman Embassadors, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senatours themselves within Rome: from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Common-weales, declined, he or they were beaten, and enforced to obedience; or had their Estates and Regalities verily dissolved. Neuertheless it is true, that they had their owne Lawes, and Officers of their owne ordaining: yet so, as neither their Lawes were of force, when the Romans interposed their will to the contrary; neither was their election of Magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especiall regard vnto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of seruitude the severall Estates of Greece did bow verie gently: either as being thankfull for their deliuerance from a yoke more sensibly grievous; or, as being skillfull in the Art of flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chiefe hope of thriving; or, as being more fearefull of displeasing the strongest, than mindfull of their owne honour. But Eumenes living further off, and being most obsequious vnto the Romans, was not, of long time, questioned about any of his doings: his conformitie vnto them in matter of warre and peace, together with the diuersion of their thoughts another way, giuing him leaue to vse his owne euen as he listed, vntill they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little auailable to him, that his Kingdome bordered vpon the Nations, by them not thoroughly subdued. For vpon the same reason (as well as vpon his owne high deserts) were they very loning vnto Macedonia, and to his Houfe, vntill Carthage was ruined, and their Dominion settled in Africk: as likewise afterwards to the Kings of Mauritania, Cappadocia, and others: holding people in subiection vnto themselves, by the ministerie of Kings; especially of such Kings, as were vsfull and obsequious vnto them.

Now the Macedonian was of a more noble temper; and shewed himselfe not forgetfull of his owne former greatnesse, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his Kingdome. But such magnanimitie was none otherwise contrived by the Romans, than as want of due reuerence to their Estate, and a valuation of himselfe against them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore, notwithstanding that hee had lately giuen passage to their Armies through his Country, prepared the waies for them, and furnished them both with vituals, and other things needfull, to transport them ouer the Hellespont into Asia, against Antiochus: yet vpon the complaint of Eumenes, and the States of Thessalie and Thrace, hee was commaunded to abandon the Cities of Ennus and Maronea, with all Pieces and Places demanded by any of his neighbours; whereof many of them hee had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, euen from the Romans themselves.

These Townes of Ennus and Maronea had bene part of Lysimachus his Kingdome: who from Thrace Northwards, and to the North-west, extended his dominion very farre. He is thought to haue made himselfe Lord of Transylvania: in which Prouince it is said, * That innumerable Medals of gold haue bene found, in the age of our grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three crownes, and stamped with his Image on the one side, on the other side with Victoria. Of all these Lordships the possession, or rather the title (for hee liued not to settle his estate in Europe) fell to Seleucus Nicator by right of warre, wherein he vanquished and slue Lysimachus: as also, by the like right, Ptolemie Ceraunus thought them his owne, when he had murdered Seleucus. But the inundation of the Gauls, which the Kingdome of Macedon could not sustaine, did shortly and easily wash away from that Crowne,

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together

* Hist. of Eumenes by Mart. Eumenes lib. 5.

together with the more part of *Thrace*, all those heapes of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius*, and his succours: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The furie of the *Gaulles* being ouer-past, those Countries which lately had been oppressed by them, recovered their libertie; and not only held it, but learned, some of them, especially the *Dardanians* and wilde *Thracians*, to find their aduantages, and make vse of them, euen vpon *Macedon*. Against the mischiefs commonly done by thefe, King *Philip* did prouide the most conuenient remedies: by shutting vp the wayes, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdome; and by occupying *Lysimachia*, with some other Townes in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarkes of 10 his owne Countrey, against the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoued him thus to doe, for the defence of his owne estate: yet forasmuch as these Townes were, in a manner, at absolute libertie, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of iustice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the *Ætolians*, of wrongfull vsurpation and oppression, in his hauing occupied *Lysimachia*. Hereto he made a good answer, That his Garrison did only laue it from the *Thracians*: who, as soone as hee thence withdrew his men, did seize vpon the Towne, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might haue said, touching *Ænus* and *Maronea*. That they were places vnable to defend themselves, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might haue entrance into his Kingdome. But this Plea had not auayled him, 20 in the disputation about *Lysimachia*: and in the present question, the *Romans* were not without their owne title; since *Antiochus* had gotten all the Countrey thereabout, whilst *Philip* was busied in his former warre. And since they, by their victorie had gotten vnto themselves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he only submitted his right vnto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it vnto their disposition, Whether *Ænus* and *Maronea* should be set at libertie, whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed vpon *Eumenes*; who begged them, as an appendix to *Lysimachia* and *Cherfonnesus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceiue, by the demeanour of their Embassadors towards him: who sitting as Iudges betwene him and all that 30 made complaint vpon him, gaue sentence against him in euery controuersie. Nevertheless, he sent Embassadors to *Rome*, there to maintaine his right vnto these Townes; wherein he thought, that equitie (if it might preuaile) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their Consuls in the warre against *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: wherein whatsoeuer he had gotten for himselfe, was now taken from him by their Embassadors: and would they now deprive him of those two Townes, lying so fitly for the guard of his Kingdome, which he had gotten to himselfe out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his owne ruines *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deale more? By such allegations either hee was likely to preuaile, or at leastwise to gaine time, wherein he might bethinke himselfe what hee had to doe. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equall to him, than had bene their Embassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the *Maronites* had behaved themselves, in pleading against him for their libertie, hee tooke counsell of his owne passions; and (as by nature hee was verie cruell) gaue order to *Onomastus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these *Maronites* in such sort, as they might haue little joy of the libertie by them so earnestly desired. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians* by night, that they might sacke the Towne, and vse all cruelties of warre. This was done, but so ill taken by the *Roman* Embassadors, who had better notice, than could haue bene 50 feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Majestic, to an accompt. He would haue remoued the blame from himselfe, and layed it euen vpon the *Maronites*; affirming, That they, in heat of their Factions, being some inclinable

to him, other some to *Eumenes*, had fallen into such outrage, that they had cut one anothers throates. And herof he willed the Embassadors to enquire, among the *Maronites* themselves: as well knowing, that they who furnished, were either his owne friends; or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not utter an offensive word. But he found the *Romans* more seuer, and more thoroughly informed in the bulinesse, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainly told, that if he would discharge himselfe of the crime objected; he must send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the Senate should thinke fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet 10 he collected his spirits, and said, that *Cassander* should bee at their disposition: but concerning *Onomastus*, who had not bene at *Maronea*, nor nere to it, he requested them not to presse him; since it stood not with his honour, so lightly to giue away his friends. As for *Cassander*, because he should tell no tales; hee tooke order to haue him poisoned by the way. By this wee see, that the doctrine, which *Michael* taught vnto *Cesar Borgia*, to employ men in mischieuous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they haue performed the mischiefe; was not of his owne invention. All ages haue giuen vs examples of this goodly policie, the later hauing bene apt schollers in this lesson to the more ancient: as the reigne of *Henry* the eighth here in *England*, can beare good witness; and therein especially the 20 Lord *Cromwell*, who perished by the same vniuall Law that himselfe had deuided, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an vnpleasant noise at *Rome*, and were like to haue brought vpon him the warre which he feared, before he was ready to entertaine it. Wherefore he employed his younger sonne *Demetrius* as Embassador vnto the Senate: giuing him instructions, how to make answer to all complaints; and withall to deliuer his owne grieuances, in such wise that if ought were amiss, yet might it appeare that he had bene strongly vrged to take such courses. The summe of his Embassage was, to pacifie the *Romans*, and make all euen for the present, *Demetrius* himselfe was knowne to be very acceptable vnto the Senate; as hauing bee 30 well approued by them, when he was hostage in *Rome*: and therefore seemed the more likely, to preuaile somewhat; were it only in regard that would bee borne vnto his person.

Whilst this businesse with the *Macedonian* hung in suspense, and whilst he, by his readinesse to make submission, seemed likely to diuert from himselfe some other way the *Roman* armes: the same Embassadors, that had bene Iudges betwene him and his neighbours, made their progresse through the rest of *Greece*; and tooke notice of the controuersies, which they found betwene some Estates in the Countrey. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished *Lacedemonians* against the *Acheans*. It was objected vnto the *Acheans*, 40 That they had committed a grieuous slaughter vpon many Citizens of *Lacedemon*: That vnto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing downe the wallles of the Citie: as also further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Institutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycon*, then Prætor of the *Acheans*, made answer, That these banished *Lacedemonians*, who now tooke vpon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriously knowne to bee the men, who had themselves committed that murder, whereof shamefully they laid the blame vpon others: the *Acheans* hauing only called those vnto iudgement, that were supposed to be chiefe authors of a Rebellion against both them and the *Romans*; and these plaintives hauing slaine them, vpon priuate, though iust hatred, 50 as they were coming to make answer for themselves. Concerning their throwing downe the wallles of *Lacedemon*, hee said it was most agreeable to *Lycurgus* his ordinance: who, hauing perswaded his Citizens to defend their Towne and libertie by their proper vertue, did inhibit vnto them all kinds of fortifications; as the

Retraits and Nests either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedemon* had wofull experience) of Tyrants and Vfurpers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built these wals, and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had also quite abolished *Lycorgus* his ordinances; and governed the Citie by their owne lawlesse will. As for the *Acheans*; they communicated their owne Lawes, which they held for the best, or else would soone change them and take better, vnto the *Lacedemonians*; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policie. For conclusion, *Lycortas* plainly told *App. Claudius* the chiefe of the Embassadours, That hee and his Countreimen held it strange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the *Romans*, to see themselves thus constrained, to answer and giue account of their actions; as vassals and slaues vnto the *People of Rome*. For if they were indeed at libertie: why might not the *Acheans* as well require to bee satisfied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did busie themselves, to take account how things went at *Lacedemon*? For if the *Romans* would stand vpon their greatnesse, and intimate, as they began, that the libertie of their friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselves to ratifie it: then must the *Acheans* haue recourse vnto those Agreements, that were confirmed by oath, and which without perurie could not be violated; as reuerencing, and indeede fearing the *Romans*; but much more, the immortal gods. To this bold answer of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking state vpon him, he pronounced more like a Maister than a Iudge, That if the *Acheans* would not be ruled by faire means, and came thanks whilst they might; they should be compelled with a mischief, to doe what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This alteration was in the Parliament of the *Acheans*; which groned to heare the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet Feare prevailed above Indignation: and it was permitted vnto the *Romans* to doe as they listed. Hereupon the Embassadours restored some banished and condemned men: but the *Roman* Senate, very soone after, did make void all Iudgements of death or banishment, that had beene laid by the *Acheans* vpon any Citizen of *Lacedemon*; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the Citie and Territory of *Lacedemon*, should bee suffered to continue a member of the *Achaean* Common-wealth; or taken from them, and made as it had beene an Estate by it selfe. By bringing such a matter into question, the *Romans* well declared, That they held it to depend vpon their owne will, how much or how little any of their confederates should be suffered to enioy: though by contributing *Sparta* to the Councell of *Achaia*, they discovered no lesse, as to them seemed, the loue which they bare vnto the *Achaians*, than the power which they had ouer them.

Into such slaerie had the *Greekes*, and all Kings and Common-wealths whatsoever, bordering vpon any part of the *Mediterran* Seas, reduced themselves; by calling in the *Romans* to their succour. They wanted not the good counsaile and persuasions of many wise and temperate men among them; They had also the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Africans*, all subdued by the *Romans*, and, by seeking Patronage, made mere vassals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policie preuaile with them, but their private passions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath euermore bought reuenge at the price of selfe ruine, brought them from the honour which they enioyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearefull seruilitie.

All this made well for *Philip of Macedon*: who though he saw the *Greekes* very farre from daring to stirre against those, by whom both hee and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans* by freeing from his subiection had made his implacable enemies) in heartie affection all the Countrey would be his, whensoever he should take armes, as shortly

lie he was like to doe. Young *Demetrius*, coming home from *Rome*, brought with him the desired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignant soone following. Hee had beene louingly vsed at *Rome*, and heard with great fauour in the Senate. There being confounded with the multitude of obediencies, whereto his youth, vnskillfull in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answer: it was permitted vnto him, to reade such brieue notes as hee had received from his Father, and out of those the Senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his owne sake, as they then laid and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodnesse in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the entreatie of his sonne, together with some insolence of his sonne, growing (as appeared) from this fauour of the *Romans*; did increase in *Philip* his hatred vnto *Rome*, and breed in him a ialousie of his too forward sonne. To set him forward in these passions, there came daily new Embassadours from *Rome*; some bringing one commandement; some another; and some, requiring him to fulfill those things, which had beene imposed vpon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance: and when hee had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge that hee had done things vn-willingly, and would be obedient, no longer than he needs must. With these Embassadours young *Demetrius* was contentant: rather perhaps out of simplicitie, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deal more than was pleasing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perseus*, the elder sonne of the King, should not succeed vnto his father; but that the Diademe should bee conferred vpon *Demetrius*, if not by some other pretence, yet by mere fauour of the *Romans*. This offended not only *Perseus*, but *Philip* himselfe: who suspected his younger sonne, as more *Roman* than his owne; and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere we proceed vnto the bitter fruits of this ialousie; it will not be amisse, to speake of some memorable accidents that were in the meane time.

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§. II.

The death of *PHILOPOEMEN*, *HANNIBAL*, and *SCIPIO*. That the militarie profession is of all other the most unhappy: notwithstanding some examples, which may seeme to proue the contrary.

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HHe *Romans*, wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of *Greece*, had of late beene so peremptorie with the *Acheans*; that they seemed not vnlike to take part against them, in any controuersie that should be moued. Hereupon the *Messenians*, who against their will were annexed vnto the *Achaean* Common-wealth, hauing long bene of a contrarie Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themselves from that Societie, with purpose to set vp againe an Estate of their owne, seuered from communion with any other. This was the deuce of some that were powerfull in their Citie: who finding the multitude onely inclinable to their purpose, and not ouer-strongly affected in the businesse; were careful to seeke occasion of reducing things to such passe, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a necessitie of standing out, and of not returning to the *Achaean* League. And hereupon they began to doe some acts of hostilitie; whereby it was probable that bloud should bee drawne, and either side so farre exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Vpon the same of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopomen*, then Praetor of the *Acheans*, leuied such forces as hee could in haste, and went against them. Many principall Gentlemen of the *Acheans*, especially of the *Metropolitans*, were soone in a readinesse to wait vpon him. Besides these, which were all, or for

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the most part, Horfe; he had some Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that vsually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captaine of the *Messenians*, whom he charged, and forced to runne. But whilst his horsemen were too earnest in following the chace; there arrived, by chance, a supplie of five hundred from *Messene*, which gaue new courage vnto those that fled. So the Enemies began to make head againe; and with the helpe of those, who very seasonably came to their aide, compelled *Philopamen* his horsemen to turne backe. *Philopamen* himselfe had long bene sicke of an Ague, and was then very weake: yet the greatness of his courage would not suffer him, to bee negligent of their safetie, which had so willingly aduentured themselves vnder his conduct. He tooke vpon him to make the Retreat: and suffering his horsemen to passe along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the *Messenians*; whom his reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie from approaching ouer-neere to him. But it fell out vnhappy, that being callt to ground by a fall of his horse, and being withall in very weake plight of bodie, he was vnable to get vp againe. So the Enemies came vpon him, and tooke him; yet scarce beleueed their fortune to bee so good, although their eyes were witnesses. The first messenger that brought these newes to *Messene*, was so farre from being beleueed, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the Citie ran forth to meet him, and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible. They 20 caused him to be brought into the Theater, that there they might satisfie themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune: and in commemoration both of his vertue, and of the singular benefits by him done vnto them, especially in deliuering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifest their good will for his deliuerie. Contrary wise, *Dinocrates* and his Faction were delirious hastily to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable, and one that would neuer leave any disgrace, or iniurie, done to him, vnravenged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong vault vnder ground, that had bene made for the custodie 30 of their Treasure. So thither they let him downe fast bound, and with an engine laid an heauie stone vpon the mouth of the vault. There hee had not staid long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the Citie was let downe vnto him, with a cup of poison, which *Philopamen* tooke in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horsemen were escaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was safe, when he heard an answer to his minde, he said it was well: and so with a cheerefull countenance, dranke his last draught. He was scuentie yeeres old, and weakened with long sicknesse, whereby the poison wrought the sooner, and easily tooke away his life. The *Achaens*, when they missed him in their flight, were maruellously offended with themselves, for that they had bene more mindfull to preserve their owne liues, than to looke vnto the safetie of so excellent 40 a Commander. Whilst they were deuising what to doe in such a case: they got advertisement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: so as Embassadors were forthwith dispatched vnto *Messene*, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtaine it by force, in case that faire means would not serue. *Lycortas* was chosen Generall of the Armie against *Messene*: who coming thither, and laying siege to the Towne, enforced it in short space to yeeld. Then *Dinocrates*, knowing what he was to expect, laid hands vpon himselfe, and made an end of his owne life. The rest of those that had bene partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds vpon the althes of *Philopamen* that were carried home in solemne pomp to *Megalopolis*; where they were all 50 of them slaine at his funeral, as sacrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. *Q. Martius*, a Roman Embassador, was then in *Greece*; whence, vpon one occasion or other, the Roman Embassadors were seldom absent. He would haue entremitted in this busines of *Messene*, had not *Lycortas* made short worke, and left him nothing to doe.

About

About the same time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* sent Embassador to *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the warre against *Eumenes*, as to entreat him, that he would deliuer *Hannibal*, the most spitefull enemy in all the world vnto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Prusias* (there in vnworthie of the Crowne he ware) did readily condiscend: or rather (as *Lucius* thinke) to gratifie the *Romans*, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliuer him shueto *Flaminius*. For vpon the first conference betweene the King and *Flaminius*, a troupe of Souldiors were directed to guard and enuiron the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captaine hauing found cause before this to suspect the faith of *Prusias*, had deuised some secret sallies vnder ground to saue himselfe from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedie: which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing ouer him, as to saue himselfe from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way of escape, nor counsell to resort vnto, he tooke the poyson into his hand, which he alwayes preferred for a sure Antidote against the sharpest diseases of aduerser fortune; which being readie to swallow downe, hee vttered these wordes: I will now (said he) deliuer the *Romans* of that feare, which hath so many yeeres 20 pasttised them; that feare, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victorie of *FLAMINIUS* ouer me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall neuer bee numbred among the rest of his heroicall deedes: For, if it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the World, how farre the ancient Roman vertue is degenerated and corrupted. For such was the noblenesse of their forefathers, as, when *PERSIUS* invaded them in *Italie*, and was readie to give them battaile at their owne doores, they gaue him knowledge of the treason intended against him by person: whereas these of a later race haue employed *FLAMINIUS*, a man who hath heretofore bene one of their Consuls, to practise with *PERSIUS*, contrarie to the honour of a King, contrarie to his Faith giuen, and contrarie to the Lawes of Hospitality, to slaughter or deliuer up his owne Ghest. He then curiously 30 ling the person of *Prusias*, and all his, and desiring the immortal gods to reuenge his iniurie, dranke off the poyson, and died.

In this yeere also (as good Authors haue reported) to accompanie *Philopamen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the *African*: these being, all of them, as great Capitaines as euer the world had; but not more famous, than unfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whose Tragedie we haue now finished, had he bene Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authoritie might haue commanded such supplies, as the Warre which he vndertooke, required; it is probable, that he had torne up the Roman Empire by the roots. But he was so strongly crost by a cowardly and enuious Faction at home; as his proper vertue, wanting publicke force to sustaine it, did 40 lastly dissolue it selfe in his owne, and in the common miserie of his Countrey and Commonweale.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the enuie of our equals, and ialousie of our Masters, be they Kings, or Commonweales, That there is no Profession more vnprosperous than that of Men of Warre, and great Capitaines, being no Kings. For besides the enuie and ialousie of men; the spoiles, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation, and burnings, with a world of miseries layed on the labouring man, are so hatefull to God, as with good reason did *Monsieur* the Marshall of France confesse, That were not the mercies of God infinite, and without restriction, it were in vaine for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties, by them per- 50 mitted and committed, were also infinite. Howsoeuer, this is true, That the victories, which are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serue vnder them, to Fortune, or to the cowardice of the Nation against whom they serue. For the most of others, whose vertues haue rayled them about the leuell of their inferiours, and haue furmounted their enuie: yet haue

haue they been rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the *Romans* we finde many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Luinius*, *L. Amylus*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we haue lately buried. Among the *Greekes* we reade of not many, that escaped these rewards. Yea, long before these times, it was a Legacie that *Dauid* bequeathed vnto his victorious Capitaine *Ioab*. With this face *Alexander* beheaded *Parmenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Hereto *Valentinian* the Emperour inuited *Attius*: who, after many other victories, ouerthrew *Attila* of the *Hunnes*, in the greatest battaile, for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that euer was stricken in the world; for there fell of those that fought beside runne-awaies, an hundred and fourescore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told vnto the Emperour by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Attius* he had cut off his owne right hand with his left: for it was not long after that *Maximus* (by whose perswasion *Valentinian* [lue *Attius*] murdered the Emperour, which he neuer durst attempt, *Attius* liuing. And, besides the losse of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Attius*, the glory of the Westerne Empire was rather dissolved then obscured. The same unworthy destinie, or a farre worse, had *Bellisarius*; whose vnder takings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torne out of his head by *Iustinian*: and he died a blinde begger. *Narses* also, to the great preiudice of *Christian* Religion, was disgrac'd by *Iustine*. That Rule of *Cato* 29 against *Scipio*, hath bene well obserued in euery age since then; to wit, That the Common-weale cannot bee accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence hath the *Turkes* drawne another Principle, and in deed a *Turkish* one, That euery warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of Warre, than suffer his owneglorie to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Batatz* the second dispatch *Bassa Acomat*; *Selim* strangle *Bassa Mustapha*; and most of those Princes bring to ruine the most of their *Viziers*. Of the *Spanish* Nation, the great *Gen- saluo*, who draue the *French* out of *Naples*: and *Ferdinando Cortez*, who conquered *Mexico*; were crowned with nettles, not with Lawrell. The Earles of *Egmond* and *Horn*, had no heads left them to weare garlands on. And that the great Capitaines of all Nations haue been paid with this copper Coine; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary it may bee said, That many haue acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great abilitie in matter of warre. This I confesse. Yet must it be had withall in consideration, that these high places haue been giuen, or offered, vnto very few, as rewards of their militarie vertue; though many haue vsurped them, by the helpe and fauour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it vnregardable, That the Tyrants which haue oppressed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperours, which haue traiterously cast downe their Masters, and stepped vp into their seats; were not all of them good men of warre: but haue vsed the aduantage of some 40 commotion, or many of them by base and cowardly practices, haue obtained those dignities, which vnderferuently were ascribed to their personall worth. So that the number of those, that haue purchased absolute greatnesse by the greatnesse of their warlike vertue; is farre more in seeming, than in deed. *Phocas* was a Souldiour, and by helpe of the Souldiours he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*; but he was a coward; and with a barbarous cruelty, seldom found in any other than cowards, hee slue first the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that neuer had done him wrong, before his face, and after them *Mauritius* himselfe. This his bloody aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid vnto him again by *Heraclius*: who tooke from him the Imperial Crowne, vniuilly gotten; and set it on his owne head. *Le- ontius* laid hold vpon the Emperour *Iustine*, cut off his nose and eares, and sent him into banishment: But Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whose charge hee had left his owne men of warre, *Iustine*, hauing recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the same

same fashion. *Philippicus*, commanding the forces of *Iustine*, murdered both the Emperour and his sonne. *Anastasius*, the vassall of this new Tyrant, surpris'd his Master *Philippicus*, and thrust out both his eyes. But with *Anastasius*, *Theodosius* dealt more gently: for hauing wrenched the Scepter out of his hands, hee enforced him to become a Priest. It were an endlesse, and a needlesse worke to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodosius*; how many others haue bene repayed with their owne cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruell, or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of Capitaines to make themselves Kings, haue by Gods iustice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinarie, and perhaps the best way of thriving, by the practice of Armes, is to take what may bee gotten by the spoile of Enemies, and the liberalitie of those Princes and Cities, in whose seruice one hath well deserued. But scarce one of a thousand haue prospered by this course. For that obseruation, made by *Salomon*, of vnthanketulnesse in this kinde, hath bene found belonging to all Countries and Ages: *Little Cattie*, and few men in it, and a great King came against it, and compassed it about, and builded Forts against it: And there was found a poore & 15. and wiseman therein, and hee deliuered the Cattie by his wisdom: but none remembered this poore man. Great Monarchs are vnwilling to pay great thanks, lest thereby they should acknowledge themselves to haue bene indebted for great benefits: which the vnwiser sort of them thinke to fauour of some impotency in themselves. But in this respect they are oftentimes cozened and abused: which proves that weakenesse to be in them indeede, whereof they so gladly thinne the opinion. Contrariwise, free Estates are bountifull in giuing thanks; yet so, as those thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Capitaines haue made, by enriching themselves with the spoile of the enemy, they are very inquisitive to search into it, and to strip the well-deservers out of their gettings: yea most iniuriouly to rob them of their owne, vpon a false supposition: that euen they whose hands are most cleane from such offences, haue purloyned somewhat from the common Treasurie. Herof I neede not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipios* being so lately recited.

30 In my late Soueraignes time, although for the warres, which for her owne safetie she was constrained to vndertake, her Majestie had no lesse cause to vse the seruice of Martial men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predecessors for many yeeres had, yet, according to the destiny of that profession, I do not remember, that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldest and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any seruice by them performed. And that her Majestie had many aduised, valiant, and faithfull men, the prosperitie of her affaires did well witness, who in all her daies neuer received dishonour, by the cowardise or infidelitie of any Commander, by her selfe chosen and employed.

40 For as all her old Capitaines by Land died poore men, as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drewrie*, *Reade*, *Wilford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Cumfable*, *Bowchier*, *Barkely*, *Bingham*, and others: so those of a later and more dangerous imploiment, whereof *Revice* and *Pere* were the most famous, and who haue done as great honor to our Nation (for the meanes they had) as euer any did: those (I say) with many other braue Colonels, haue left behinde them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many trauias and wounds) nor title nor estate to their posteritie. As for the *L. Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Bertie* *L. Willoughby* of *Eresby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Estates.

50 That her Majestie in the aduancement of her Men of warre did sooner beleene other men than her selfe, a dis ease vnto which many wise Princes, besides her selfe, haue bene subiect, I say that such a confidence, although it may seeme altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not burin some sort accuse her of weakenesse. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where

where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the Actions are so vnprosperous and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that those which are nearest the person of Princes (which Martial men seldom are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnifie a Profession farre more noble than their own, seeing therein they should only mind their Masters of the wrong they did vnto others, in giuing lesse honour and reward to men of farre greater deservings, and of far greater vfe than themselves.

But his Maiestie hath already paid the greatest part of that debt. For besides the relieuing by Pensions all the poorer sort, hee hath honored more Martial men, 10 than all the Kings of England haue done for this hundred yeeres.

He hath giuen a *Coronet* to the Lord *Thomas Haward* for his chargeable and remarkable seruice, as well in the yeere 1588, as at *Caliz*, the *Islands*, and in our owne Seas; hauing first commanded as a Capitaine, twice Admirall of a Squadron, and twice Admirall in chiefe. His Maiestie hath changed the Baronies of *Montrey* and *Burley* into Earledomes, and created *Sidney Vicount*, *Knollys*, *Russel*, *Carew*, *Danvers*, *Arundel* of *Warder*, *Gerald*, and *Chichester*, Barons, for their governments and seruices in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*, and elsewhere.

§. III.

PHILIP making provision for warre against the Romans, deales hardly with many of his owne subjects. His negotiation with the *Bassarnes*. His crueltie, &c. suspected by his sonne *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* accused by his brother *Perseus*; and shortly after slaine, by his fathers appointment. PHILIP repenteth him of his sonnes death; whom he findeth to haue beene innocent: and intending to reuenge it on *Perseus*, he dieth.

QUINTVS MARTIVS the Roman Embassador, who trauielled vp and downe, seeking what worke might be found about Greece, had received instruction from the Senate, to vse the most of his diligence in looking into the Estate of *Macedon*. At his returne home, that hee might not seeme to haue discouered nothing, hee told the *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done whatsoeuer they enjoyed him; yet so, as it might appeare, that such his obedience would last no longer, than meere necessitie should enforce him thereunto. Hee added further, That all the doings and sayings of that King did wholly tend vnto rebellion, about which he was deuising. Now it was indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithfull obsequiounes to the Romans, 40 and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands, with safety of their honour, if they could finde conuenient means; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparant) by what means soeuer. He was in an ill case: as hauing beene already vanquished by them; hauing lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; hauing subjects that abhorred to heare of Warre with *Rome*; and hauing neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto vrged, would adventure to take his part: yet hee provided as well as hee could deuide, against the necessitie which hee daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritime Townes, and gaue him cause to suspect, that they would doe but bad seruice against the Romans, hee compelled to forsake their dwellings, and removed them all into *Emathia*. The Cities and Countrey, whence these were, transplanted, hee filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whose faith he thought a great deale more assured, against those enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, hee deuided vpon alluring the *Bassarnes*, a strong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the ruer 50 of

of *Danubius*, to abandon their seat, and come to him with all their multitude: who, besides other great rewards, would helpe them to roote out the *Dardaniens*, and take possession of their Countrey. These were like to doe him notable seruice against the Romans: being not only stout fighting men; but such as being planted in those quarters by him, would beare respect vnto him alone. The least benefit that could be hoped by their arrival, must be the vtter extirpation of the *Dardaniens*; a People alwaies troublesome to the Kingdome of *Macedon*, whensoever they found aduantage. Neither was it iudged any hard matter, to periwade those *Bassarnes*, by hope of spoile, and other incitements, vnto a more desperate Expedition 10 on, through *Thyria*, and the Countreys vpon the *Adriaticke* Sea, into *Italie* it selfe.

It was not knowne who should withstand them vpon the way: Rather it was thought, that the *Scordisci*, and peraduenture some others, through whose Countreys they were to passe, would accompanie them against the Romans, were it only in hope of spoyle. Now to facilitate the remouie of these *Bassarnes* from their owne habitations, into the Land of the *Dardaniens*, vpon the border of *Macedon*; along and tedious journey vnto them, that carried with them their wives and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchase the good will of some *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countreys through which they were to passe. And thus hee sought meanes to strengthen himselfe, with helpe of the wilde Nations, which neuer knew the Romans, nor were knowne vnto them; since he was not like to finde assistance from any ciuill Nation, about the whole compasse of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But these deuices were long ere they tooke effect: so as the *Bassarnes* came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the ouerthrow of that purpose. In the meane time he neglected not the training of his men to warre, and the exercise of them in some small Expeditions, against those wilde people that bordered vpon him, and flood worst affected toward him.

But these his counsailes and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell vpon him, both in his Kingdome, and in his owne house. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much against their wils to forsake 30 their ancient dwellings, and betake themselves to such new habitations, as hee in his discretion thought meetest for them, were vehemently offended at the change: Yet their anger at first confined it selfe within words: hee hauing done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise then by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long liued: which also he did vnwillingly, being himselfe ouer-ruled by necessitie, that seemed apparant. This euill therefore would soone haue been determined, had not his cruell and vindicative nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from just sorrow: but imputed all to traitterous malice; and accordingly sought reuenge where it was needefulle. In his rage he caused many to die: among whom were some eminent men; and few or none 40 of them deseruedly. This encreased the hatred of the people; and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more generally, when the King in a barbarous and base fury, mistrusting all alike whom he had injured, thought himselfe vnlike to be safe, vntill he should haue massacred all the children of those parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his vnmannerly pleasure, some accidents, more tragical then perhaps he could haue desired, gaue men cause to thinke (as they could not in reason thinke otherwise) that, not without vengeance powred on him from Heauen, hee felt the like miserie in his owne children. It is hard to say what the Romans intended, in the extraordinary fauour which they shewed vnto *Demetrius*, the Kings yonger sonne. It may 50 well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissention betweene the brethren, but only to cherish the vertue and towardliness of *Demetrius*; like as we finde it in their Histories. But their notable fauour towards this yong Prince, and his mutual respect of them, bred extreme jealousy in the fathers head. If any custome of the Romans, the manner of their life,

life, the falshood of their apparell, or the vnslightly contriuing and building (as then it was) of the Towne of *Rome*, were jested at in ordinarie discourse and table-talk, *Demetrius* was sure to be presently on fire, defending and praying them, even in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his dayly conuerfation with their Embassadors, as often as they came, gaue his father cause to thinke, that he was no fit partaker of any counsaile held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his deuices with his elder sonne *Perseus*: who fearing so much lest his brother should step betwene him and the succession, conuerted wholly vnto his destruction, that grace which he had with his father. *Perseus* was then thirty yeeres old, of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five yeeres, more open and vnwarie in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertaine more dangerous practices, than his free speeches discovered. The jealous head of the King hauing entertained such suspitions, that were much increased by the cunning practice of his elder sonne, a slight occasion made the fire breake out, that had long layne smothered. A Muster, and ceremonious iustification of the Armie, was wont to be made at certaine times with great solemnitie. The manner of it at the present was thus: They cleft in twaine a bitch, and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrailes, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Armie was to passe. This done, the Armes of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the very first originall, were borne before the Armie. Then followed the King between his two sonnes: after him came his owne band, and they of his guard; whom all the rest of the *Macedonians* followed. Having performed other ceremonies, the Armie was diuided into two parts: which, vnder the Kings two sonnes, charged each other in manner of a true fight, vying poles, and the like, in stead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the victorie: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captaines did ouer-earnestly seeke each to get the vpper hand, as a betokening of their good successe in a greater triall. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds giuen, euen with those stakes, vntill *Perseus* his side at length recoyled. *Perseus* himselfe was fortior this, as it had been some bad preface: but his friends were glad, and though, that hereof might be made good vse. They were of the craftier sort: who perceiuing which way the Kings fauour bent, and how all the courses of *Demetrius* led vnto his owne ruine, addrest their seruices to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him; as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that solemn pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his owne companions, and each of them had spies in the others lodging, to obserue what was said and done. One of *Perseus* his Intelligencers behaued himselfe so indifferently, that hee was taken and well beaten by three or foure of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of doores. After some store of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would goe visit his brother, and see what cheare he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet he would leaue none of his traine behinde, but forced them also to beare him company. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to preuent all danger. Yet was there such good espial kept, that this their coming armed was forthwith made knowne to *Perseus*: who thereupon tumultuously locked vp his doores, as if he stood in feare to be assaulted in his house. *Demetrius* wondred to see himselfe excluded, and feared very angrily with his brother. But *Perseus*, bidding him be gone as an enemy, and one whose murderous purpose was detected, sent him away with entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accused the younger vnto the father of them both. Much there was alledged, and in effect the same that hath been here recited, save that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the maine point of the accusation, and which

which did aggravate all the rest, was, That *Demetrius* had vnderaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to vnderake a greater, vpon confidence of the *Romans*; by whom hee knew that he should be defended and borne out. For *Perseus* made shew, as if the *Romans* did hate him; because hee bore a due respect vnto his father, and was sorie to see him spoiled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his brother against him: as also that they fought how to winne vnto *Demetrius* the loue of the *Macedonians*. For proofe hereof he cited a letter, sent of late from *T. Quintius* to the King himselfe: whereof the contents were, That he had done wilily in sending *Demetrius* to *Rome*; and that he should yet further doe well to send him thither againe, accompanied with a greater and more honorable traine of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counsaile was giuen by *Titus*, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those, that should wait vpon his brother to *Rome*; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become seruants to this yong Traytor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made answer, by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as hee remembered them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Perseus*, that conuerted matters of Pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he fought his innocent brothers death. As for the loue which the *Romans* did beare him; Hee said that it grew, if not from his owne vertue, at leastwise from their opinion thereof: so as by any impious practice, hee were more like to lose it wholly, than to encrease it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not such passions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; besides those that are common to all Plaintiffes and Defendants, before ordinarie Iudges. The King pronounced like a father, though a ialous father, That he would conclude nothing vpon the excuse or error, whatsoever it were, of one day and night, nor vpon one houres audience of the matter, but vpon better obseruation of their liues, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed. And herein hee may seeme to haue dealt both iustly and compassionately. But from this time forward, hee gaue himselfe ouer wholly to *Perseus*: vying so little conference with his younger sonne, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the *Romans*, He liked neither to haue him present, nor neere vnto him. About all, he had especiall care, to learne out what had passed betwene *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadors to *Rome*, *Philoles* and *Apelles*; men whom hee thought no way interrelated in the quarrels betwene the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. These brought home with them a letter, said to be written by *Titus* (whose scale they had counterfett) vnto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the yong Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthfull and ambitious desires had caused him to enter into practices vniustifiable, against his elder brother; which yet should neuer take effect, for that *Titus* himselfe would not be author, or abettor, of any impious deuice. This manner of excuse did forcibly perwade the King, to thinke his sonne a dangerous traytor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom hee gaue *Demetrius* in custodie, made shew as if he had pittied the estate of the vnhappy Prince; and so wrung out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discovered vnto *Philip*. It was the purpose of *Demetrius* to flye secretly to *Rome*; where he might hope not onely to liue in safety, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than hee could finde at home, of bettering such claime as he had in reuerfion vnto the Crowne of *Macedon*. Whatsoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falshood of *Didas*, who playing on both hands, offered vnto the Prince his helpe for making the escape, and in the meane while reucaled the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* resolved to put his sonne to death, without further experience of time. It was thought behouefull to make him away priuily, for feare lest

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the *Romans* should take the matter to heart, and held it as prooffe sufficient, at least, of the Kings delight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the warre. *Didas* therefore was commended to rid the vnhappy Prince out of his life. This accursed Minister of his Kings vnuadvised sentence, first gaue poison to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Hereupon he sent a couple of *Rufians*, to finish the tragedie: who villanously accomplished their worke by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of *Macedon*.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not beene found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his owne blood. The houses of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* fell either with themselves, or even vpon their heeles; by intestine discord and ialousies, grounded on desire of soueraigne rule, or feare of losing it. By the like vnaturall hatred, had almost beene cut off the lines of *Ptolemie* and of *Selenus*: which though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grievously diltamped. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that vpstart family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had raised it selfe to marvellous greatnesse, in very short space, from the condition of meere slavery: whereof a principall cause was, the brotherly loue maintained by them, with singular commendation of their pietie. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of these examples; but is said to haue propounded the last of them, to his owne children, as a patterne for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason so to doe: not more in regard of the benefit which his enenies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minority. But Hee was himselfe of a vnmisericfull nature; and therefore vnmeet to bee a good perswader vnto kindly affection. The murders by him done vpon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his bloud-thirsty appetite he delightedfully had committed vpon many innocents, both strangers, and subjects of his owne, did now procure vengeance downe from Heauen, that rewarded Him with a draught of his owne Poison. After the death of his sorne, He too late began to examine the crimes that had bin objected; and to weigh them in a more equal ballance. Then found he nothing that could giue him satisfaction, or by good probability induce him to thinke, that malice had not beene contriuer of the whole proceffe. His only remaining Son *Perseus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which hee tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition; as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remove of those dangers, which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now no lesse to be feared than at other times, when he, as hauing accomplished the most of his desires, left off his vnuall trouble of minde, and carelesnesse of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times; by those that well vnderstood the difference, betwene a rising and a setting Sunne. As for old *Philip*, hee was left in a manner desolate, some expecting his death; and some scarce enduring the tediousnesse of such expectation. This bred in the King a deep melancholy; and filled his head with suspitious imaginations; the like whereof hee had neuer beene slow to apprehend. Hee was much vexed; and so much the more, for that he knew, neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complaine. One honourable man, a Cousin of his, named *Antigonus*, continued so true to *Philip*, that hee grew thereby hateful to *Perseus*: and thus becoming subiect vnto the same ienious impressions which troubled the King, became also partaker of his secrets. This counsaillor, when he found that the anger conceived against *Perseus* would not vent it selfe, and giue ease to the King, vntill the truth were knowne whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treason objected; as also that *Philotes* and *Apelles*, (the Embassadors which had brought from Rome that Epistle of *Flaminius*, that serued as the greatest euidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of forgery in the busines: made diligent inquirie

inquire after the truth. In thus doing, hee found one *Xyebus*, a man most likely to haue vnderstood what false dealing was vsed by those Embassadors. Him hee apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented vnto the King: saying that this fellow knew all, and must therefore bee made to vtter what hee knew. *Xyebus* for feare of torture, vttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himselfe, that hee had beene employed by the Embassadors in that wicked piece of businesse. No maruell, if the Fathers passions were extreme, when hee vnderstood, that by the vnaturall practice of one son, he had so wretchedly call away another, farre more vertuous, and innocent. Hee raged exceedingly against himselfe, and withall against the authors of the mischiefe. Vpon the first newes of this discouerie, *Apelles* fled away, and got into *Italie*, *Philotes* was taken: and either forasmuch as hee could not deny it when *Xyebus* confronted him, yeelded himselfe guilty, or else was put to torture. *Perseus* was now growne stronger, than that hee should neede to flie the Countrey: yet not so stout as to aduenture himselfe into his fathers presence. He kept on the borders of the Kingdome, towards *Thrace*, whilst his father wintered at *Demetrias*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his vngenerous sonne; tooke a resolution, to aliene the Kingdome from him, and confer it vpon *Antigonus*. But his weakbody, and excessive griefe of minde, so disabled him in the trauell hereto belonging; that ere hee could bring his purpose to effect, hee was constrained to yeeld to nature: Hee had reigned about two and forty yeeres: alwayes full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexed himselfe, with continuall warres; of which that with the *Romans* was most vnhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wise Prince would haue desired, of bringing forth together, both honour and profit. But for all the euill that befell him, he might thanke his owne peruerse condition: since his vnckle, King *Antigonus*, had left vnto him estate, so great, and so well settled, as made it ealie for him, to accomplish any moderate desires; if hee had not abhorred all good counsell. Wherefore hee was iustly punished: by feeling the difference betweene the imaginative happinesse of a Tyrant, which he affected; and the life of a King, whereof hee little cared to performe the dutie. His death, euen whilst yet it was only drawing neere, was fore signified vnto *Perseus*, by *Calligenes* the Physician; who also concealed it awhile from those that were about the Court. So *Perseus* came thither on the suddaine, and tooke possession of the kingdome: which in fine hee no lesse improudly lost, than he had wickedly gotten.

§. IIII.

How the *Bassarne* fell vpon *Dardania*. The behaviour of *PERSEVS* in the beginning of his Reigne. Some warres of the *Romans*: and how they suffered *MASANISSA*, cruelly to oppress the *Carthaginians*. They quarrell with *PERSEVS*. They allow not their Confederates to make warre without their leave obtained. The Treason of *CALLICRATES*; whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrells to *PERSEVS*. Hee seeks friendship of the *Achians*, and is withstood by *CALLICRATES*. The *Romans* discover their intent of warring vpon him.



Immediately vpon the death of *Philip*, came the *Bassarne* into *Thrace*: where order had been taken, long before, both for their free passage, and for the indemnitie of the Countrey. This compact was friendly obserued, as long as none other was knowne than that *Philip* did liue, to recompence all that should be done, or sustained, for his service. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in *Macedon*; and not heard withall, that he tooke any care what became of the enterprize: then was all dastard

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and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford so good markets vnto these strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the *Bastarnæ* would not be contented with reason, but became their owne carvers. Thus each part having lost the rich hopes reposed in *Philip*, grew carefull of thriving in the present; with little regard of right or wrong. Within awhile they fell to blowes; and the *Bastarnæ* had the vpper hand, so as they chased the *Thracians* out of the plaine Countries. But the victors made little vse of their good fortune. For whether by reason of some ouerthrow, receiued by them in assaulting a place of strength; or whether because of extreme bad weather, which is said to haue afflicted them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, saue thirtie thousand, which pierced into *Dardania*. How these thirtie thousand sped in their voyage, I doe not finde. It seemes that by the careless vñing of some victories, they drew losse vpon themselves: and finally tooke that occasion, to follow their companions back into their owne Country.

As for *Persus* he thought it not expedient, in the noueltie of his Reigne, to embroyle himselfe in a warre so dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to proue. Wherefore hee wholly gaue his minde to the settling of his Estate: which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himselfe, as the condition of his affaires should require, either for warre or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion: he quickly tooke away the life of *Antigonus*. To winne loue of his people; he sat personally to heare their causes in iudgement (though herein hee was so ouer-diligent and curious, that one might haue perceiued this his vertue of iustice to be no better than fained) as also he gratified them with many delightfull spectacles, magnificently by him set forth. About all, he had care to auoide all necessity of war with *Rome*; and therefore made it his first worke, to send Embassadors thither, to renew the league; which he obtained, and was by the Senate saluted King, and friend vnto the State. Neither was he negligent in seeking to purchase good will of the *Greekes*, and other his neighbours: but was rather herein so excessively bountifull, that it may seeme a wonder, how in few yeeres, to his vtter ruine, he became so griping and tenacious. His teare was indeede the masting passion, which ouer-ruled him, and changed him into so many shapes, as made it hard to discern which of his other qualities were naturally his owne. For prooue of this, there is requisite no more, than the relation of his actions past and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, busie in warres against the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; people often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered *Isfria*; subdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had some quarrels, though to little effect, with the *Silyrians* and others.ouer the *Carthaginians* they bore (as euer since the victory) a heauy hand: and suffered *Masaniissa* to take from them what he listed. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient vassals to *Rome*, were afraid, though in defence of their owne, to take Armes: from which they were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leaue of the *Romans*. *Masaniissa* therefore had great aduantage ouer them: and was not ignorant how to vse it. He could get possession by force, of whatsoeuer he desired, ere their complaining Embassadors could be at *Rome*: and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated, to leaue things as they found them.

So had hee once dealt before, in taking from them the Countrey of *Emporia*: and so did hee vse them againe and againe; with pretence of tide, where hee had any; otherwise, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Masaniissa* had wonne some land from the *Carthaginians*; which afterward *Syphax* wanne from *Gala*, and within awhile, restored to the right owners, for loue of his Wife *Sophonista*, and of *Asdrubal* his Father-in-law. This did *Masaniissa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans*, to whose iudgement the case was referred, was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficiall it was for their Estate, to vse all manner of submissiue obedience to *Rome*.

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They had scarcely digested his iniury, when *Masaniissa* came vpon them againe, and tooke from them about seuentie townes and Castles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embassadors they made lamentable complaint vnto the *Roman* Senate. They shewed how grievously they were oppressed by reason of two articles in their League: That they should not make warre, out of their owne lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were so, that they might lawfully withstand the violence of *Masaniissa*, invading their Country, howsoeuer he was pleased to call it his: yet since he was confederate with the *Romans*, they durst not presume to beare defensive armes against him, but suffered themselves to be eaten vp, for feare of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they entreated, that either they might haue fairer iustice; or be suffered to defend their owne by strong hand; or at least, if right must wholly giue place to fauor, That the *Romans* yet would be pleased to determine, how farre forth *Masaniissa* should bee allowed, to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then desired they, that the *Romans* would let them vnderstand, wherein they had offended since the time that *Scipio* gaue them peace; and vouchsafe to inflict on them such punishment, as they themselves in honour should thinke meete: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to suffer at once what should be appointed by such Iudges; than continually to line in feare, and none otherwise draw breath than at the mercie of this *Nomidian* Hangman. And herewithall the Embassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground, weeping in hope to moue compassion. Here may wee behold, the fruits of their enuy to that valiant house of the *Barchines*; of their irresolution, in prosecuting a war so important, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their halfe penny worthing, in matter of expence, when they had aduentured their whole estate, in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they seruants, euen to the seruants of those men, whose fathers they haue often chased, slaine, taken, and sold as bondslaves in the streets of *Carthage*, and in all Cities of *Africke* and *Greece*. Now haue they enough of that *Roman* peace, which *Hanno* so often and so earnestly desired. Onely they want peace with *Masaniissa*, once their mercinarie, and now their master, or rather their tormentor; out of whose cruell hands, they beseech their masters to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they see flourishing in such prosperitie as might haue bene their owne. But the *Romans* had farre better entreated *Varro*, who lost the battell at *Canno*; then *Hannibal* that wanne it was vsed by the *Carthaginians*; they had freely bestowed, euery man of them, all his priuate riches, vpon the Common-wealth; and employed their labours for the publike, without craving recompence: as also they had not thought it much, though being in extreme want, to set out an armie into *Spain*, at what time the enimie lay vnder their owne wals. These were no *Carthaginian* vertues: and therefore the *Carthaginians* hauing fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pittifull behauiour bred peradventure some commiseration; yet their teares may seeme to haue bene mistrusted, as proceeding no lesse from enuie to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their own calamitie. They thought themselves able to fight with *Masaniissa*: which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into comparisons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained no such leaue as they sought, of defending their owne right by armes: but contrariwise, when without leaue obtained they presumed so far, the destruction of *Carthage* was thought an easie punishment of that offence. At the present, they receiued a gentle answer; though they had otherwise little amends. *Gulussa* the sonne of *Masaniissa* was then in *Rome*; and had not as yet craved audience. He was therefore called before the Senate; where hee was demanded the reason of his comming; and had related vnto him the complaint made the *Carthaginians* against his Father. Hee answered, That his Father not being thoroughly aware of any Embassadors thither sent from *Carthage*,

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had therefore not given him instructions, how to deale in that businesse. Onely it was knowne, that the *Carthaginians* had held counsell diuers nights, in the Temple of *Æsculapius*: whereupon he himselfe was dispatched away to *Rome*, there to entreat the Senate, that these common enemies of the *Romans* and of his Father might not be ouermuch trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the People of *Rome*. This answer gaue little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replied, that for *Masaniſſa* his sake, they had done, and would doe, whatsoeuer was reasonable; but that it stood not with their iustice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians* those lands, which by the covenants of the league, were granted vnto them freely to enioy. With this milde rebuke they dismissed *Gulussa*, bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willing him to tell his father, that he should doe well to send Embassadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian* warre was euen ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing, too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians*, (for feare of vrging them vnseasonably to rebellion) or *Masaniſſa*, at whose hands they expected no little helpe. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Masaniſſa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for feare, partly for hope of better vantage in the future; by *Masaniſſa*, in way of thankfulness; though if it had happened (which was vnlikely) that they should bee vanquished; hee made none other account, than that all *Affricke* round about him and *Carthage* therewithall should bee his owne.

In the midst of all these cares, the *Romans* had not bene vnmindfull of *Perſeus*. They visited him daily with Embassadors; that is, with honourable spies to observe his behaviour. These hee entertained kindly at first, vntill (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*: neither would they take any satisfaction, vntill the *Bastarna* were thence gone; though he protested, that hee had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no lesse ill contented with good offices, by him done to sundry of his neighbours, than with those wrongs, which they said (that he did vnto other some. Where he did harme to any; they called it, making warre vpon their friends: Where hee did good; they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The *Delopians*, his subiects, vpon what occasion it is vncertaine) rebelled, and with exquisite torments slue *Euphranor*, whom he had appointed their gouernour. It seemed that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the *Macedonian*: and therefore vnlikely to haue presumed so farre, vnlesse either they had bene extremely prouoked; or else were secretly animated by the *Romans*. Whatsoeuer it was that bred this courage in them: *Perſeus* did loone alay it, and reclaime them by strong hand. But the *Romans* tooke very angrily this presumption of the King: euen as if hee had invaded some Countie of their *Italian* confederates, and not corrected his owne Rebels at home. Faine they would haue had him to draw in the yoke with the *Carthaginians*; wherto had hee humbled once his necke, they could themselves haue done the part of *Masaniſſa*; though *Eumenes*, or some other fit for that purpose, had bene wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That conditions of the league betwene them were such, as made it vnlawfull, both to his father heretofore, and now to him, to take armes without their licence first obtained.

To the same passe they would also faine haue reduced the *Greekes*, and generally all their adherents, euen such as had entred into league with them vpon equall termes: whom vially they rewarded with a frowne, whensoever they presumed to right themselves by force of Armes, without seeking first the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Achaens* had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength made them otherwhiles bold to be their owne caruers, and whose hope of extraordi-

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inarie fauour at *Rome* caused them the more willingly to referre their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to haue chastised the *Messenians* by warre; *T. Quintius* rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking such a worke in hand, without his authoritie: yet by his authoritie he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended, euen with Lordly threats, when they tooke vpon them to carry any businesse of importance, by their owne power, without standing vnto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who neuertheless, vpon submission, were apt enough to doe them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive; especially in vnrping the practice of armes, which belonged onely to the Imperiall Citie. In learning this hard lesson, they were such vntoward schoolers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very sharp correction. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed vnto their Masters. For the *Roman* Senate, being delirious to humble the *Achaens*; refused not only to giue them such aide as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League betwene them; but further, with a careless insolencie, rectified this honest and reasonable petition, That the *Enemie* might not be supplied from *Italie*, with victuals or armes. Here with not content, The Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argues*, *Laedemonians*, or *Corinthians*, would revolt from the *Achaens*; they themselves would thinke it a businesse no way concerning them. This was presently after the death of *Philopemen*: at what time it was beleueed, that the Common-wealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much distresse; were it not vpheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this notwithstanding; when *Lycortas* Prætor of the *Achaens* had vterly subdued the *Messenians* far sooner than was expected; and when as not onely no Towne rebelled from the *Achaens*, but many entred into their corporation: then did the *Romans* with an ill-fauoured grace, tell the same Embassadors, to whose petition they had made such bad answer (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citie) That they had strictly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to *Messene*. Thus thinking, by a faigned grauitie, to haue serued their owne turnes; they manifested their condition; both to set on the weaker, against the stronger and more suspected; and also to assume vnto themselves a Soueraigne power, in directing all matters of warre, which dissemblingly they would haue seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their confederates: not permitting any of them to make warre, whether offensive or defensive; though it were against mere strangers; without interpoling the authoritie of the Senate and People of *Rome*: vnlesse peraduenture sometimes they winked at such violence, as did helpe towards the accomplishment of their owne secret malice. Now these *Roman* arts howsoever many (for gainfull or timorous respects) would seeme to vnderstand them; yet were generally displeasing vnto all men endued with free spirits. Onely the *Athenians*, once the most turbulent Citie in *Greece*, hauing neither subiects of their own that might rebell, nor power wherewith to bring any into subiection; for want of more noble argument whereto to practise their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the *Romans*, remained free from all trouble, vntill the warre of *Antiochides*: being men vnfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratu-lators of the *Roman* victories, and Pardon-crauers for the vanquished. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for those other Common-wealths and Kingdomes, that with ouer-nice diligence stroue to preserve their liberties and lands, from consuming by piece-meale: they were to be deuoured whole, and swallowed vp at once. Especially the *Macedonian*, as the most vnpliant, and wherein many of the *Greekes* began to haue affiance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it were better to bow than to breake.

Neither

Poliph. legat. 12.
§ 13.

Neither *Perseus* nor the *Romans* were ignorant, how the *Greekes* at this time stood affected. *Perseus*, by reason of his neere neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce betweene them and his subjects, could not want good information, of all that might concerne him, in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopomen* had long since foretold, of the miserable subiection, Wherinto *Greece* was likely to be reduced, by the *Roman* patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger: but as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt themselves grieved with the present subiection, wherto already they were become obnoxious: Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fall out with the *Romans*: yet all of them had the care, to chooe among themselves none other Magistrates, than such as affected the good of their Countrey, and would for no ambition, or other servile respect, bee flatterers of the greatnesse which kept all in feare. Thus it seemed likely, that all domestical conspiracies would soone bee at an end; when honestie and love of the Common weale, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this careful provision for the safety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not thoroughly advertised: eyther because things were diligently concealed from their Embassadors, whom all men knew to be little better than Spies; or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such Traytors (of whom every Citie in *Greece* had too many) as were men vnraged among their owne people, and therefore more like to speake maliciously than truly; or perhaps because the Embassadors themselves, being all Senators, and capable of the greatest Office or charge, had no will to finde out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their owne desires of employment. But it is hard to concale that which many know, from those that are feared or flattered by many. The *Acheans* being to send Embassadors to *Rome*, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the Senate; and informe the Senate better in the same businesse; chose one *Callicrates*, among others, to goe in that Embassage. By their making choise of such a man; one may perceive the advantage, which mischievous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile desires, have against the plaine sort of honest men, that least earnestly thrust themselves into the troublesome businesse of the weale publike. For this *Callicrates* was in such wise transported with ambition; that hee chose much rather to betray his Countrey, than to let any other bee of more authoritie than himselfe therein. Wherefore instead of well discharging his credence, and alleadging what was meetest in iustification of his people: he vttered a quite contrary tale; and strongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppress both the *Acheans*, and all the rest of *Greece*, with a farre more heauy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to looke vnto the settling of their authority, among his froward Countreymen; if they meant not wholly to forgoe it. For now there was taken vp a custome, to stand vpon points of 40 confederacie, and lawes: as if these were principally to bee had in regard; any in iunction from *Rome* notwithstanding. Hence grew it, that the *Acheans* both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the *Romans* with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by force of some Law, they were discharged, or hindered, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not be so, if He, and some other of his opinion, might have their wils: who ceased not to asseme, That no Columes or Monuments erected, nor no solemne oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the obseruance of Confederacie or statute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrarie. But it was euen the fault of the *Romans* themselves, That the multitude refused to giue 50 care vnto such persuasions. For howsoeuer in popular Estates, the sound of libertie vsed to be more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which vnderooke the maintenance of an argument, seeming neuer so bad, were sure by their so doing, to procure their owne good; the number of them would increase

increase apace, and they became the prevalent faction. It was therefore strange, how the *Fathers* could so neglect the aduancement of those, that fought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* maiesty. More wisely, though with seditious and rebellious purpose, did the *Greekes*: who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, vpon men otherwise of little account or desert; only for hauing vttered some braue words against the *Romans*. The *Fathers*, hearing these and the like reasons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly those that were obdurate, and by cherishing their friends, to make their partie strong; resolved to follow this good counsaile, in euery point; yea to deprecate all those that held with the right, and to set vp their owne followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to 10 *Polib. Legat. 30.* this end, they not onely dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the *Acheans*, than had bin their maner in former times; but wrote at the present vnto all Cities of *Greece*; requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of *Lacedaemon*) should bee fulfilled. Particularly in behalfe of *Callicrates*; they aduised all men, to be such, and so affected, as hee was, in their feuerall common-weales. With this dispatch, *Callicrates* returned home a ioyfull man: hauing brought his Countrey into the way of ruine, but himselfe into the way of preferment. Neuertheless he forbore to want himselfe, of his eloquence vsed in the Senate. Onely he reported his Embassage, that all men became feare- 20 full of the danger, wherewith hee threatened those that should presume to oppose the *Romans*. By such arts hee obtained to be made Pretor of the *Acheans*: in which Magistracie, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing, that might feru to manifest his ready obsequiousnes vnto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Now as the *Romans* by threatening termes won many flatterers, and lost as many true friends: so *Perseus* on the other side, thinking by liberrall gifts, and hopeful promises, to assure vnto himselfe those that ill could brooke his enemies; got inced a multitude of partakers, though little honestier than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of *Greece* distracted with factions: some holding with the *Romans*; some with the *Macedonians*; and some few, respecting only the good of the Estates, where- 30 in they liued. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignitie not sufferable, That a King, no better than their vassall, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of his trespasses: wherof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall afford them iust occasion to make war vpon him. *Perseus* hauing finished his busi- 40 nesse among the *Dolopians*, made a journey to *Apollo* his temple at *Delphi*. He tooke his armie along with him; yet went, and returned, in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no place was the worse for his journey, but the good affection towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, he dealt himselfe to such as lay further off, he sent Embassadors or letters: praying them, That the 50 memory of all wrongs whatsoever, done by his father, might be buried with his father; since his own meaning was to hold friendship sincerely with all his neighbors. The *Romans* perhaps could haue bene pleased better, if he had behaued himselfe after a contrary fashion, and done some acts of hostilitie in his passage. Yet as if he ought not to haue taken such a journey, without their licence, this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the loue of the *Acheans*: which his father had so lost, that by a solemne decree, they forbade any *Macedonian* to enter their territories. It was ienalousie perhaps, no lesse than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For howsoeuer *Philip* had by many vile acts, especially by the death of the two *Arati*, given them 50 cause to abhor him: yet in the publike administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, been to them so beneficiall, that not without much adoe and at length, without any generall consent, they resolved to forsake him. Wherefore it was need- full, euen for preservation of concord among them, to vse all circumspectiōs; that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a country, to- wards

wards him so doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his messages, they might make themselves suspected by their new friends, But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of warre, and when all danger of innovation was past; was vnciuill, if not inhumane, as nourishing deadly hatred, without leauing meanes of reconciliation. And hercof the *Achaens* reaped no good fruit. For although they were not, in like sort, forbidden the Kingdome of *Macedon*: yet vnderstanding what would be due to them, if they should aduenture thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to passe, that their bondmen, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their masters could not fetch them, ran daily away, in great numbers: exceedingly to the losse of such, as made of their slaues very profitable vfe. But *Perseus* took hold vpon this occasion: as fitly seruing to pacifie those, whose enmitie saine he would haue changed into loue. He therefore apprehended all these fugitiues, to send them home againe: and wrote vnto the *Achaens*, That as for good will vnto them, he had taken paines to restore back their seruants; so should they doe very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not runne away againe. His meaning was readily vnderstood, and his letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearsed by the Pretor, before the Councill. But *Callierates* tooke the matter very angrily; and bade them be aduised what they did: for that this was none other, than a plaine device, to make them depart from the friendship of the *Romans*. Herewithall he tooke vpon him, somewhat liberally, to make the *Achaens* before-hand acquainted with the warre, that was comming vpon *Perseus* from *Rome*. Hee told them, how *Philip* had made preparations for the same warre; how *Demetrius* had bene made away, because of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perseus* had, since his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly He rehearsed all those matters, which were afterwards alleged by the *Romans*; the inuasion of the *Bastarnes*, vpon the *Dardaniens*; the Kings journey against the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*; and finally, his peaceable behaviour, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he aduised them, to expect the euent of things, and not ouer-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the *Macedonians*. Hereto good answer was made by the Pretors brother: That *Callierates* was too earnest, in so light a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings cabbinner, nor of the *Roman* Senate, he made himselfe too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well knowne, that *Perseus* had renued his league with the *Romans*; that he was by them saluted King, and friend to the Estate; and that He had louingly entertained their Embassadors. This being so: why might not the *Achaens*, as well as the *Ætolians*, *Thessalians*, *Epirots*, and all the *Greekes*, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanitie required? Neuertheless *Callierates* was growne a man so terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durst not ouer-little gainesay him. Therefore the matter was referred vnto further deliberation: and answer made the whilest, That since the King had only sent a letter without any Embassage; they knew not how to resolue. Better it was to say thus, than that they were afraid to doe as they thought most reasonable and conuenient. But when *Perseus*, herewith not contented, would needs vrgue them further, and send Embassadors: then were they saine, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, & deny to giue audience: which was prooue sufficient (to one that could vnderstand) of the condition wherein they liued. For harkening to this aduice of *Callierates*; they were soone after highly commended by a *Roman* Embassador: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended warre vpon the *Macedonian*; though hitherto no cause of warre was giuen.

Lius lib. 45.

§. V.

§. V.

How *EUMENES* King of *Pergamus* was busied with *PHARNACES*, the *Rhodian* and others. His hatred to the *Macedonian*: whom hee accuseth to the *Roman* Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and condemns his enemies the *Rhodians*; with the causes thereof. The vnsuall stoutnesse of the *Macedonian* Embassadors. *PERSEVS* his attempt vpon *EUMENES*. The brotherly loue betweene *EUMENES* and *ATTALVS*. *PERSEVS* his deuote to payson some of the *Roman* Senators: whereupon they decree warre against him, and send him defiance. Other things, concerning the iustice of this warre.

EUMENES King of *Pergamus* had bene troubled, about these times; by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Atiubridates* his neighbours. He had taken the right course; in making first his complaint to the *Romans*: by whom he was animated with comfortable words, and promise, That they, by their authoritie, would end the businesse, to his content. But in conclusion, by the helpe of the Kings *Prusias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the warre himselfe; and brought the Enemies to seke and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to giue them. After this being at good leisure, hee began to consider, how the affaires of *Macedon* stood vnder *Perseus*. His hatred to *Perseus* was very great: and therefore hee was glad to vnderstand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the same his Enemy, was as great, and withall notorious. Now besides his ancient and hereditarie quarrell with the *Macedonian*; it vexed him exceedingly, That his owne honours (whereof the *Greekes*, prodigal in that kinde, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to wax euery where stale: whilst *Perseus*, either by his currying fauour, or by the enuie borne to the *Romans*, had gotten their best liking and withes. For despite of this indignitie, Hee stirred vp the *Lycians* against the *Rhodians* his old friends: and in helping these rebels was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open warre. But small pleasure found he, in these poore and indirect courses of reuenge. The *Lycians* could not be faued by his patronage, from seuer and cruell chastisement, giuen to them by the *Rhodians*. This reuened him contemptible: as likewise, his acts of belittling, little different from robberies, made him hateful to those which loued him before. As for his honours in the Cities of *Greece*; they not onely continued falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the *Achaens*, as too vnm easured, misbecoming them to giue, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deserrings. All this which he needed not to haue regarded, had hee not bene too vainely ambitious of himselfe, especially for his being ouer-fruicible to the *Romans*, and for his malice to that noble Kingdome, which it fell, the libertie of *Greece* was not like to stand. Now for the redresse hereof; hee thought it vaine to striue any longer with bounty, against such an aduersarie, as by hopeful promises alone, without any great performance, had ouer-topped him in the generall fauor. And therefore hee resolu'd euen to ouerturne the foundations of this Popularity, by inducing the *Romans* vtterly to take away from the eyes of men, this Idol, The *Macedonian* Kingdome, which all so vainely worshipped. Neither would it proue a difficult matter, to perswade those that were already desirous: rather hee was like to bee highly thanked, for setting forward their withes; and perhaps to be recompenced with some piece of the Kingdome, as he had bene rewarded, for the like seruice, when *Antiochus* was vanquished.

To this end, he made a second voyage to *Rome*: where though hee had little to say which they knew not before; yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange noueltie, and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turne the ballance, that before was equall. The death

Polyb. Legat. 56. c. 59.

Polyb. Legat. 74.

Lius lib. 45.

of Demetrius, the expedition of the *Bassarne* into *Dardania*; that of *Perseus* himself against the *Dolopians*, and to *Delphi*; the great estimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*; his intermeddling in business of neighbours; his riches; and his great provisions: were all the material points of *Eumenes* his discourse. Only He descended vnto particulars, hauing searched into all (as hee professed) like vnto a Spie. Hee said, That *Perseus* had thirty thousand foot, and five thousand Horse of his owne; money in a readinesse to entertaine ten thousand mercenaries for ten yeeres; armies, to furnish a number thrice as great; The *Thracians* his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him soldiours as many as he should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten yeeres, because he would not be driuen, either to liue vpon 10 spoile, or to take from his owne subiects. Herewithall Hee prayed them to consider, that King *Seleucus* the sonne and successor of *Antiochus* the Great, had given his daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That King *Prusias* of *Bithynia*, by earnest suite, had gotten to wile the sister of *Perseus*; and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassages from all quarters. Neither spared Hee to tell them, (though seeming loth to vtter it plainly) That euen the enuie of their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to heare of amitie with *Philip*, were now growne maruellously well affected to his sonne. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might either be denied, or iustified (as that hee had procured the death of some 20 which were friends to the *Romans*; and that hee had expelled *Abrypolis* the *Illyrian*, who invaded *Macedon*, out of his Kingdome or Lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplify vnto the most: saying that he thought it his dutie to forewarne them; since it would bee to himselfe a great shame, if *Perseus* got the start of him, and were in *Italie* making warre vpon the *Romans*, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to beleue that the *Romans* stood in feare of *Perseus*, lest hee should set vpon them in *Italie*. Neuertheless forasmuch as they loued not to make warre without faire pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended: great thanks were given to *Eumenes*, who had euery way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautifie their intendment. 30 Now though it were so, that He told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his coming, made all seeme greater. For if vpon any relation made by their owne Embassadours, or vpon tales deuised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against *Perseus*, ere Hee had committed any open act of hostilitie against them; their iniustice, and oppression, would haue bene most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were so notorious, and the danger threatening them so terrible; that such a Prince as *Eumenes*, came out of his owne Kingdome, as farre as from *Asia*, to bid them looke to themselves: who could blame them, if they took the speediest order to obtaine their owne right and 40 securitie? Toward this iustification of the warre, and magnifying the necessitie that enforced them thereto; their more then vsual curiositie, in concealing what *Eumenes* had vttered in the Senate, when they could not but vnderstand that his errand was well knowne; helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors were at *Rome*, provided of answeres to the words, which they knew beforehand that he would speake; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of Him, or of some about him, seemes to haue disclosed all: when the warlikest of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearefull apprehension; against which, it behooued their wisdome to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore carelesse audience was given to the *Rhodian* 50 Embassadors; who accused *Eumenes* as one more troublefome to *Asia*, than *Antiochus* had euer been, and a prouoker of the *Lycians* to rebellion. The *Rhodians* had with great pompe, conueighed by Sea vnto *Perseus*, his bride *Laodice*; which friendly office as the *Macedonian* bountifully required, so the *Romans* despatchfully accepted.

accepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already vanquished, were settling themselves in their obedience to the people of *Rhodes*: Embassadors came from rome with strange newes, which gaue new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it stood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to aliene quite from their owne protection any people or Nation by them vanquished; and that the *Lycians* were by them assigned vnto those of *Rhodes*, not as mere vassalls, but as dependants and associates. For proofe hereof, they referred themselves vnto the commentaries of the ten Embassadors, whom they had lent to dispose of things in *Asia*, after the victorie against King *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Masaniassa*, The *Ætolians*, and all other Kings or Estates, that were beholding to *Rome* for increasing the number of their subiects, had cause to find themselves agreed if they well considered the matter: since by force of this or the like decree, those their subiects might easily be made their fellowes, whensoever it should please the Senate: though it were so, that all men knew the present meaning of the Senate, which was only to plague the *Rhodians*, for their good will to *Perseus*, by setting them and the *Lycians* together by the eares. The *Fathers* could therefore see no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, vpon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* Embassadors; which indeed more nearly touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King so much the more: for that others (as they would needes take it) conspired against him, because of his loue to 10 *Rome*.

But the *Macedonian* Embassage they heard not so carelessly as angrily: though peradventure it well contented them to find cause of anger. For whereas at other times all care had been taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King *Perseus* desired much to giue them satisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might fauour of hostilitie; but that, if his trauaile in this kind proued vaine, then would he be ready to defend himselfe by armes, and stand to the chance of warre, which often falls out contrarie to expectation. These big words may seeme to haue proceeded from the vehemencie of *Harpalus*, that was chiefe of the Embassadors; rather than from 30 instruction given by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why *Perseus* himselfe might, at this time, thinke to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to doe by any submission. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now cast vpon him, as on the greatest hope of deliuerance from the *Roman* seruitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps vtterly cut off, the generall expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by discovering his too much weakenesse of spirit, vnswearable to a worke of such importance. Wherefore He, or his Embassador for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subiect (in appearance) to Fortune; which might haue bene his, had he knowne how to vse it.

40 Now that this brauerie (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings owne heat; it appears by his daring to adventure soone after, on a practice that more iustly might anger the *Romans*; and giue them fairer shew of reason to make warre vpon him. It was knowne that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delphin* in his way, and there doe sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his owne hands of a most mischievous enemy. So there were appointed three or foure stout ruffians to do the murder: who placing themselves behind a broken mud wall, on the side of a very narrow path leading vp from the Sea to the Temple; did thence assault the King; whom they sorely bruised 50 with great stones, and left for dead. They might haue finished their worke; such was the opportunitie of the place which they had chosen; but feare of being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such haste, that they killed one of their owne companions, who could not hold pace with them, because he should not discouer them. *Eumenes* was conueighed away to the little Isle of *Læ-*

gina, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his death was current in *Asia*. Hence it came, that his brother *Attalus* tooke vpon him as king, and either took or would haue taken to wife (supposing it belike a matter of state) *Stratonice* the daughter of King *Ariarathes*, whom hee then thought the widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly loue, That when the King returned aliae home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and doe his dutie, as in former times, received none other checke, than that *hee should forbear to marrie with the Queene, untill hee were well assured of the Kings death*. More than this, *Eumenes* neuer spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, vnto the same brother, both his wife and Kingdome. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the King his brother: though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in especiall fauour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readinesse, to haue transferred the Kingdome from his brother to Him. By such concord of brethren was the Kingdome of *Pergamus* rayled and vpheld: as might also that of *Macedon* haue bene, if *Demetrius* had liued and employed his grace with the *Romans*; to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was very glad when he vnderstood, that his ministers had both accomplished his will, and had suad all from discouerie. But as hee was deceived in the maine point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* liued: so was He 20 beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment; which hee vainly esteemed the lesse materiall. For He had written to one *Praxos* a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertaine the men whom he sent about this busines: and she, being apprehended by *C. Valerius* a *Roman* Embassador then attending vpon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece*, one *Rammius* a Citizen of *Brundisium*: who coming newly from the court of *Macedon*, laden with a dangerous secret, had presently sought out the Embassador, and thereof discharged himselfe. *Brundisium* was the ordinary Port, for ships passing betwene *Italy* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a faire house; wherein he gaue entertainment, being a wealthie man, to Embassadours, and other honourable personages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, journeying to and fro. By occasion of such his hospitalitie, he was commended to *Perseus*, and invited into *Macedon* with friendly letters; as one, whose many courtesies to his Embassadours, the King was studious to requite. At his coming he was much made of, and shortly, with more familiaritie than he expected or desired, made partaker of the Kings secrets. The summe of all was, That he must needs doe a turne, in giuing to such of the *Romans* as the King should hereafter name, a poyson of rare qualitie, sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this employment: for feare lest the vertue of this medicine should bee tryed vpon himselfe. But being once at libertie, hee discovered all. *Rammius* was but one man, 40 and one whom the King had neuer seene before, nor was like to see againe: and therefore, besides that the Kings deniall ought to be as good as such a fellows affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himselfe, and in like sort concerning the attempt vpon *Eumenes*: denying to haue had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withall professing, That such obiections were not to be made vnto a King, to proue the rightfulness of making war vpon him; but rather vnto a subiect pleading for his life in judgment. But howsoever the *Romans* neglected the getting of stronger prooffe (which might haue bin easie) than any that we find by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very luteable to these practices. Neither did the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royall Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such priuate offences, it gaue him no priuiledge; they judging him to haue offended in the nature of a King. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if hee might

might not lawfully make warre vpon *Eumenes* their confederate; that is, if Hee might not send men, to walle the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, or to besiege the Towns: might he send *Ruffians* to murder the King? If it were no lesse breach of the league to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the sword: was it lawfull for him to doe it by Poyson? Wherefore they presently decreed warre against him; and sent Embassadours to denounce it vnto him, vnlesse hee would yield to make such amends as they should require. Hee seemed at this time to haue been so confident in the generall fauour of *Greece*, and other comfortable appearances; that if he desired not warre, yet he did not feare it: or at least he thought by shew of courage, to make his enemies the more calme. Hee caused the Embassadours to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them backe, and bade them do their errand. They made a tedious rehearfall of all matters, which they had long been collecting against him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that He had entertained long and secret conference in the Ile of *Samothrace*, with Embassadours sent to him out of *Asia*, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which they peremptorily required satisfaction; as was their maner when they intended to giue defiance. Better they might haue stood vpon the euidence, brought against him by *Rammius* and *Praxos*. For if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground wheron to build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be strong, welbeloued, and well friended. *Perseus* answered, for the present, in a rage; calling the *Romans*, Greedy, Proud, Insolent, & vnderminers of him by their daily Embassadours, that were no better than meer spies. Finally, hee promised to giue them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the league, made betwene them and his father, and renewed by himselfe: indeed onely for feare: but willed them to descend to more equal conditions, wherupon he, for his part, would aduise, as they might also doe for theirs.

In the forme of the league betwene *Philip* and the *Romans*, as it is set downe by *Polybius*, we finde no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconuenience in the future; excepting those which he immediately performed. But *Liuie* inserts a clause, whereby hee was expressly forbidden, to make any warre abroad, without leaue of the *Romans*. It is most likely, that all the *Roman* confederats were included in this peace: whereby euery one of the neighbours round about *Macedon*, entring shortly into league with *Rome*, did so binde the Kings hands, that hee could no more make warre abroad, than if hee had been restrained by plaine couenant. And thus might that seeme an Article of the peace, which neuer was agreed vpon, but onely was inferred by consequence. Now if the *Romans* would vrge this point further, and say, that the *Macedonian* might not beare defensive armes, without their permission: then had *Perseus* very iust reason to finde himselfe aggrieved. For since they had allowed his father, without controule, to make warre in *Thrace*, (whilst they themselves were vnacquainted with the *Thracians*) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why should they now interpret the bargain after another fashion? Was it now become vnlawfull for him to chastise his owne Rebels, or to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By such allegations hee maintained the right of his cause, in very milde sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the league as vniuall, hee ministred occasion vnto the Embassadours to giue him defiance. Having heard the worst of their message; hee commanded them to be gone out of his kingdome in three dayes. But either hee should haue been lesse vehement, or more constant in his resolution. For if his heart could serue him to vndertake the warre; hee should courageously haue managed it, and haue fallen to worke immediately, whilst the Enemy was vnprepared; not haue lost opportunity, as now and often hee did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

§. VI.

The Romans sollicite the Greekes, to ioyne with them in the Warre against PERSEVS. How the Greekes stood affected in that Warre. The timorousnesse of PERSEVS. MARTIUS a Roman Embassadour deludes him with hope of Peace. His forces. Hee takes the field, and winnes part of Theſſalie. The forces of LICINIUS the Roman Consul: and what assistance the Romanes had in this Warre. Of Tempe in Theſſalie, and what advantages the Macedonian had, or might haue had; but lost by his feare. PERSEVS braues the Romanes; fights with them; knowes not how to use his victorie; sues for Peace; and is denied it by the vanquished. PERSEVS hauing the worse in a skirmish, forsakes all the Countrey lying without Tempe. The Boeotians rebell against the Romanes, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the warre against PERSEVS. They reue the Greekes their friends; for whose cause the Senate makes promise, hauing heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

SO long had the Romanes beene seeking occasion to take in hand this Macedonian warre, that well they might haue been ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde-hand in provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the warre: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunitee of making their cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were vnprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or hauing reason to beleuee, that their owne strength was such as would preuaile in the end; they hastily embraced the faire occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their vnreadinesse a small helpe, towards examining the disposition of the Greekes; and others, who mult afterwards dearly pay for any backwardnesse found in their good will. There was not indeede any cause to feare, that all of the Greekes or other Easterne people should conspire together, and take part with the Macedonian: such was the dissension betwene their feuerall citates; howsoever the generalitie of them were inclined the same way. Neurtherlesse Embassadours were sent to deale with them all; and to craue their helpe against Perseus, or rather to demand it, in no lesse ample manner, than heretofore they had yielded it against Philip and Antiochus, in warres pretending the liberty of Greece. The Embassadours vied as gentle words for fashions sake, as if they had stood in doubt, that their request might happen to be denied. But the Greekes were now growne well acquainted with such Roman courtelie: and vnderstood, that not only such as made rescuall, but euen they who might seeme to haue granted halfe vnwillingly; were like to heare other manner of words, when once this businesse was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their helpe to the Romanes; * the Achaeans and Rhodians, which were chiefe among them, being rather doubtfull, euen when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their dutie. It is strange, that men could bee so earnest to set vp the side, whereof they gladly would haue seeneth the ruine. The vulgar sort was euer where addicted to Perseus, of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently Roman, they wanted not opposers, that were wholly Macedonian; yea, the wisest and most honest, who regarded onely the benefit of their Countrey, wished better to Perseus than to the Romanes. And of this number, Polybius the chiefe of Historians was one: who though hee * iudged the victorie of Perseus, like to proue hurtfull vnto Greece; yet wished hee the Romanes ill to thrive, that so the Greekes might recover perfect libertie: for his endeuours in which course, hee was at length tyrannically handled, as shall bee shewed hereafter. This considered, it appeares, that

* Polyb. Legat.
73. 78. & 80.

* Polyb. Legat.
77.

that an extraordinary feare, and not onely reuerence of the Imperiall Citie, made the Achaeans and other Estates of Greece, thus conformable to the Romanes. The occasion of this their feare, may be iustly imputed vnto the timorous demeanour of Perseus himselfe. He had vnderaken a warre, whereof the benefit should redound, not only to his owne Kingdom, but vnto all that were oppressed by the Romanes. Yet no sooner were some few companies brought ouer sea, to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him, than he began to speake the enemie faire, and sue for peace at Rome. Since therefore it was knowne, that euery small thing would serue to terrifie him; and consequently, that it should at times be in the Romanes power, by giuing him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take reuenge at leisure vpon those which had afflicted him: little cause was there, why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeede a great noise; leading about his armie; taking by force or composition, some few townes; and soliciting all to ioyne with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, hee sought all means of pacification: and to that end, made humble suit vnto the Roman Embassadours. Q. Martius, the chiefe of those Embassadours, and a man of more finenesse in cunning than was vsuall among the Romanes, made shew of inclination to the Kings desire: and gaue out such comfortable words, that the King intreated, and obtained a meeting at the Riuer Peneus. There did Martius very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned. Whereunto though Perseus made none other answer, than the same which they could haue made for him, yet the Embassadours, and especially Martius, took it in good part, as therewith satisfied; and aduised him to giue the like satisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently bee done; a truce was agreed vpon. Thus had Martius his desire; which was, to make the King lose time. For Perseus had all things then in readinesse, and might haue done much, ere the Roman army could haue been in Greece. But by the interposition of this truce, he no way increased his forces; he suffered a most convenient season, of winning vpon the enemie, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleased herewith, as it had bin with some victory: publishing a copie of the disputation between him and the Romanes, whereby he gaue men to vnderstand, how much he had the better; and what great hope there was of Peace. He sent Embassadours also to the Rhodians, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not onely to let them know how much he was superiour in cause; but to intre it them, that they would take vpon them, as moderators, to compound the differences between him and the Romanes, if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodness of his cause, he should be denied peace. These were poore helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing vpon point of Honor, was no better than meere vanity: his owne safety being the vmoost of his ambition. This his fearefulness might seeme excusable, and the blame thereto appertaine vnto the Greekes; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a necessity, that was partly their owne: had it not bin his office, who tooke vpon him as their Champion, to giue such a manly beginning to the war, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averse from him; and were careful, not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The Rhodians, among whom he had many stout partizans, desired him not to craue any thing at their hands, in which they might seeme to do against the good liking of the Romanes. The Boeotians also, who had entred of late into a strict societie with the Macedonian; renounced it now, and made the like with the Romanes: to whom further, in a sort, they yielded the selues as vassals. Neither was Martius contented to accept their submission vnder a generall forme; but caused their feuerall townes to make covenant apart each for itselfe; to the end, that being thus distracted into many little common-weales they might not (were they neuer so desirous to rebel) haue such force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, vnder the Citie of Thebes. This work, of separating the Boeotians

from *Thebes* their head; was more than *Agellans* could effect, or *Epaminondus* would suffer, than when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedemonians*. So far more available to *Thebes*, being destitute of helpe from abroad, was the vertue of *Epaminondus* and a few braue Citizens; than was the societie with King *Perseus*, against a number not so great as followed the *Lacedemonians*.

Martius brought this to effect, whilst the King late still, as being bound by the truce: and hauing done this, he returned to the Citie, where vaunting what hee had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reprooued it as dishonest) employed againe by the Senate, with commission to deale as hee should thinke expedient. Touching the Embassadours which *Perseus* had sent; audience 10 was giuen to them, for that they should not plainly see how their Master was deluded: but neither excuse, nor intreatie, would serue their turne; the Senate being resolu'd before-hand what to doe. It was enough that they were admitted into the Citie, and had thirty dayes respite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: where, as they, who came last on the same errand, did their message without the walles, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the vusual place of giuing audience to open Enemies, or to such Commanders, as might not, by reason of some custome, enter the Citie) and had only the short warning of eleuen dayes, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poore courtisie serue alone to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if hee had meant none other than good earnest: but it was a likely mean, both to keepe a long while 20 from *Perseus* the knowledge of his businesse, and to stagger his resolution, when hee should need it most firme.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Lucinius*, the Roman Consul, was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as soone, as the *Macedonian* Embassadors were with their King at *Pella*. Which, though it were enough to haue rouzed *Perseus*, and haue made him lay aside all cowardly hope of getting pardon: yet was hee content to deliberate awhile, Whether it were not better to offer him selfe tributary to the Romans, and 20 to redeeme their good will with some part of his Kingdome, that so he might enjoy the rest; than to put all at once to hazzard. But finally, the stoutest counsell prevailed; which also was the wisest, and so would haue proued, had it been stoutly 30 and wisely followed. He now began, as if the warre had not begunne vntill now, to doe what should haue bin done long afore. He caused all his forces to be drawne together, and appointed their Rendezvous at *Citium*, a towne in *Macedon*. All being in readines, he did royall sacrifice, with an hundred beasts, to I know not what *Minerva*, that was peculiarly honored in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and those of his guard, set forward to *Citium*. His armie he found consisting of nine and thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse: whereof about twelue thousand foot, and a thousand horse, were strangers, of sundry Nations, most part *Thracians*; the rest his owne *Macedonians*. These hee animated with liuely speeches; laying before them the glory of their ancestors, the insolencie of the Romans, the 40 goodnesse of his cause, the greatness of his prouisions, and the many aduantages which they had of the Enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of *Macedon* there came likewise messengers, offering to helpe him with money and victuals, according to their seuerall abilities. He gaue them thanks: but answered, That his owne prouisions would abundantly suffice, willing them only to furnish him with carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his owne kingdome he issued forth into *Thessalie*: knowing that the Romans were to passe through that Countrey, in their iourney towards him. Some Townes of *Thessalie* opened their gates vnto him, without making offer to defend themselves; some he barked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he wanne by force. Of these last was *Style*, a towne thought impregnable, and therefore, not more stoutly then proudly defended by the Inhabitants, who gaue contumelious language to the assailants. It was taken by reason of a fallie; which 45 the

the Townesmen rashly made, and being driuen backe, receiued the *Macedonians*, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All crueltie of warre was practised here: to the greater terror of the obliuious. So *Velatiae* and *Connus* (towns of much importance, especially *Connus*, which stood in the streights of *Ossa*, leading into *Tempe*) yielded at the first. Hauing well fortified this passage, the King marched onwards to *Sycerium*, a towne seated on the foot of mount *Ossa*; where hee rested a while, expecting newes of the Enemy.

Lucius the Consul brought with him only two Roman Legions: being promised other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes*, and *Attalus* his brother came to him in *Thessalie*, with foure thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from euery part of *Greece*, such aide as the seuerall Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send: which from the most of them was very little. Of the kings abroad; *Masaniassa* sent thither his sonne *Masagones*, with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twentie Elephants. *Antaratbes* the *Cappadocian*, by reason of his affinity with *Eumenes*, was friend to the Romans, and had sent to Rome his yong sonne, there to bee brought vp: yet hee did little or nothing in this warre; perhaps because *Eumenes* himselfe began witting awhile, but when it was too late, to be otherwise aduised than hee had beene in the beginning. *Prusias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing 20 the Romans. *Antiochus* and *Ptoleme* (though *Ptoleme* was then yong, and vnder Tutors) had busines of their owne; the Syrian meaning to invade the *Egyptian*: yet each of them promised helpe to the Romans, which they cared not to performe. *Gentius* the *Ilyrian* was inclinable to the *Macedonians*: yet made good countenance to the Romans, for feare. It was a prettie trick, wherewith *M. Lucretius*, the Roman Admirals brother, serued him, for this his counterfeit good will. This king had foure and fiftie shippes, riding in the haue of *Dyrrachium*, vncertaine to what purpose: all which *Lucretius* tooke away, after a very kind sort; making shew to beleue, That for none other end than to serue the Romans, their good friend *Gentius* had sent thither this fleet. But whatsoever *Gentius* thought in 30 the beginning; hee foolishly lost both his kingdome and himselfe, in the ende of this warre; by offering, rather then giuing, his helpe to *Perseus*.

With none other company than what hee brought ouer the sea, *Lucinius* came into *Thessalie*: so tyred with a painfull iourney, through the mountainous country of *Athamania*, which stood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perseus* had beene ready, attending his descent into the Plaines, the Romans must needs haue taken a great overthrow. He refreshed himselfe and his wearied armie, by the river *Peneus*; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender helpe, that could enable him to deale with *Perseus*. Therefore he 40 resolved, to abide where he then was, and keepe his trenches, vntill his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himselfe in the meane while, to haue gotten quiet entrance into the Countrey. The land of *Thessalie*, in which these two armies lay, was better affected to the Romans, than any part of *Greece* belides: as hauing beene freed by them from a more heauie yoke of bondage to the *Macedonians*, when there was little hope or expectation of such a benefite. It was generally rich, fruitfull, and abounding in all things needfull to mans life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautiful valley of *Tempe*, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often vsed at large, to signifie the most pleasant and goodly places. This valley of it selfe was not great: but adding to it these huge mountaines, *Ossa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poetic) with their Spurres or branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of *Thessalie*. 50 And this way were the Romans to enter into *Macedon*; vntill they would make an hungrie iourney, thorow the countrey of the *Dassaretians*, as in the former warre with *Philip*, they had long, in vaine, attempted to doe. *Perseus* therefore had no small aduantage, by being master of the streights leading into *Tempe*: though farre greater

greater he might haue had, if by mispending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these mountaines, he were able to put the *Romans* often to the worke; yea to winne vpon them (for a while) euery yeere more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionlesse he might haue done far greater things, had hee leized vpon the fliights of *Atos*, which his father once kept, and defended all the countrie behind the Mountaines of *Pindus*. Surely not without extreme difficultie, mult the *Romans* haue either traueled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no reliefe to be found; or else haue committed their armies, and all things thereto needefull, vnto the mercie of seas that were very dangerous; if they would haue fought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: vpon neither of which courses they once deuised, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present warre. It may perhaps be said, that the *Greekes*, and others, whom the King muir haue left on his backe, would haue made him vnable to defend any places too farre from his owne home. But they were all, excepting the *Thessalians*, better affected now to him, than they had bin to his father in the former warre. The *Atolians*, vpon whom the *Albanians* depended, grew into suspicion with the *Romans* (as we shall finde anon) euen as soone as they met with *Perseus*. The *Bacilians*, how politickly fouer *Martius* had wrought with them, aduentured themselves desperately in the *Macedonian* quarrell: what would they haue done, if hee at first had done his best? The *Rhodians*, *Illyrians*, yea and *Eumenes* himselfe, after awhile began to wauer, when they saw things goe better with *Perseus*, then they had expected. So that if in stead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for peace; he had raised their hopes, by any braue performance in the beginning; and increased the number of his well-willers, yea and bought downe with money (as hee might haue done) some of his enemies, and among them *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head, then might the *Romans* perhaps haue bin compelled to forsake their imperious patronage ouer *Greece*; and to render the libertie, by them giuen, entire; which otherwise was but imaginarie. Such benefit of this warre, since it was hoped for after wards, might with greater reason haue bene expected at first, from greater aduantages. But as a fearefull companie running from their enemies, till some riuier stay their flight; are there compelled by meere desperation to doe such actes, as done, while the battell lasted, would haue wonne the victorie: so fell it out with *Perseus*. In seeking to auoid the danger of that war, whereof hee should haue fought the honour; hee left his friends that would haue stood by him, and gaue them cause to prouide for their owne safetie: yet being overtaken by necessitie, he chose rather to set his back to the mountaines of *Tempe*, and defend himselfe with his proper forces; than to bee drinen into such miserie, as was ineuitable, if he gaue a litle further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that he kept his footing in *Thessalie*, it is hard to shew particularly; for that the historie of those things is much perished. Wherefore we muir be contented with the summe.

The Consul hauing no desire to fight, vntill such time as all his forces were arriued; kept within his trenches, and lay still encamped by the Riuier of *Peneus*, about three miles from *Larissa*. That which perswaded the Consul to protract the time; did contrariwise incite the King, to put the matter vnto a hasty triall. Wherefore hee invited the *Romans* into the field; by walking the land of the *Pheraens*; their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignitie; he grew bold to aduenture euen vnto their trenches: out of which if they issued, it was likely, that his aduantage in horse would make the victorie his owne. At his coming they were troubled; for that it was sudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themselves to bee safely lodged. They sent out a few of King *Eumenes* his horse, and with them some light armed foot, to entertaime skirmish. The Capitaine, and some other of these were slaine: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius*, nor *Eumenes*,

found it reasonable to hazzard battell. Thus day after day, awhile together, *Perseus* continued offering battaile: which they still refused. Hereby his boldnesse much increased; and much more, his reputation: to the griefe of those, who being so farre come to make a Conquest, could ill digest the shame, that fell vpon them by their enduring these brauadoes. The towne of *Sycorium*, where *Perseus* then lay, was twelue miles from the *Romans*: neither was there any conuenient watering in that long march, which vsed to take vp foure houres of the morning; but he was faine to bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirlic when they came to fight. For remedie of these inconueniences, he found out a lodging, seuen miles neerer to the enemy: whom he visited the next day by the Sunnerising. His coming at such an vnusall houre, filled the Campe with tumult: in so much as though hee brought with him onely his horse and light armature, that were vsit to assaile the trenches, yet the Consul thought it necessary, and resolved to giue checke to his pride. Wherefore he sent forth his brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many braue Capitaines, with all his power of horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armature to trie their fortune: he himselfe remaining in the Campe, with his Legions in readinesse. The honor of this morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the victorie in a manner entire, (though the *Thessalians* made a good retrait) with litle losse of his owne. But hee discouered his weaknesse ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly doe, to counsaile giuen by one of his owne temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great teare lest he should assaile their Campe; and to that purpose, vpon the first newes of his successe, his Phalanx was brought vnto him by the Capitaines, though vnent for: he neuertheless took it for sound aduice, which indeed was timorous and base, To worke warily, and moderate his victorie; by which meanes it was said, that either he should get honest conditions of peace, or at leastwise many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it been greater, and had hee wonne the *Roman* Campe, his friends would haue been the more, and the bolder. But ouer-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in suing for it, euen when he had the victory, what else did he, than proclaim vnto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keepe him from yielding to the *Romans*, whensoever they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the ioy of his victorie would admit none of these considerations. Hee had slaine of the *Roman* horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their foot hee had slaine about two thousand: losing of his owne no more than twenty horse and forrie foot. The *Roman* Campe, after this disaster, was full of heauinesse and feare: it being much doubted that the enemy would let vpon it. *Eumenes* gaue counsaile to dislodge by night, and remooue to a furer place beyond the Riuier *Peneus*. The Consul, though ashamed to professe, by so doing, in what feare he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the losse past, than by standing on proud tearmes, to draw vpon himselfe a greater calamitie. So he passed the Riuier in the dead of the night, and encamped more firogly on the further side. The *Atolians* were sorely blamed for this losse: as if rather a trayterous meaning, than any true feare, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the *Greekes* followed them. Fieue of them, that were men of speciall marke, had been obserued to be the first which turned their backs: an obseruation likely to cost them deare, at a time of better leisure. As for the *Thessalians*, their vertue was honoured with reward: so as the *Greekes* might learne, by examples of either kinde, that if they should shunne indignation, or incurre favour, then muir they aduenture no lesse for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would doe for their owne libertie. Thus fared it with the Consul and his armie. *Perseus* came the next day to correct the former dayes error; which how great it was, hee not vntill then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of safety; whither they could neuer haue

have attained, if the King had either pressed his victory, or given better heed to them that night: his light armature alone being sufficient to have rowted them, whilst they were conveying themselves to the other side of *Peneus*. But it was vaine to tell what might have been done, since there was no remedie. The *Romans* were beaten, even the flower of their Citie, the Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselves, *Pretors*, *Consuls*, and all that bore office or command among them; yea, they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather up the spoiles of them without resistance, as yielding themselves overcome. With such braue words did the King set out the glory of his action; dividing the spoiles among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honor found. He came neerer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopselus*, a place in the mid-way betwene *Tempe* and *Larissa*: as if it were his meaning to presse them somewhat harder. Neuertheless hee was easily perswaded to vie the occasion, which he seemed to have, of obtaining peace. Therefore he sent vnto the Consul, and offered to yield vnto the same Conditions, wherein his lathes had been bound to the *Romans*; if the war might so take end. It were needlesse here againe to shew the folly of this course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired peace, there was in the Consul no greater power than to grant a truce, whilst Embassadors might goe to *Rome*: it reling in the Senate and People to approve the conditions, and ratifie the league. And of such a truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no smal discommodity redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned answer, That other hope of peace there was none; saue that *Perseus* would yeeld both his Kingdome and person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius*, to be so resolute in aduersitie. On the other side, it argued a very faint heart in *Perseus*, that hauing received an answer so peremptory, hee still persisted, making vaine offers of great tribute. Finding that the peace, which he so much desired, could not be purchased with money, the King withdrew himselfe backe to *Sycorium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whose forces were well repaired by the comming of *Misagenes* the sonne of *Masaniissa*, with the aid before mentioned. This distance betwene the King and them, caused the *Romans* to waxe the more bold in making their haruest: about which businesse they ranged ouer all the fields. Their carelesse demeanour gaue him hope to doe some notable exploit: which hee attempted, both vpon their Campe, and vpon those that were abroad. The Campe he thought to haue fired on the sudden: but the alarme being taken in good season, hee failed in the enterprise. As for the forrangers, he had a good hand vpon them, if he could haue withdrawn it, and giuen ouer in time. But whilst hee strove to force a guard, he was visited by the Consul; by whom either in a skirmish of horse, or (for the report is diuers) in a great battell, he was overcome. This misadventure, whether great or small, caused *Perseus*, after a few daies, to fall backe into *Macedon*; as being naturally giuen to feare danger, euen where none was; whereby what losse he felt, will appeare hereafter. He left all behinde him, saue onely *Tempe*, weakly guarded: and consequently an easie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went straight vnto *Connius*, hoping to haue taken it, and so to haue gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the work too hard, he returned backe vpon the *Perrhebian*s and others; from whom he wanne some townes, and among the rest, *Larissa*. There were sundry townes thereabout, bearing the same name of *Larissa*: so that this which the Consul tooke, may seeme not to haue belonged vnto the *Thessalians*; vnlesse, perhaps, after his victory, *Perseus* did greater Acts than we finde recorded, and got some part of *Thessalie*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to giue a precise account; for that the histories of them are greatly defective. One may thinke it strange, that the *Bacians*, whom a *Roman* Embassador could terrifie, and bring altogether to his

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owne will, should not be afraid of a *Roman* armie, then on foot in *Greece*, and a Naue on their coast. But more strange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the art of *Martius*; were more true to *Rome*, than other petty townes, which by that same distraction of the *Bacians*, became within themselves more absolute, than formerly they had bene. The causes hereof were to haue bene sought among the changes happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now lost. Some of them rebelled, and were thoroughly punished by *Lucretius* the *Roman* Admirall: who got so much by spoiling them, that he would haue brought others to rebell in like sort, if by extreme oppression hee could haue driven them so farre. Neither was *Licinius* the Consul indiligent in the same kinde. What his doings were, after such time as he was at leisure from *Perseus*, I finde no where mentioned. Onely this is said in general; That in the warre which he made, he * cruelly and couetously demeaned himselfe.

* *Lin. lib. 43.*

After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the yeere following; *Hofilius* the Consul, and *Hortensius* the Admirall, or Pretor of the Fleet. *Hofilius* shewed more of his indoltrie, in picking quarrels with the confederats of *Rome*, than in prosecuting the warre against the *Macedonian*. For concerning the *Roman* warre vpon his kingdome, after that the Consul had fought pottage in vaine ouer certaine mountains, *Perseus* seemed, in a manner, * free from it. He was troubled indeed

* *Polyb. Legat.*

on that side which looked towards *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Consul felt thither with an armie of foure thousand, and who, by leaues made vpon the Confederates, doubled this his armie. But *Claudius* thinking to haue taken *Pyssana*, a border towne of *Illyria*, by treason, came thither in such carelesse order, that the inhabitants which had made shew of treason, with purpose onely to traine him into danger; failed forth vpon him, ouerthrew him, and chased him so farre, that hardly hee escaped with a fourth part of his company. Yet this towne of *Pyssana* shortly after became *Roman*: which howsoever it happened, *Perseus* very soone recovered it, and many other places therewithall: *Cotys*, a *Thracian* king, securing him on the one side of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epirote*, recruited from the *Romans*, on

the other. *Perseus* likewise made a painefull iourney into *Ætolia*: where hee was promised to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the strongest Citie in that Region. Of this hope though he were disappointed by those of the *Roman* faction; yet in his returne home, hee tooke in *Aperantia*; and shortly heard good newes, That *Ap. Claudius* was againe thoroughly beaten by *Cleues*, one of his Lieutenants. Such success had the *Macedonian* war vnder *Hofilius*. The same Consul offended much the *Greekes*, by the strict inquisition which his Embassadors made into mens affection towards *Rome*. For these Embassadors traueiling thorow all the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, gaue out speeches tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who fought not by might and maine to aduance their bulines, than of those which

* *Polyb. Legat. 74.*

were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to haue accused by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the steps of *Philopomen*; and together with him, his sonne *Polybius*, who soone after was Generall of the *Achaean* horse, but more notable by that excellent historie which he wrote, than by his great employments, which hee well and honourably discharged. The summe of the accusation should haue bene; That these were not heartie friends vnto the *Romans*, but such as abstained from raising troubles, more for lacke of opportunitee, than for any loue to the common quiet. But since no colour of truth could be found, that might giue countenance to such a tale; it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, and giue gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Ætolians*: They demanded hostages, and found some in the Councell that approved the motion: as also among the *Acarnanians*, there were that entreated to haue *Roman* garriisons bestowed in their townes. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions tooke effect. They of the *Roman* faction; accused not only such as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*,

donian, but also the good *Patriotes*; making it no lesse than a matter of treason, to be a *Grecian* in *Greece*. On the contrary side, there wanted not some, who roundly told these pick-thanks of their base flatterie; rating them openly in such sort, that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, even in presence of the Embassadors. Thus was all full of accusations and excuses: among which the Embassadors carried themselves, as men that could beleue none ill; though it were well enough knowne what they thought. The best was, that an order from the Senate was brought into *Greece*, and published, to this effect: That it should bee free for all men, to refuse obedience to any *Roman* Magistrate, imposing any burthen for the present warre, vntlesse it were such, as the Senate had likewise thought meete. 10 Of this decree the whole countrie was glad: for it was, or seemed, a good remedie of many inconueniences. But they that standing on priuiledge hereof, refused to fulfill euery commandement, were numbered among the *Patriotes*, which in the end of this warre, prooued little better, if not worse, than to haue been Traytours. The Senate was driuen to set downe this order; by reason of the many and vehement complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by *Roman* Magistrates, and especially by the Admiralls, *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great summe of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the *Romans*, in that they loued not to haue their subiects oppressed. *Hortensius* being still in office, had warning to 20 amend.

Among the great number of Embassages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to seeke redresse of iniuries, or to offer their seruices: it is note-worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a towne of the lesser *Asia*, there was presented vnto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flatterie. These *Alabanders* brought three hundred horsemens targets; and a crowne of gold, to bestow vpon *Iupiter* in the Capitol. But hauing a desire to gratifie the *Romans* with some exquisite token of their dutifull obedience, wherein they would bee singular; and being not able to reach vnto any great performance: they built a Temple, vnto the Towne *Rome*, and appointed anniuersarie games to bee celebrated among them, in honour of that 30 Goddess. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolemie*, and the like vaine men, that would bee thought gods; or at the shamelesse flatterie of such as bestowed vpon men, and not the most vertuous of men, diuine honours; when hee sees a Towne of houses, wherein powerfull men dwell, worshipped as a Goddess, and receiuing (without shame of the giuers, or shame of the present) the title of *Deitie*, at the gift of such a rascall Citie as *Alabanda*?

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§. VII.

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Q. MARTIVS the Roman Consul, with extreme difficultie and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardize of PERSEVS in abandoning Tempe. The towne of Dinm quitted by MARTIVS; repaired and fortified by the King. The *Romans* attempt many places, with ill successe. Their affaires in hard estate. MARTIVS a cunning and a bad man. POLYBIVS sent Embassador to MARTIVS from the *Acheans*. POLYBIVS his honest wisdom beneficiall to the *Acheans*. King EYMESES growes auerse from the *Romans*. PERSEVS negotiates with ANTIOCHVS and EYMESES. His false dealing with GENTIVS King of *Illyria*; whom hee draws into the *Roman* warre. He sends Embassadors to the *Rhodiens*; who vainly take vpon them to be arbitrators betwene him and the *Romans*. PERSEVS loseth a mightie succour of the *Bastarnae*, by his wretched parsimonie.



After two yeares of the *Macedonian* warre, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the warre began; which had been thought likely to reforme all those Countreies, and bring them to what pacie the *Romans* desired; as it did in the end. *Perseus* had hitherto the better, and was stronger now, than when hee liued in peace. He had 20 enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* side; his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, took courage daily; and his reputation grew such, as caused those that were before wholly *Roman*, to suspect what the issue of the war might prove, and therupon to become wife for themselves. Contrariwise, *Licinius* and *Hofilius* the Consuls, had one after the other spent their time in vaine, seeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conquest, by many losses received. The *Roman* Admiralls had so demeaned themselves, that many towns, out of the best affected to *Rome*, kept them out by force. Generally, the feare was great on the *Roman* side; and the armie much lessened, not only by casualties of warre, but by the facilitie of the Tribunes or Colonels, or else of the Consul himselfe (for they laid the blame one 30 vpon the other) in licencing the souldiers to depart *Quintus Martius* the new Consul, who succeeded vnto *Hofilius*, was to amend all this: which neuertheless was more then he knew how to doe: though he brought with him a strong supply of men. He began hotly to set the warre on foot, which a long time had slept. And he began the right way: not seeking to force the streights that were surely garded, but taking paines to clime the mountaines which were thought able to forbid all passage over them, without helpe or need of any custodie. The King heard of his approach; and being vncertaine what way he meant to take, distributed his owne forces, to the defence of all places which might giue entrance, or permit ascent. But the Consul proceeded in his iourney: with hope, either not to be discouraged by the Enemy, or to breake through all opposition, or at least wife, to fight on as con- 40 uenient ground, as they should haue that lay to stop him, and at length it all failed, to make a safe retreat. He sent before him foure thousand of his most expedit foot, to discover the wayes. Two dayes was this company troubled, in ouercomming the difficultie of no more than fifteene miles after which they had sight of the Enemy, that lay to deny their passage. They occupied therefore a safe peece of ground; and sent backe word to the Consul, where they were, intreating him to hasten vnto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit dismayed at his arriual; but met him, and fought with him, two or three daies together, each returning to their owne Campe at night, with little losse on either side. This bic- 50 kering was on the narrow ridge of a mountaine, which gaue scarcely roome vnto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all the rest were boulders. In this case, it was impossible to get forwards: yet a shame to returne. Wherefore *Martius* tooke the onely course remaining; and indeed the best: Part of his men he left with *Popilius*, to attend vpon the *Macedonians*: whilst he, Rrrrrr with

with the rest, fetcht a compass about, and fought out wayes that neuer had bene troden. Herein he found extreame difficultie: which notwithstanding he overcame. Besides the troubles commonly incident to such journeyes, through places vnfit for habitation: he was compelled, by labour of hand, to make pathes where none were, yea where Nature might seeme to haue intended, that none should be. So steepe he found the descent of the mountaines, in this way which he took: that of seuen miles, which they trauelled the first day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to rowle themselves downe; as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worst. For they met with rockes, that stood one ouer another, so vpright, and cumbersome to get downe; that their Elephants were afraid of the giddy prospect, and casting their gouernours, made a terrible noise, which affrighted the horses, and bred great confusion. Hauiug therefore gone, or wallowed, foure miles of this greivous journey; there was nothing more desired by the fouldiours, then that they might be suffered to creepe backe againe, the same way which they had come. But (sith) was made to let downe the Elephants, by a kinde of bridges, like vnto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was ioyned to the edge of the cliffe; the other sustained by two long postes, fastened in the ground below. Vpon these two postes, or poles, which indeed (not being very strong, since it was intended that they should be either cut or broken) were fastned two rafters, answerable in length to the distance, between the higher & the lower fall: so as the end of one bridge might reach to the beginning of another. These were covered with planks and turf; that they might seeme continuent with the ground; so to make the beasts aduenturous, to goe vpon them. If there were a Plaine of any good extent from the foot of a rocke, to the next downfall; then might the bridge be shorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretie way, vpon one of these; the postes vpholding the frame were cut asunder; thereby causing him to sincke down vnto the next bridge; whence he was conueyed, in like manner, to the third, and onward still, to the very bottom. Thus went they downe sliding, some on their feet, others on their buttockes, till they came to an euery valley. By this it appears, how thoroughly provided the Romans vsed to be in their journeyes, of things needfull in all occasions: as also what ineffimable paines they tooke in this descent, about the conueyance of themselves and all their carriages downe the mountaines. The next day they rested; staying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly or perhaps neuer, should haue overtaken them, if the Enemy had followed, and set vpon him from aloft. The third and fourth daies journeyes were like vnto the first: saue that culome, and the nearnesse to their wayes end without meeting enemy, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perseus could not be ignorant of the Romans comming towards him: since they fought with his men vpon the passage, three daies together; he lying so high, that he might well nere haue heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with feare, that he neither stirred to helpe his owne men, or to hinder the Consul, nor made any provision for that which might fall out; but as one void of counsaile, late hearkening after the euent. Foure onely passages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the first by *Connus*; which the Romans were vnable to force: the second and third were the same which *Martius* had attempted in vaine, and another like vnto it: the last, by the Citie of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All these were sufficiently guarded: and whoeuer would seeke any other way, must be faine to take such paines as *Martius* had vndergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer then any of the rest: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, saue through the valley it selfe, into which they must first pierce another way. *Dium* stood vpon the foot of the huge mountaine *Olympus*, about a mile from the sea: of which mile, the river *Helicon* becoming there a lake, and called *Baphyras*, tooke vp the one halfe; the rest being such as might easily haue bene fortified. Besides all these, there was in the middelt of *Tempe*, a passage which ten men might easily keepe: where the

the spurres of the mountaines, reaching farre into the valley, drew neare to the verie banks of *Peneus*, a goodly and deepe riuer which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had bene more easie, than to make the Consul repent him of his troublesome journey: if *Perseus* could haue seene his owne aduantages. For the Roman armie was not only in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable trauell; but must needs haue either perished for want of victuals, or bin enforced to returne the same way that it came, if the King had made good the freight of *Dium*. To haue returned, and climbed vp with their Elephants and carriages, against those rockes, from which, with extreame labour, they could hardly get downe, it seemed a matter of impossibilitie: especially considering, how the enemy from above their heads, would haue beaten vpon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange, that the Romans did not rather take their journey into *Macedon*, from the side of *Ilyria*, whence that kingdome had often bin invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*; whence, after that they were there arrived, there was no means to escape, without forcing one of those passages, which they despaird to winne. But the cowardize of *Perseus*, did commend the counsaile by them followed, as wise. For he no sooner heard that the Enemy was come ouer the mountaines into *Tempe*; then he feared like one out of his wits; saying, That he was vanquished, and had lost all without battaile. Herewithall he began to take out of *Dium*, what he could carry away in haste; and straightwayes abandoned the Towne. In the same vehemencie of amazement, he sent a strait commandement to *Thessalonica*, that the Arsenall there should be set on fire; and to *Pella*, that his treasures there should be cast into the sea: as if the Romans were like presently to be masters of these two Cities. *Nicias*, who was appointed to drowne the treasure, performed it hastily as well as he could: though soone after, his master grew sorie for the losse; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by Diuers from vnder the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to set fire on the Kings Arsenall, deferred the execution; foreseeing that repentance might follow: and so he preuented the damage. Whether *Nicias*, for his absolute and blinde obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his carefull providence, merited the greater commendation, or more easie pardon; it rested in the King to interpret. The reward of their seruice was this. *Perseus* growing alhamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this halitie direction; caused them both to be slaine. Also those poore men, which had fetcht his treasure out of the sea by their diuing, were payd their wages after the same sort: that so there might be no winites of the Kings base folly. Such end must they feare, who are priue to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perseus* would haue gone surely to worke, for the hiding of his fault; then must he so royally haue behaued himselfe, that no man might beleue him to be the author of any vnworthy act or counsaile. But his vertue was of no such capacite. He thought it enough to lay the blame vpon others. And therefore, hauing called *Hippias* away (the Captaine which had stoped the Consul on the top of the mountaine) and *Alepiodatus*, from defence of the passages, whereto they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; saying, that they had betrayed vnto the Enemy the gates and barres of *Macedon*. Of this reproch, if they would discharge themselves, by laying it vpon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they haue sped as did *Nicias* and *Andronicus*.

The Consul *Martius* had great cause to reioyce, for that the King so hastily relinquished his possession of *Tempe*, and all the passages leading thercinto: since the Roman armie, this notwithstanding was hardly able to subsist, for want of victuals. He tooke *Dium* without resistance; & thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein hauing trauelled about a dayes iourney, and gotten one towne that yeelded, he was compelled, by meer lacke of food for his men, to returne backe towards *Thessalie*. His fleet came to him, in this time of needfullie, well appointed to haue holpen him

in the war: but hauing left behinde at *Magnesia*, the ships of burthen, which carried the provisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had beene carefull to occupy the Castles about *Tempe*, which were forsaken by the *Macedonians*: for by those waies only might come be brought into the army. To meet the sooner with this corne, which was desirously expected; he forsooke *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which foolish journey (if not worse then foolishly) he lost more, than a little the longer falling had bin worth. It is probable that his carts, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the mountains; for otherwise it had bin madnes to put himself on such an enterprise, so slenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or light of the Enemy, he should be faine to quite it. Howsoeuer it was: men 10 thought him a coward, or at least a bad man of warre; since he thus recoyled and gaue off, when it most behoued him to haue prosecuted the action.

By vnderstanding the folly, or cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollected himselfe; vnderstood his owne error; fought to hide it by such poore means as haue bin shewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the town of *Dium*, which he hastily repaired, finding it dismantled by the *Romans*. This done, he encamped strongly by the river *Enipeus*: meaning there to stop the Enemies proceeding all that summer. Lesse diligence, more timely vsed, would haue bin enough, not only to haue deliuered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace: but to haue giuen him such a noble victory, as might 20 cause the *Romans* to seeke a good end of the war vpon faire conditions, & not to begin againe in haste. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Consul an exceeding hindrance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the towne of *Heraclea*, standing on the river of *Peneus*, fure miles from *Dium*, was taken by force, or rather by a trick of climbing vpon mens heads, somewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made such defence as it could; and was not giuen vp for feare. After this *Martius* did set a bold face towards *Dium*, as if he would haue taken it againe, and haue driuen the King further off: though his intent or hope was nothing like so great: his chiefe care, being to provide for his wintering. He sent the Admirall to 30 make attempt vpon the sea townes, *Thessalonica*, *Cassandrea*, *Demetrias* and others. All these were assayed: but in vaine. The fields about *Thessalonica* were walled; and some companies, that sundrie times aduentured forth of the towne, were still put to the worse. As for the towne it selfe; there was danger in comming neere it, either by land or sea; by reason of the engines, which shot from the wals, and reached vnto the fleet. Wherefore the Admirall letting saile from thence, ranne along by *Aemis*, and *Antigonea*, (landing neare to each of them, and both doing and receiving hurt) vntill he came to *Pallene* in the territory of *Cassandrea*. There King *Eumenes* ioyned with him, bringing twentie ships of warre: and fure other were sent thither from King *Prusias*. With this assistance of strength, the Admirall was bold to trie his 40 fortune at *Cassandrea*: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by *Perseus*, before the town: while the *Romans* were filling vp, question was made, what became of the earth taken there, for that it lay not vpon the bank. By this occasion, it was learned, that there were arches in the town walled vp with that earth, and covered with one single row of brick. Hence the Admirall gathered hope of making way into the towne, by sapping the wals. To this worke he appointed such as hee thought meetest: giuing an alarme to the other side of the towne, thereby to shadow his attempt, the breach was soon made. But whilest the *Romans* were shewing for joy, & ordering themselves for the assault: the Capitaines within the towne perceiued what was done, & sallying forth vnexpected, gaue a fierce charge on the companies 50 that were between the ditch & the wals of whom they slew about six hundred & sunder few to escape vnnoued. This disaster, & the want of good successe on that part of the towne which King *Eumenes* assailed (a supply in the meane while entering the towne by sea) caused the siege to breake vp. *Torone* was the next place which

which the Admirall thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*: whereinto *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* Capitaine, was gotten before his comming, with such forces, as were not only sufficient to haue defended the Towne, if the Admirall had layed siege to it, but to keepe the land about it from spoyle; or at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay deare for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his journey to *Demetrias*, by *Melibea*; whether the Consul (that he might not be quite without worke) had sent his Lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terror of his appearing suddenly ouer their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all 10 haste, letting their Campe on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, so farre was their abilitie short of their Enterprises; euer since their Consul (whether dauidly, or carelessly) most vnlike a good Commander had let goe his hold of *Macedon*, by forsaking *Dium*: Yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harme befell them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger, then is expressed in the broken remaining Historie of this Warre. For *Martius* perswaded the *Rhodiens* by *Agelippos* their 20 Embassador, who came to him at *Heraclea* about other buisinesse of lesse importance, that they should doe well to interpose themselves as mediators, and seeke to finish the Warre. Now, although *Polybius* doe most probably coniecture, that this was rather a malicious deuice of *Martius*, craftily seeking to bring the *Rhodiens* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the Senate; then that it proceeded from any true feare in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an army on foot: yet since he made shew of feare, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his feare seeme not counterfeite. And so were the *Rhodiens* moued to thinke of him; not only for that the extraordinary courtie, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embassador, comming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadors of *Perseus*, & of *Gentius* the 30 *Illyrian* did set out their buisinesse at *Rhodes*, not more with the strength of a good fleet, which the *Macedonian* had gotten, than with the honor of some victory, where in he had lately slaine great numbers of the *Roman* horse. Thus much we find intimated: though the time place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from *Rome* to view the estate of *Martius* his army. For they found the Consul wanting men; the Admirall wanting men; & for those few that he had, wanting both money and clothes: and *Ap. Claudius* the Pretor, who lay on the frontier of *Illyria*, so vnable to invade 40 *Macedon*, that contrariwise, he was in extreme danger, so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seeme, that some blow had bin taken on the *Illyrian* side, which made all to halt; or at least, that the *Romans* with greater losse, than is before spoken of, had been driuen from some of the Townes which they besieged.

Now although it were so, that *Martius* in very few of his actions, behaued himselfe like a man of war: yet in exercise of Cunning, which one hath most aptly termed, a *cracked or snifter kind of wisdom*, he dealt as a craftie maller, with a restlesse working diligence. This indeed neither proued his sufficiencie, nor commended his honestie: since thereby he effected nothing to his owne benefit, and neuer thelesse, out of enuie, vaine-glory, or such delight as weak and busie-headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his country. At such time as *Perseus*, by the successe of his doings against *Boetius*, had gotten much reputation, and was thought like to invade *Thessaly*; *Arche*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriotes among the *Acheans*, iudged it expedient for their Nation to helpe the *Romans*, as in a time of aduersitie, whom in prosperity they loued not to flatter. Wherefore *Arche* proposed a decree which passed. That the *Acheans* should send their whole power into *Thessaly*, and participate with 50

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the *Romans* in all danger. So the *armie* was leuied; and *Polybius*, with others, sent Embassadors vnto *Martinus*, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleasure. *Polybius* found the Consul busied in seeking passage through *Tempe* into *Macedon*. Hee went along with the *armie*; and awaited the Consuls leisure till they came to *Heraclea*; where finding the time conuenient, hee presented the *Decees*, and offered the seruice of his Nation, wherein sooner it should be commanded. *Martinus* tooke this very kindly; but said, that he needed now no manner of helpe. Forthwith *Polybius* dispatched home his companions, to signifie thus much: tarrying himselfe behind in the Campe. After a while, word was brought to *Martinus*, that *Ap. Claudius* desired, or rather imperiously required, of the *Acheans*, five thousand men, to be sent him into *Epirus*. It was manifest, that *Appius* had need of these men; and that if he were strong in field, he might do notable seruice, by distracting the forces of *Perseus*. But the *Labarynthian* head of *Martinus* could not allow of such plain reason. He called vnto him *Polybius*, to whom hee declared, that *Appius* had no need of such aide: and therefore willed him to returne home; and in any wise take order that the men might not be sent, nor the *Acheans* bee put to such needlesse charges. Away went *Polybius*; musing and vnable to resolue, whether it were for loue to the *Acheans*, that the Consul was so earnest in this busines; or rather for enuie, and to hinder *App. Claudius* from doing any thing, since himselfe could doe nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliuer his opinion in the Councell, touching this matter: then found he a new doubt, that more neerely concerned his owne selfe, and those of his partie. For as he was sure to incur the great indignation of the Consul, if he should neglect what was giuen him in charge; so was it manifest on the other side, that the words by *Martinus* vttered to him in priuat, would proue no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to helpe *Claudius*, alleging that he had no need. In this case therefore, he had recourse vnto the decree of the Senate: which exempted men from necessitie of doing what the *Roman* Commanders should require, vnlesse by special order from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lacke of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred vnto the aduice of the Consul: by whom it was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the *Acheans* were sauer, of more then an hundred and twenty talents: though *Polybius* himselfe ranne into danger of *Appius* his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his Countreys behalfe, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romans* with many a long years imprisonment.

Whether it were by the like policie of *Martinus*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the *Romans*; or whether this King began when it was too late, to stand in feare, lest the fire, which he himselfe had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his owne lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to ouerthrow al other passions; it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, haue not precisely affirmed any certaintie. One report is, that *Eumenes* did not so much as giue any helpe to *Martinus*; but coming to haue ioy-
ned with him, in such friendly manner as he did with the former Consuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that he refused to leaue behind him certaine horse of the *Gallogreekes*, being requested to haue done it. If this were true; and that his brother *Attalus* tarrying behinde with the Consul, did the *Romans* good seruice: then is the reason apparent, of the hatred, borne afterwards by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the loue to *Attalus*. But it is more generally received; that *Eumenes* gaue a willing care to *Perseus* his desire of accord, for mere desire of gaine. And it might well bee, that con-
tinueousness drew him on, in the course, whereinto indignation first led him. How-
soever it befell; *Perseus* caused *Eumenes* to be sounde, and found him so tractable, that he was bold to sollicit him by an Embassage. The tenour of his aduertise-
ments, both to *Eumenes*, and to *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect loue
betwene a King and a free Citie: That the *Romans* had quarrell alike to all Kings,
though

though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and I vied the helpe of one against another; That *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the helpe of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the helpe of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perseus* assailed, with helpe of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Herewith he willed *Eumenes* to consider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Asia*, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to thinke better of *Prusias*, than of him. In like sort he admonished *Antiochus*, not to looke for any good conclusion of his warre with the *Aegyptian*, so long as the *Romans* could make him giue ouer, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either
10 to compell the *Romans*, to surcease from their war vpon *Macedon*; or else to hold them as common enemies vnto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay farre out of the *Romans* way: and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more neerely toucht; and as hee felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should giue answer, hee began to offer a bargain of peace for money. He thought the *Romans* to be no lesse weary, than *Perseus* was afraid. Wherefore he promised, for his owne part, That if he might haue fiftene hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this Warre, then
20 would he remaine a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantitie of money (how much I finde not) he would also bring the *Romans* to consend vnto peace: and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to giue hostages. *Perseus* liked well to receiue the hostages: but not to lay out the money; especially before hand, as was required. He would faine haue peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost: but hee would lay downe the money in the Temple at *Samothrace*: whence it should be deliuered vnto *Eumenes*, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of *Samothrace* was *Perseus* his owne: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Besides, his labour deserved somewhat, howsoever the businesse might happen to succeed: so that needes hee would haue part of his wages in prefe. Thus the two Kings did
30 no more, than loose time; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the *Romans*, as a Traytor.

After the same manner dealt *Perseus* with King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before; who dealt plainly, and said, That without money he could not stirre. Hercunto *Perseus* loud, not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serue at the last cast, to deliuer him from all his feares. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his feare vrge him to prodigalitie; so as he agreed to pay thres hundred Talents, which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargain was soone made, and pledges on both sides deliuered for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*; to the end that all
40 his armie might haue comfort, by such access of strength to their partie. Presently vpon the bargain made, Embassadors were sent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perseus* and *Gentius*: who desired the *Rhodian*s, to take vpon them, as arbitrators, betwene *Perseus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the Warre to an end. The *Rhodian*s thinking that *Martinus* the Consul was no lesse desirous of peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authoritie, would make peace; wilhing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the *Roman* Senate, hearing proud words to the same effect, from the *Rhodian* Embassadors; gaue an
50 answer, as disdainfull, angry, and menacing, as they could deuise: so as this vaine glorie of the *Rhodian*s was thoroughly chastised; and more thoroughly should haue bene, if their submission had not bene as humble, as their follie was proud. Such vfe of *Gentius* his friendship, made *Perseus*; without laying out one ounce of Siluer. Now faine he would haue hastened this young and rash *Illyrian* to enter with all speed into the Warre: but then must the money be hastened away. *Pantiauchus* the *Macedonian* Embassadour, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted
him

him daily to begin the Warre by land and sea, whilest the *Romans* were vnprout-
ded. But finding what it was that made all to stay; he sent word to *Perseus*. Here-
upon tenne Talents were sent to *Pantarchus*: who deliuered it to the young King,
as earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed; and scaled vp with the
scale of the *Illyrians*; but carried by *Macedonians*, and not too fast. Before this mo-
ney came into *Illyria*, *Genitus* had layed hands vpon two *Roman* Embassadors, and
cast them into prison. Which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he recalled his Treas-
ure-bearers, and sent them with their loads to *Pella*; for that now the *Illyrian* was
of necessitie to make warre with the *Romans*, whether hee were hyred thereto,
or not.

Eu. lib. 44.
Plutarch. 10
vii. Angl.

There came about the same time, through *Illyria*, to the aide of *Perseus*, vnder
one *Clondicus* a pettie King, tenne thousand horse and tenne thousand foot, of the
Gauls, which were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bastarnæ*. These had before hand made
their bargain, and were to receiue present pay at the first. At their entrie into the
Kingdome, *Perseus* sent one to them; desiring their Capitaines to come visit him,
whome he promised to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude
would take good words for payment. But the first question that their Generall as-
ked, was, Whether the King had sent money to giue the souldiours their pay in
hand, according to his bargain? Hereto the messenger had not what to answere.
Why then (said *Clondicus*) tell thy master, That the *Gauls* will not stirre one foot
further, vntill they haue gold, as was agreed, and hostages. *Perseus* hereupon tooke
counsaile: if to vicer his owne opinion, before men so wise that they would not
contradict him, were to take counsaile. He made an ineffectiue against the inciuillitie
and auarice of the *Bastarnæ*: who came with such numbers, as could not but be
dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Five thousand horse of them hee said
would be as manie as he should need to vse; and not so manie, that he should need
to feare them. It had bene well done, if anie of his counsaillors would haue told
him, That there wanted not employment for the whole armie of them, since
without anie danger to the Kingdome, they might be let out, by the way of *Perra-
bia*, into *Thessalie*: where wasting the Countrey, and filling themselves with spoile,
they should make the *Romans* glad to forsake *Tempe*, euen for hunger and all man-
ner of want; therein doing the King notable seruice, whether they wonne anie vic-
torie, or not. This, and a great deale more, might haue bene alledged, if anie man
had dared to giue aduice freely: In conclusion, *Antigonus*, the same messenger that
had bene with them before, was sent againe, to let them know the Kings minde.
He did his errand: vpon which followed a great murmure of those many thou-
sands that had bene drawne so farre to no purpose. But *Clondicus* asked him now
againe, Whether hee had brought the money along with him, to pay those five
thousand, whome the King would entertaine. Hereto, when it was perceiued, that
Antigonus could make no better answer, than shifiting excuses; the *Bastarnæ* return-
ed presently towards *Danubius*, wasting the neighbours parts of *Thrace*; yet suffer-
ing this craftie messenger to escape unhurt: which was more than he could haue
well expected.

Thus dealt *Perseus*, like a carefull Treasurer, and one that would preferue his
money for the *Romans*, without diminishing the summe. But of this painefull Of-
fice he was verie soone discharged by *L. Æmylius Paulus* the new Consul: who in
fifteene dayes after his setting forth from *Italie*, brought the Kingdome of *Mace-
don* to that end, for which *G. O.* had appointed ouer it a King so foolish and so
cowardly.

¶ VIII.

¶ VIII.

Of *L. ÆMYLIUS PAVLVS* the Consul, his journey, He foreseeth *PERSEVS*
to discompe. He will not hazard battaile with anie disadvantage, Of an Eclipse
of the Moone. *ÆMYLIUS* his superstition. The Battaille of *Pydna*.

PERSEVS his flight. He forsakes his Kingdome: which hastily
yields to *ÆMYLIUS*, *PERSEVS* at *Samothrace*. He
yields himselfe to the *Roman* Admirall; and is
sent prisoner to *ÆMYLIUS*.

BY the Warre of *Macedon*, the *Romans* hitherto had gotten much
dishonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with anie dan-
ger, yet the indignitie so moued them, that either * they decreed
that Prouince to *L. Æmylius Paulus*, without putting it, as was o-
therwise their manner, to the chance of lot, betwene him and his
fellow Consul; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it vpon him, than
that so worthy a man was aduanced to the dignitie of a second Consulship. Hee
refused to propound vnto the Senate anie thing that concerned his Prouince; vn-
till by Embassadors, thither sent to view the estate of the Warre, it was perfectly
vnderstood, in what condition both the *Roman* forces, and the *Macedonian*, at the
present remained. This being thoroughly knowne to be such, as hath bene already
told; the Senate appointed a strong supplic, not onely to the Consul, but vnto
the Nauie, and likewise to the Armie that lay betwene *Illyria* and *Epirus*; from
which *App. Claudius* was removed, and *L. Anicius* sent thither in his place. *Æmy-
lius*, before his departure from *Rome*, making an Oration to the People, as was the
custome, spake with much grauitie and authoritie. Hee requested those that
thought themselves wise enough to manage this Warre, either to accompanie him
into *Macedon*, and there assist him with their aduice; or else to gouerne their
tongues at home, and not take vpon them to giue directions by hear-say, and cen-
sure by idle reports: for he told them plainly, That he would frame his doings
to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speeche of his
father *L. Æmylius*, who died valiantly in the Battaille of *Canna*, might well be li-
uing in some of their memories: which was enough to make them conforme
themselves the more gladly vnto the instructions giuen by a wife and resolute
Consul.

All his businesse within the Citie being dispatched, *Æmylius* was honourably
attended, at his setting forth on his journey; with an especiall hope of men, that
he should finish the Warre: though that he should finish it so soone and happily,
was more then could haue bene hoped or imagined. He came to *Brundisium*:
whence, when the winde came faire, he set saile at breake of day, and arriued safe-
ly at the Isle of *Cyprus* before night. Thence passed he to *Dolphi*; where, hauing
done sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fifth day he set forwards to the Campe; and was
there in five dayes more. So are there but five of the fiftene dayes remaining, in
which he finished the Warre.

Perseus lay strongly encamped at *Dium*; hauing spared no labour of men and of
women to fortifie the banks of *Enipeus*, where it was fordable in drie weather:
So as there was little hope, or none, to force him; and consequently, as little pos-
sibilitie to enter that way into *Macedon*. One great inconuenience troubling the
Romans, and much disabling them to make attempt vpon *Dium*, was lacke of fresh
water. For there were tenne myles betwene *Dium* and *Tempe*; all the way lying
betwene the Sea shoare and the foot of *Olympus*, without any Brooke or Spring
breaking forth on that side. But *Æmylius* found present remedie for this, by dig-
ging Wells on the shoare; where hee found sweet Springs: as commonly there is

no

no shore that wants them, though they rise not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking vp his lodging anie nearer to the enemy, than the Towne of *Heraclea*, on the River of *Peneus*; where he had watering at pleasure, but could performe no service of anie worth. Yet when the *Roman* Campe had such means to lye close to the *Macedonian*, as it presently did; the passage onward, being defended as hath beene shewed, seemed no lesse difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessarie to search another way: which by enquire was soon found out. There was a narrow passage ouer *Olympus*, leading into *Perrabia*; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a faire journey. *Martius* either had not been informed hereof; or durst not attempt it; or perhaps could not get his souldiors to make the aduenture; they fearing least it would proue such a piece of worke, as had beene their march ouer *Ossa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater industrie, courage, and abilitie, to command. He had reformed, euen at his first comming, many disorders in the *Roman* Campe: teaching the souldiors, among other good lessons, to be obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themselves, as had beene their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their Generall. And now he appointed about fise thousand men to this Enterprife: whereof he committed the charge vnto *Scipio Aemilianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his owne sonnes by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a sonne of *Scipio the African*; the other, by one of the *Fabii*. *Scipio* tooke with him some light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretans*; but his maine strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, vpon the mountaine, consisted in a manner wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at some distance, they might doe notable service against those that should climbe vp vnto them; yet when the darknesse tooke away their ayme, they were liketo make a bad nights worke, being to deale with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceale the businesse about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* tooke a wrong way, towards the flect; where victuals were provided for their journey: it being noyed, that they were to runne along the coast of *Macedon* by sea, and wast the Countrey. All the while that they were passing the Mountaines (which was about three dayes) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set vpon *Perseus* where hee lay, rather to diuert the Kings attention from that which was his maine Enterprife, than vpon any hope to doe good, in seeking to get ouer *Enipeus*. The Chancellor of *Enipeus*, which receiued in Winter time a great fall of waters from the Mountaines, was exceeding deepe and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay welneare all drie, yet it serued not for those that were weightily armed to fight vpon. Wherefore *Aemilius* employed none saue his *Velites*; of whom the Kings light armature had advantage at farre distance, though the *Romans* were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which *Perseus* had rayed on his owne banke, did also beat vpon the *Romans*; and gaue them to vnderstand, that their labour was in vaine. Yet *Aemilius* persisted as he had begun; and continued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might haue serued to teach the *Macedonian*, that some greater worke was in hand: since otherwise a good Captaine, as *Aemilius* was knowne to be, would not haue troubled himselfe with making such brauadoes, that were somewhat costly. But *Perseus* looked only vnto that which was before his eyes: vntill his men, that came running fearefully downe the Mountaine, brought word into the Campe, That the *Romans* were following at their backes. Then was all full of tumult; and the King himselfe no lesse (if not more) amazed than anie of the rest. Order was forthwith giuen to dislodg: or rather without order, in all tumultuous hast, the Campe was broken vp, and a speedie retreat made to *Pydna*. Whether it were so, that they which had custodie of the passage weretaken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plaine force; *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good successe in their journey. It may well be, that they slept vntill the *Romans* came

came somewhat neare to them; and then taking alarme, when their arrowes and slings could doe little service, were beaten at handie stroakes: so as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an Epistle of *Scipio*, may each of them haue beene true. Thus was an open way cleared into *Macedon*: which had beene effected by *Martius* in the yeare fore-going; but was closed vp againe, through his not prosecuting so rich an opportunitie.

Perseus was in extreme doubt what course to take, after this vnhappy beginning. Some gaue aduice, to manne his Townes, and so to linger out the Warre: hauing beene taught by the last yeares example, how resolute the people were in making defence. But farre worse counsaile prevailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearefull deliberations. The King resolued to put all at once to hazard of battaile: fearing belike to put himselfe into anie one Towne, least that should be first of all besieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwayes are jealous) not ouer-carefully relucied, That his was euen the same that *Aemilius*, or anie inuador, should haue desired. So a place was chosen neare vnto *Pydna*, that serued well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewise on the sides of it some peeces of higher ground, fit for the archers and light armature. There he abode the coming of the enemy, who stayed not long behind him. As soone as the *Romans* had sight of the Kings Armie; which, with greater feare than discretion, had halted away from them, forsaking the Campe that was so notably well fortified: they desired nothing more, than to giue battaile immediately; doubting least otherwise the King should change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Consul; praying him not to loose occasion by delay. But *Aemilius* told him, That hee spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to haue patience. The *Romans* were tyred with their journey; had no Campe wherein to rest themselves; nor anie thing there, saue only the bare ground whereon they trode. For these and the like respects, the Consul made a stand; and shewing himselfe vnto the *Macedonians*, who did the like, in order of battaile; gaue charge to haue the Campe measured out and entrenched behinde the Armie; whereinto, at good leysure, hee fell backe, without anie manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped, both by the *Romans*, and by the *Macedonians*, that the matter shoud be determined; each part thinking their owne Generall too blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the King, he excused himselfe by the backwardnesse of the enemy; who advanced no further, but kept vpon ground (trusting ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other side, the Consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That euening (which followed the third of September, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former yeare beene Praetor, foretold vnto the Consul, and (with his good liking) vnto the armie, an Eclipse of the Moone, which was to be the same night: willing the souldiors not to be troubled therewith, for that it was naturall, and might be knowne long before it was seene. It was the manner of the *Romans*, in such Eclipses, to beat Pannes of Brasse and Balons, as wee doe in following a swarme of Bees; thinking, that thereby they did the Moone great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of *Sulpicius* conuerred their superstition into admiration of his deepe skill, when they saw it verified. Contrariwise, the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noyse as long as the Eclipse lasted: rather perhaps becaule it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodigie betokening their losse; since their desire to fight was no whit lessened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses doe signifie, or cause anie alteration in ciuill affaires, and matters that haue small dependance on naturall complexion: for the argument is too large. More wortheie of obseruation it is, how superstition captiuates the wisdom of the wisest, where the helpe of true Religion is wanting. *Aemilius*, though hee were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moone,

Moone, that it was no supernaturall thing, nor about the reach of humane vnderstanding, so as he should need to trouble himselfe with anie deuout regard thereof: yet could he not retrain from doing his dutie to this Moone, and congratulating with sacrifice her deluerie, as soone as she shone out bright againe: for which, hee is commended euen by *Plutarch*, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Salpicius* perhaps did not assist him in this foolish deuotion, yet is it like, that he, being a Senatour, and one of the Councell for Warre, was partaker the next morning in a Sacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no lesse foolish. For a great part of the day was vainely consumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleased with anie Sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good lucke in the entrailes of the beastes. 10
At length, in the bellie of the one and twentieth Sacrifice, was found a promise of victorie to *Æmylius*; but with condition, That hee should not giue the onfet. *Hercules* was a Greeke, and partiall, as nearer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than to the *Roman*. Wherefore it had bene better to call vpon the new Goddesse, lately canonized at *Alabanda*; or vpon *Romulus*, founder of their Citie, on whom the *Romans* had bestowed his Deitie; or (if a God of elder date were more authentically) vpon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of militarie affaires, and who therefore would haue limited his fauour, with no iniunctions contrarie to the rules of Warre.

Now concerning the Battaille; *Æmylius* was thoroughly persuaded, that the King meant to abide it; for that otherwise hee would not haue stayed at *Pydna*, when, as a little before, his leysure serued to retyre whither hee listed, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Consul thought that hee might wait vpon aduantage, without making anie great haste. Neither was it to bee neglected, that the morning Sunne was full in the *Romans* faces: which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoone. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Æmylius* sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder; there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about tenne of the clocke in the morning, a small occasion brought to passe that, which where to neither of the Generalls had ouer earnest desire. A horse brake loose at wa:ering; which two or three of the *Roman* souldiers followed into the riuer, wading after him vp to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further banke; whence a couple of *Thracians* ranne into the water, to draw this horse ouer to their owne side. These fell to blowes, as in a priuate quarrell; and one of the *Thracians* was slaine. His countenmen seeing this, halted to reuenge their fellowes death, and followed those that had slaine him ouer the riuer. Here vpon company came in, to helpe on each part, vntill the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the armies to be carefull of the euent. In fine, each of the Generalls placed his men in order of battaille, accordly as the maner of his Countrie, and the armes, wherewith they serued, did require. The ground was a flat leuell, save that on the sides a few hillocks were raised here and there; whereof each part might take what aduantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number, the *Romans* the better souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Consul encouraged their men with liuely words; which the present condition could bountifullly afford. But the King hauing finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himselfe into *Pydna*: there to doe sacrifice, as hee pretended, vnto *Liberales*. It is the lesse maruaile, that hee durst aduenture battaille, since hee had berthought himselfe of such a stratagem, whereby to save his owne person. As for *Hercules*, hee liked not the sacrifice of a coward: whose vnseasonable deuotion could be no better than hypocrisie. For hee that will pray for a good Haruest, ought also to Plow, Sowe, and Weede his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battaille, hee found it no better than lost: and hee, in looking to his owne safetie, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight. 40
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The acts of this day, such as we finde recorded, are, That the *Roman* Elephants could doe no manner of good; That the *Macedonian* *Phalanx* did so stoutly presse on wards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Æmylius* was therat much astonished; That the *Pelignians* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were ouerborne, many of them slaine, and the Squadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out aduerse to the *Romans*; and which the Consul beholding, is said to haue rent his coat-armour for griefe. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his deuoyre; the victorie might haue bin his owne. That which turned the fortune of the battaille, was the same which doubtlesse the Consul expected, euen from the beginning: the difficultie, or almost impossibilitie, of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilst some of the *Romans* small battallions pressed hard vpon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessarie (if the *Macedonians* would follow vpon those which were put to the worke) that some files hauing open way before them, should aduance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This coming so to passe, admonished the Consul, what was to bee done. The long pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little vse, when they were charged in flanke by the *Roman* Targettiers; according to direction giuen by *Æmylius*, when hee saw the front of the Enemies great battaille become vnequall, and the ranks in some places open, by reason of the vnequall resistance which they found. Thus was the vse of the *Phalanx* proued vnauailable against many small Squadrons, as it had bene formerly in the battaille of *Cyncephala*: yea, this forme of embattailing was found vnseasonable against the other, by reason, that being not euerie where alike distressed, it would brake of it selfe; though heere were little such inconuenience of ground, as had bene at *Cyncephala*. 50
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Perseus, when he saw his battaille begin to route, turned his bridle presently, and ranne a maine toward *Pella*. All his horse escaped, in a manner, vntouched, and a great number followed him; the little harme which they had taken, witnessing the little good seruice which they had done. As for the poore footes; they were left to the mercie of the Enemy: who slew about twentie thousand of them; though hauing little cause to be furious, as hauing lost, in that battaille, only some two-score, or sixscore men at the most. Some of the foot, escaping from the execution, ouertook the king & his company in a woods; where they fel to railing at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traytors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blowes. The King was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himselfe; and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company disperfed themselves: euery one as his owne occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within 40 awhile to lessen. For hee fell to deuiling vpon whom hee might lay the blame of that daies misfortune, which was most due to himselfe: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrink away from him, how they could. At his coming to *Pella*; hee found his Pages and household seruants, readie to attend him, as they had bin wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battaille, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholike time, there were two of his *Treasurers* that had the boldnesse to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their vnseasonable admonitions, hee stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in feare, lest they that refused to come at his call, should thorowly dare 50 some greater mischief; hee stole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends hee had with him onely *Eumenes* (who had bene employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delphi*) and two other. There followed him likewise about five hundred *Cretians*: more for love of his money, than of him. To these he gaue of his plate, as much as was worth about

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fiftie talents, though shortly he coozened them of some part thereof; making shew as if hee would haue redeemed it; but neuer paying the moncy. The third day after the battaile hee came to *Amphipolis*; where hee exhorted the townsmen to fidelitie, with teares; and his owne speech being hindered by teares, appointed *Euander* to speake what himselfe would haue vttered. But the *Amphipolitans* made it their chiefe care, to looke well to themselves. Vpon the first fame of the ouerthrow, they had emptied their towne of two thousand *Thracians* that lay therein garrison: sending them forth vnder colour of a gainefull employment, and shutting the gates after them. And now to bee ridde of the King; they plainly bad *Euander* be gone. The King hearing this, had no minde to tarrise: but embarking himselfe and the treasure which hee had there, in certaine vessels that hee found in the riuer *Strymon*; passed ouer to the Isle of *Samothrace*: where he hoped to liue safe, by priuiledge of the religious Sanctuarie therein.

These miserable shifts of the King make it the lesse doubtfull, how all the kingdom fell into the power of *Emilius*, within so few dayes after his victorie. *Pydna* which was neereat hand, was the last that yelded. About fixe thousand of the souldiours, that were of sundrie Nations, fled out of the battaile into that Towne; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. *Hippius* who had kept the passage ouer *Ossa* against *Martius*, with *Pantauchus*, who had bene sent Embassadour to *Gentius* the *Thyrian*, were the first that came in: yeelding themselves and the Towne of *Bereia*, whither they had retired out of the battaile. With the like message came others from *Thessalonies*, from *Pella*, and from all the Townes of *Macedon*, within two dayes: the losse of the head bereauing the whole bodie of all sense and strength. Neither did they of *Pydna* stand out any longer, when they knew that the King had forsaken his Countrey: but opened their gates vpon such termes, that the sacke of it was granted to the *Roman* armie. *Emilius* sent abroad into the Countrey, such as hee thought meetest, to take charge of other Cities: hee himselfe marching towards *Pella*. Hee found in *Pella* no more than three hundred talents; the same whereof *Perseus* had lately defrauded the *Thyrian*. But within a little while hee shall haue more.

It was soone vnderstood, that *Perseus* had taken Sanctuarie, in the Temple at *Samothrace*: his owne letters to the Consul, confirming the report. He sent these letters by persons of such meane condition; that his case was pittied, for that hee wanted the seruice of better men. The scope of his writing was, to desire fauour: which though hee begged in termes ill becoming a King; yet since the iniquity of his Epistle was, *King PERSEVS to the Consul PAVLVS*; the Consul, who had taken from him his Kingdom, and would not allow him to retain the Title, refused to make answer thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could bee expected: whereby hee craued and obtained, that some might bee sent to conferre with him about matters of his present estate. Neuertheless in this conference, hee was marueilous earnest, that he might bee allowed to retain the name of King. And to this end it was perhaps, that hee had so carefully preferred his treasure, vnto the very last: flattering himselfe with such vaine hopes as these; That the *Romans* would neither violate a Sanctuarie, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him haue his desire to liue at ease, and be called King. Yea it seemes that hee had indeede, euen from the beginning, a desire to liue in this Isle of *Samothrace*: both for that in one of his consultations about the war, he was dehorted by his friends, from seeking to exchange his Kingdom of *Macedon*, for * such a paltry Iland; and for that hee offered to lay vp the money which *Eme-*

L. lib. 45.

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ner demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But hee findes it otherwise. They vrge him to giue place vnto necessitie, and without more adoe, to yeeld to the discretion and mercie of the people of *Rome*. This is so farre against his minde, that the conference breakes off without effect. Presently there arriues at *Samothrace* *Cn. Octavius* the *Roman* Admirall, with his fleet: who assaies, as well by terrible threats, as by faire language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole; wherein, for feare of imprisonment, he had imprisoned himselfe. When all would not serue, a question was moued to the *Samothracians*: How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiuing into it one that had violated the like holypriuiledge of 10 Sanctuarie, by attempting the murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quicke. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and send word to the King, That *Euander*, who liues with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact committed at *Delphi*, whereof vnlesse he can cleare himselfe in iudgement, hee must not be suffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reuerence borne to his Majestic, now past, makes them forbear to say, that *Perseus* himselfe is charged with the same crime. But what will this auail, when the minister of the fact being brought into iudgement, shall (as is to be feared) appeale the author? *Perseus* therefore willets *Euander* to haue consideration of the little fauour that can bee expected at the *Romans* hand, 20 who are like to bee presidents and ouerscers of this iudgement: so as it were better to die valiantly, since none other hope remains, than hope to make good an ill cause; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not helpe him. Of this motion *Euander* seemes to like well; and either kills himselfe, or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get payson wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandement. The death of this man, who had sucked to *Perseus* in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forsake him: so as none are left with him, save his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leaue him vpon this occasion, will tell perillous tales, and say, That the King hath lost the priuiledge of this holy 30 Sanctuarie, by murdering *Euander* therein. Or if the *Romans* will affirme so much, who shall dare to gainsay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formalitie, and euen that also lyable to dispute, which prefers him from captiuitie; hee purpoceth to make an escape, and flye, with his Treasures, vnto *Corys* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one shippe; who easily was persuaded to wait the King thence. With all secretie the Kings money, as much as could bee so conveyed, was carried aboard by night; and the King himselfe, with his wife and * children (if rather it were not true, that hee had with him onely * *Philip* his elder sonne, who was onely by adoption his sonne, being his * brother by nature) with much adoe got out at a window by 40 a rope, and ouer a mudde wall. At his comming to the Sea side, hee found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretians* had played a *Cretian* trick, and hee was gone with the money to his owne home. So it began to waxe cleare day, whilest *Perseus* was searching all along the shoare: who had stayed so long about this, that hee might feare to be intercepted ere hee could recover the Temple. Here ranne therefore amaine towards his lodging; and thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, lest hee should bee taken; hee hid himselfe in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him, ranne vp and downe making enquire; till *Octavius* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatsoever, abiding with their master in *Samothrace*, should haue their liues and libertie, with all to them 50 belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they should presently yeeld themselves to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise *Ion*, a *Thessalonian*, to whom the King had giuen the custodie of his children, deliuered them vp to *Octavius*. Lastly, *Perseus* himselfe,

S. f. 111. 2

with

Plutarch in vit.
Antony
L. lib. 45.
L. lib. 42.

with his sonne Philip, accusing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him; rendered himselfe, and made the *Roman* victorie complete. If hee had not trusted in those gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of liuing, than offraigning therein; hee might well haue brought this Warre to a happier end. Now, by diuiding his cogitations, and purling, at once, those contrarie hopes of sauing his Kingdome by armes, and himselfe by flight; hee is become a spectacle of miserie, and one among the number of those Princes, that haue bene wretched by their owne default. Hee was presently sent away to *Amylius*; before whom hee fell to the ground so basely, that hee seemed thereby to dishonour the victorie ouer himselfe, as gotten vpon one of abject qualitie, and therefore the lesse to bee esteemed. *Amylius* vsed to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for hauing, with so hostile a minde, made Warre vpon the *Romans*. Hereto good answere might haue bene returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, hee answered all with a fearefull silence. Hee was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consul rearmed it) almost assurance; for that such was the mercie of the People of *Rome*. After these good words, being inuited to the Consuls Table, and respectiuey entreated, hee was committed prisoner to *Q. Elius*.

Such end had this *Macedonian* Warre, after foure yeeres continuance; and such end therewithall had the Kingdome of *Macedon*; the glorie whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then knowne, was now translated vnto *Rome*.

§. IX.

GENTIVS, King of the *Illyrians*, taken by the *Romans*.



* Called now
Scutari.

About the same time, and with like celeritie, *Anicius* the *Roman* Prætor, who succeeded vnto *App. Claudius*; had the like successe against King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. *Gentius* had an Armie of fifteene thousand; with which hee was at *Lissus*, readie to assist King *Perseus*; as soone as the money should come, whereof hee had receiued onely tenne Talents. But *Anicius* arrested him on the way; fought with him; ouercame him; and draue him into **Scodra*. This Towne was verie defensible by nature, besides the helpe of fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, assisted with the Kings presence, made it seeme vnpossible to bee wonne, in any not a very long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late victorie; and therefore presented his Armie before the walles, making countenance to giue an assault. The *Illyrians*, that might easily haue defended themselves within the Towne, would needes issue forth and fight. They were, it seemes, rather passionate than courageous: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yielding. The King sent Embassadors; by whom, at first, hee desired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had layed violent hand on the *Roman* Embassadors, to haue recourse to such mediation. But hee thought his owne fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harme done by him, than the casting of those Embassadors into prison; where they were still aliue. Hauing obtained three dayes respite, hee passed vp a Riuer, within halfe a myle of the *Roman* Campe, into the Lake of

See-

Scodra, as it were to consult the more priuately; though indeede, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother *Caracantius* was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such helpe was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to returne into *Scodra*. Hee sent messengers crauing access vnto the Prætor: before whom hauing lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonestie, was not so great as his folly present) hee fell downe humbly, and yielded himselfe to discretion. All the Townes of his Kingdome, together with his wife, children, brother, and friends, were presently giuen vp. So this Warre ended in thirtie dayes: the People of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun; vntill *Perpenna*, one of the Embassadors that had bene imprisoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had passed.

§. X.

How the *Romans* behaued themselves in Greece and *Macedon* after their victory ouer *PERSEVS*.



Now began the *Romans* to swell with the pride of their fortune; and to looke tyrannically vpon those that had bene vnmanly toward them before, whilst the Warre with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embassadors were still at *Rome*, when the tidings of these victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them doe their errand againe. This they performed with bad grace; saying, that they were sent from *Rhodes* to make an ouerture of peace; forasmuch as it was thought, that this Warre was no lesse grievous to the *Romans* themselves, than to the *Macedonians* and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalfe of the *Rhodians* did congratulate with the Senate and People of *Rome*; that it was ended much more happily than had bene expected. Hereto the Senate made answer, That the *Rhodians* had sent this Embassage to *Rome*, not for loue to *Rome*, but in fauour of the *Macedonian*; whose partizans they were, and should be taken, By these threats, and the desire of some (couetous of the charge) to haue Warre proclaimed against *Rhodes*; the Embassadors were so affrighted, that in mourning apprell, as humble suppliants, they went about the Citie; beseeching all men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance for some foolish words. This danger of Warre from *Rome* being knowne at *Rhodes*, all that had bene any whit auerfe from the *Romans* in the late Warre of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or sent prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that flue themselves for feare, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and lesse would haue done, if olde *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehemēt, had not vttered a milde sentence, and aduertised the Senate, That in decreeing Warre against *Rhodes*, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that Citie, which they were greedie to ransacke, than any iust cause, had moued them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the Warres of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whome, none of any make remained aliue, saue those that had bene of the *Roman* Faction. All which notwithstanding, many yeeres passed, ere by importunate suit, they could bee admitted into the societie of the *Romans*: a fauour which till now, they had not esteemed, but thought themselves better without it, as equal friends.

With the like, or greater seueritie, did the *Romans* make themselves terrible in

§. 3

* *Caesar in ora,*
apud Salust.
de coniur. Cat.
lib. 1.

all parts of Greece. *Amphilus* himselfe made progresse through the Countrey; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure: yet not forgetting to make them understand what power hee had over them. More than five hundred of the chief citizens in *Demetrius* were slaine at one time by those of the *Roman* faction, and with helpe of the *Roman* souldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Consul; the redresse was such, as required not the paines of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed vnto the *Romans* the liberty of their Countrey, hee sealed like a King, with excessive cheere, yet so, that hee had all things very cheape in his. Came an easie matter, since no man durst be backward in lending prouisions, nor set on them the due price. Embassadors likewise were sent from *Rome*, some, to giue order for settling the estate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate than was vsuall in such cases; and some, to visit the affaires of Greece. The Kingdome of *Macedon* was set at liberty by *Amphilus* and the Embassadors, his assistants, who had order therefrom from the Senate. But this liberty was such as the *Romans* vsed to bestow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had beene payed vnto the Kings, was lessened by halfe. As for the rest, the Countrey was diuided into foure parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobilitie were sent captiue into *Italy*, with their wives and children, as many as were aboute fiftene yeeres old. The ancient Lawes of the Countrey were abrogated; and new giuen by *Amphilus*. Such mischief the Senate thought it better to doe, at the first alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leaue any inconuenience that should bee worse in the future. But concerning the *Greekes*, that were not subiects to *Rome*; the things done to them could deserue no better name than meere tyrannie, yea and shamelesse priuery; were it not so, that the familiar custome, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oathes of confederation seeme of no validitie. The Embassadors that were sent to visit the *Greekes*, called before them all such men of note, from euery quarter, as had any way discovered an vnscrutable disposition towards the *Romans*. These they sent to *Rome*; where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the *Romans* hands: and in that respect, though they were no subiects, yet wanted there no colour, for vsing them as traitors, or at least as enemies. But since onely two men were beheaded, for hauing bene openly on the *Macedonian* side; and since it is confessed, that the good *Patriotes* were no lesse afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyrannie. With the *Achaens* these Embassadors were to deale more formally: not so much because that Common-wealth was strong (though this were to bee regarded by them, hauing no Commission to make or denounce Warre) and like to proue vntractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of signe, by letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the *Achaens* could be suspiciously charged to haue held correspondence with the *Macedonian*. It was also, that neither *Callicrates*, nor any of his adherents, had bene employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their seruice to the *Romans*, but onely such as were the best *Patriotes*. Yet would not therefore the Embassadors neglect to vse the benefit of the time: wherein, since all men trembled for feare of *Rome*, the season serued fitly to ranke the *Achaens* with the rest. And hereto *Callicrates* was very vrgent: fearing, and procuring them to feare in behalfe of him and his friends, that if some sharpe order were not now taken, hee and his fellows should bee made to pay for their mischievous devices, ere long time passed. So the Embassadors came among the *Achaens*: where one of them, in open assembly of the Nation, spake as *Callicrates* had before instructed him. Hee said, that some of the chiefe among them, had with money and other meanes befriended *Perseus*.

This

This being so; he desired that all such men might be condemned, whom, after sentence giuen, he would name vnto them. After sentence giuen (cried out the whole assembly) what iustice were this? name them first, and let them answer; which if they cannot well doe, we will soone condemne them. Then said the *Roman* boldly, that all their Prætors, as many as had led their armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence; then should I like wife haue bene friend to *Perseus*: whereof, if any man can accuse me, I shall thoroughly answer him, either here presently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Vpon these words of *Xenon* the Embassador laid hold, and said that euen so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not vntill hee had cited aboute a thousand, willing them to appeare, and answer before the Senate. This might euen be tearmed the captiuitie of Greece; wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause than their loue vnto their Countrey; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that vertue, and regard of the publike libertie, should dwell together in any of the *Greekes*. At their comming to *Rome*, they were all cast into prison, as men already condemned by the *Achaens*. Many Embassages were sent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondered, that any such honest care of these innocent men could bee remaining: since honestie had bene thus punished as a vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to informe the Senate, that these men were neither condemned by the *Achaens*, nor yet held to bee offenders. But in stead of better answer it was pronounced; That the Senate thought it not expedient for the Countrey, that these men should returne into *Achaia*. Neither could any sollicitation of the *Achaens*, who neuer ceased to importune the Senate for their libertie, preuaile at all, vntill after seuentene yeeres, fewer than thirtie of them were enlarged, of whom that wise and vertuous man *Polybius*, the great Historian was one. All the rest were either dead in prison, or hauing made offer to escape, whether vpon the way before they came to *Rome*, or whether out of iayle, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done vpon the *Epirots*. For the Senate being desirous to preserue the *Macedonian* Treasure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiours, gaue order, That the whole Countrey of *Epirus* should be put to sacke. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by *Amphilus* with mischieuous subtiltie. Hauing taken leaue of the *Greekes*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to vse the libertie bestowed vpon them by the people of *Rome*; he sent vnto the *Epirots* for tenne of the principall men out of euery Citie. These he commanded to deliuer vp all the Gold and Siluer which they had; and sent along with them, into euery of their Townes, what companies of men he thought conuenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gaue secret instruction to the Captaines, that vpon a certaine day by him appointed, they should fall to sacke, euery one the Towne whereinto hee was sent. Thus in one day were threescore and tenne Cities, all confederate with the *Romans*, spoiled by the *Roman* Souldiours; and besides other acts of hostility in a time of peace, a hundred and fiftie thousand of that Nation made slaues. It may be granted, that some of the *Epirots* deserued punishment, as hauing fauoured *Perseus*. But since they, among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had ben already sent into *Italy*, there to receiue their due; and since this Nation, in general, was not onely at the present in good obedience, but had, euen in this warre, done good seruice to the *Romans*: I hold this act so wicked, that I should not beleeeue it, had any one Writer deliuered the contrarie. But the truth being manifest by consent of all; it is the lesse marvellous, that God was pleased to make *Amphilus* childlesse, euen in the glorie of his triumph, how great fouler otherwise his vertues were.

In

In such manner dealt the *Romans*, after their victory, with the *Greekes* and *Macedonians*. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad; it will appeare by the efficacye of an Embassage sent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof before we speake, we must speake somewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himselfe, and of his affaires about which these Embassadours came.

p. XI.

The Warre of *ANTIOCHVS* vpon *Egypt*, brought to end by the Roman Embassadours.

Strab. lib. 16.
Iust. lib. 35.

Euseb. in Cron.
App. de bell. Syr.
Ant. 12. cap. 5.

Dion. 11. v. 31.

Mac. cap. 3.

Mac. 2. 13.
Super Eccl. 5. 5.

ANTIOCHVS the Great, after his peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his raigne and life. He died the six and thirtieth yeere after he had worne a Crowne, and in the seventeenth or eighteenth of *Ptolemie Epiphanes*: while hee attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Iustine*) of *Iupiter*. Hee left behinde him three sonnes, *Seleucus Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom hee had giuen in marriage to *Ptolemie Epiphanes*, King of *Egypt*. *Seleucus* the fourth of that name, and the eldest of *Antiochus* his sonnes; raigned in *Syria* twelue yeeres, according to *Eusebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpitius*: though *Iosephus* giue him but seuen. A Prince, who as hee was slothfull by nature; so the great losse which his father *Antiochus* had received, tooke from him the meanes of managing any great affaire. Of him, about three hundred yeeres before his birth, *Daniel* gaue this judgement, *Es sedit in loco eius vilissimus & indignus decore regio*. And in his place (speaking of *Antiochus* the Father of this man) *ball'st up a wilde person, unworthy the honor of a King*. Vnder this *Seleucus*, those things were done which are spoken of *Onias* the High Priest, in these words, and other to the same effect: *What time as the holy Citie was inhabited with all Peace, because of the godlinesse of ONIAS the Priest, it came to passe, that euen the King did honor the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts*. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of *Maccabees*, of *Simon* of *Beniamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the Treasures of the Temple: and of *Heliodorus* sent by the King to seize them; of his miraculous striking by God, and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the Kings death, and of his successor *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the raigne of this King, that the bookes of the *Maccabees* take beginning. Which bookes seeme not to bee deliuered by one and the same hand. For the first booke, although it touch vpon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his storie, nor of the acts of his successors, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother and successor of this *Seleucus*; from whom downward to the death of *Simon Maccabees* (who died in the hundred threecore and seuenteenth yeere of the *Greekes* in *Syria*) that first booke treateth. The Author of the second booke, although he take the Story somewhat further off, by way of a Proeme, yet hee endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth yeere of the *Grecian* raigne, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slaine by *Judas*: remembering in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Iafon* the brother of *Onias*, who after the death of *Seleucus*, preuailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his successor for the Priesthood. It is also held by *Ianinius* and other graue Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arrius* King of the *Spartans* sent Embassadours to the *Jewes*, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence betwene them and the *Greekes*, *Jonathan* the brother and successor of *Judas*, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himselfe directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Nomenius* and *Antipater* his Embassadours, whom hee employed at the same time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arrius* had sent to *Onias* the High Priest, whereto *Iosephus* addes,

addes, that the name of the *Lacedemonian* Embassador was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and were sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her claws.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and seuen and thirtieth yeere of the *Greekes* in *Syria*. Hee was the second sonne of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his Kingdom by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also hee vsurped from his brothers sonne.

Ptolemie Philometor, his Nephew by his sister *Cleopatra*, being then very yong, had been about seuen yeeres King of *Egypt*.

Ptolemie Epiphanes, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had raigned in *Egypt* foure and twenty yeeres; in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of *Macedon*, and the great *Antiochus*, had agreed to diuide his Kingdom between them, whilst hee was a child. But they found such other busines, ere long, with the *Romans*, as made them giue out their vniust purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gaue, with his daughter in marriage, vnto this *Ptolemie*, the Provinces of *Callosyria*, *Phenice*, and *Iudaea*, which hee had wonne by his victory ouer *Scopas*, that was General of the *Egyptian* forces in those parts. Neuerthelesse, *Ptolemie* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby hee liued in the greater securitie. Hee left behind him two sons; this *Ptolemie Philometor*, and *Ptolemie Physcon*, with a daughter, *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom shee was cast off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these *Egyptian* Kings.

Ptolemie Philometor, so called (that is, the louer of his mother) by a bitter nickname, because hee slew her, fell into hatred with his subjects, and was like to be chased out of his Kingdom, his younger brother being set vp against him. *Physcon* having a strong party, got possession of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himselfe in *Memphis*, craving succour of King *Antiochus* his vncl. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who vnder colour to take vpon him the protection of the young Prince, fought by all meanes possible to possesse himselfe of that Kingdom. Hee sent *Apollonius* the sonne of *Mnesibius* Embassadour into *Egypt*, and vnder colour to assill the Kings Coronation, hee gaue him instructions to perswade the Gouvernours of the yong King *Philometor*, to deliuer the King his Nephew with the principall places of that Kingdom into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and desire of his Nephewes safety and well doing. And the better to answere all argument to the contrary, hee prepared a forcible armie to attend him. Thus came hee alongst the coast of *Syria* to *Ioppe*, and from thence on the sudden hee turned himselfe towards *Ierusalem*, where, by *Iafon* the Priest (a Chaplin fit for such a Patron) hee was with all pompe and solemnitie receiued into the Citie. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the brother and predecessour of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traitor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when hee would haue deliuered the treasures thereof to *Apollonius* Gouvernour of *Callosyria* and *Phenice*, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from heauen; the said *Apollonius* being shrunken by the Angel of God, and recovering againe at the prayer of *Onias*: yet sufficent not this example to terrifie others from the like vngodly practices. Presently vpon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Iafon*, the brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtaine the Priesthood for himselfe, offered vnto the King three hundred and threecore talents of siluer, with other rents and summes of money. So hee got his desire, though hee not long inioyed it.

This naughty dealing of *Iafon*, and his being ouer-reached by another in the same kinde, calls to minde a by-word taken vpon among the *Acheans*, when as that mischieuous *Calliocrates*, who had bene too hard for all worlde and vertuous men, was beaten at his owne weapon, by one of his owne condition. It went thus:

One

One fire than other burnes more forcibly,
 One Wolfe than other Walues does bite more fore;
 One Hawke than other Hawkes more swift does fly;
 So one most mischievous of men before,
 CALLICRATES, false knave as knave might be,
 Met with MENALCIDAS more false than he.

And euen thus fell it out with *Isafon*: who within three yeeres after, was betrayed, and ouerbidden by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Priethood for himselfe: *Isafon* thereupon being forced to flee from *Ierusalem*, and to hide himselfe among the *Ammonites*.

From *Ierusalem*, *Antiochus* marched into *Phoenicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of warre, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into *Egypt*; with which, and with a mighty armie of land-forces, he went about to raigine ouer *Egypt*, that he might haue the dominion of two Realmes, and entred *Egypt* with a mighty company, with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Train, and moued warre against *PTOLEMEVS* King of *Egypt*, but *PTOLEMEVS* was afraid of him, and fled, and many were wounded to death. He was many strong Cities, and tooke away the spoiles of the Land of *Egypt*. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecie of *DANIEL*: He shall enter into the quiet and plentifull Provinces, and he shall do that which his Fathers haue not done, nor his Fathers Fathers. Neuer indeed had any of the Kings of *Syria* so great a victorie ouer the *Egyptians*, nor tooke from them so great riches. For hee gaue a notable ouerthrow to the Captaines of *Ptolemie*, betweene *Pelufum* and the hill *Casius*, after which he entred, and sackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *ANTIOCHVS* had smitten *Egypt*, hee turned againe, and went up towards *Irac* and *Ierusalem* with a mighty people, and entred proudly into the Sanctuary, and tooke away the golden Altar, and the Candlestick for the light, and all the instruments thereof, and a table of the Shew-bread, and the Pouring Vessels, and the Bowles, and the golden Basins, and the Vails, and the Crownes, and the golden Apparell. Hee tooke also the Silver and the Gold, and the precious Jewels, and the secret Treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his owne Land, after he had murdered many men.

It was about the beginning of the *Macedonian* warre, that *Antiochus* tooke in hand this *Egyptian* businesse. At what time he first layd claime to *Calofyria*; iustifying his title by * the same allegations which his father had made; and stiffely auerring, that this Province had not bene consigned ouer to the *Egyptian*, or giuen in dowrie with *Cleopatra*. Ealie it was to approue his right vnto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a faire way to get all *Egypt*. The *Acheans*, *Rhodiens*, *Athenians*, and other of the *Greekes*, pressed him, by seuerall Embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was, that if the *Alexandrines* could be contented to receiue their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolemies*, then should the warre be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when hee saw, that it was an hard piece of worke to take *Alexandria* by force: hee thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselves with intestine warre, than by the terrour of his armes, threatening destruction vnto both of them, to put into them any desire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the present; leaving the *Ptolemies* in very weak estate; the younger, almost ruinated by his inuasion; the elder hated and forsaken by his people.

But how weak fouer these *Egyptians* were, their hatred was thought to bee so strong, that *Antiochus* might leaue them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at good leisure, his other businesse at *Ierusalem* or elsewhere. So after the sacke of *Ierusalem*, he rested him while at *Antioch*; and then made a iourney into *Cilicia*, to suppress the Rebellion of the *Thurians* and other in those parts: who had bin giuen, as it were, by way of dowry, to a Concubine of the Kings, called *Antiochis*. For

Gouernour

Gouernour of *Syria* in his absence, he left one *Andronicus* a man of great authoritie about him. In the meane while *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the same who had thrust *Isafon* out of the Priethood, and promised the King three hundred talents for an Income, committing the charge of the Priethood to his brother *Lysimachus*, stole certaine vessels of gold out of the Temple: whereof he presented a part to *Andronicus* the Kings Lieutenant, and sold the rest at *Tyre*, and other Cities adjoining. This he did, as it seemeth, to aduance the payment of the three hundred talents promised; the same being now by *Softratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Priest (formerly dispossessed by *Isafon*) had certaine knowledge, being moued with zeale, and detesting the sacrilege of *Menelaus*, hee reprooued him for it; and fearing his reuenge, he withdrew himselfe into a Sanctuary at *Daphne*.

Daphne was a place of delight adjoining as a suburb to *Antioch*. In compass it had about ten milles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, sweete Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abused to lust, and other such voluptuousnesse. Whether it were well done of *Onias*, to commit himselfe to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claime priuiledge, from the holines of a ground consecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not stand to discourse. Only I say for mine owne opinion; that the inconuenience is far lesse, to hold this booke as *Apocryphall*, than to iudge this fearfull blift which

Onias (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable, or allowable, as the booke seemes to doe. As for this refuge, it could not saue the life of the poore old man: for *MENELAYS* taking *ANDRONICVS* apart, prayed him to slay *Mac. li. 24.4.* *ONIAS*. So when he came to *ONIAS*, he counselled him craftily, giuing him his right hand with an oath, and perswading him to come out of the Sanctuary, so he slew him incontinently without any regard of righteousness. Hereof when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his returne out of *Cilicia*, hee tooke away *ANDRONICVS* his garment of purple, and rent his clothes, and commanded him to be led throughout the Citie, and in the same place where hee had committed the wickednesse against *ONIAS*, hee was slaine as a murderer. In taking reuenge of this innocent mans death, I should haue thought that this wicked King had once in his life-time done Iustice. But presently after this, at the suit of one *Ptolemie*, a traytor to *Ptolemie Philometor*, he condemned innocent men to death; who iustly complained against *Menelaus*, and his brother *Lysimachus*, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the vessels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his owne outrageous will, and not by any regard of iustice: since hee reuenged the death of *Onias*, yet slue those that were in the same cause with *Onias*; who, had they told their cause, yet, before the *Scythians*, they should haue been heard as innocent. By reason of such his vntheadinesse, this King was commonly termed *Epi manes*; that is, made, in stead of *Epi phanes*, which signifieth Noble or Illustrious.

After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a second voyage into *Egypt*, and then were there seene throughout all the Citie of *Ierusalem*, for sy dayes long, horsemen running in the ayre with robes of gold, and as bands of Spear men, and as troupes of Horsemen set in aray, encountering and coursing one against another. Of these prodigious signes, or rather forewarnings of God, all Historiours haue deliuered vs, some more, some lesse. Before the destruction of *Ierusalem* by *Vespasian*, a Barric in the forme of a sword appeared in the Heauens directly ouer the Citie, after which there followed a slaughter like vnto this of *Epi phanes*, though farre greater. In the *Cymbrian* warres, *Pliny* tells vs, that Armies were seene fighting in the ayre from the morning till the euening.

In the time of Pope *Iohn* the eleuenth, a fountaine poured out blood in stead of water, in or near the Citie of *Genoa*; soone after which the Citie was taken by the *Saracens*, with great slaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signes, *Vespera* hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one seemeth to me the most memorable, because the most notorious. All men know, that in the Emperour *Nero*, the

Mercur. Vespera de Prodigi. lib. 8. Vespera de Vespere & sacrore lib. 10.

Off-spring

Off-spring of the *Cæsars*, as well naturall as adopted, toke end; whereof this notable signe gaue warning.

Sueton. Calig.

When *Linia* was first married to *Augustus*, an Eagle let fall into her armes a white Henne, holding a Lawrell branch in her mouth. *Linia* cauted this Henne to bee carefully nourished, and the Lawrell branch to be planted: Of the Henne came a faire encrease of white Poultry, and from the little branch there sprang vpon time a Grove of Lawrell: so that afterwards, in all Triumphs, the Conquerours did vie to carrie in their bands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Grove, and after the Triumphs ended, to set it againe in the same ground: which branches were obserued, when they happened to wither, to fore-shew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last yeere of *Nero*, all the broodes of the white Hennes died, and the whole Grove of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the *Cæsars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Augustus* his hand, were stricken downe with lightning. That the *Jewes* did not thinke such strange signes to bee unworthy of regard; it appeares by their calling vpon God, and praying, that these tokens might turne to good.

Now, as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into *Egypt* was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning: so was his second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolemie* being left in *Memphis*, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended *Alexandria* against all the power 20 of their vncle; thought it the best way to seeke entrance into that royall Citie, rather by perswasion than by armes. *Physcon* had not as yet forgotten the terror of the former siege: the *Alexandrines* though they loued not *Philometor*, yet loued they worse to liue in scarcity of victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreme) since nothing was brought in from the Countrey; and the friends of the younger brother saw no likelihood of good issue to bee hoped for without reconconciliation. These good helpes, and aboue all these, the louing disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philometor* in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the feare wherein hee stood of his vncle. For though *Antiochus* were gone out 30 of *Egypt* with his armie; yet had hee left behinde him a strong garrison in *Pelusium*, retaining that Citie, which was the Key of *Egypt*, to his owne vie. This consideration wrought also with *Physcon*, and with those that were about him; so 25 by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their sister, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the newes of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, hee was greatly enrag'd: for notwithstanding that hee had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the King *Philometor* his nephew, and a meaning to subiect his younger brother vnto him, which he gaue in answer to all Embassadors; yet hee now prepared to make sharpe warre vpon them both. And to that end hee presently furnished and sent out his Naue towards *Cyprus*, and drew his land Armie into *Celestria*, readie to enter *Egypt* the Spring following. When he was on his way as fast as *Rhinocorura*, he met with Embassadors sent from *Ptolemie*. Their errand was partly to yeeld thanks to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philometor* in his Kingdome; partly to beseech him, That hee would rather bee pleased to signifie what hee required to haue done in *Egypt*, which should bee performed, than to enter it as an enemie with so puissant an Armie. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, That he would neither call backe his Fleete, nor withdraw his Armie, vpon any other condition, than that *Ptolemie* should surrender into his hands together with the Citie of *Pelusium*, the whole Territory thereto belonging: and that hee should also abandon and leaue vnto him the Ile of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had vnto either of them for cuer. For answer vnto these demands, hee set downe a day certaine, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the *Syrian* Fleete entred *Nilus*, and recovered as well those pla-

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ces which appertained to *Ptolemie* in *Arabia*, as in *Egypt* it selfe; for *Memphis*, and all about it, receiued *Antiochus*, being vnable to resist him. The King hauing now no stoppe in his way to *Alexandria*; passed on thitherwards by easie journeyes.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein *Egypt* stood, the *Romans* had notice long agoe. But they found, or, were contented to finde, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a ciuill warre: and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the iuster cause. Yet they gaue signification, that it would be much displeasing vnto them, to haue the Kingdome 10 of *Egypt* taken from the rightful owners. More they could not, or would not doe; being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loth to prouoke *Antiochus* too farre. Neuerthelesse, the *Egyptian* Kings being reconciled, and standing joyntly in neede of helpe against their vncle, who prepared and made open warre against them both: it was to be expected, that not onely the *Romans*, but many of the *Greekes*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefites, should arme in defence of their Kingdome. *Rome* had bene sustained with food from *Egypt*, in the warre of *Hannibal*, when *Italy* lying waste, had neither corne, nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By helpe of the *Egyptians*, had *Attalus* laide the foundation of that greattresse, whereto the *Acheans* attained. And by the like helpe, had 20 *Rhodes* bene defended against *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were these friendly turnes, which that bountifull house of the *Ptolemies* had done for sundry people abroad, ill followed, or seconded, by other as bad in requittall: but with continuance of stable beneficence, from time to time encreased. Wherefore the two brothers sent abroad confidently for ayde; especially to the *Rhadians* and *Acheans*, who seemed most able to giue it effectually. To the *Romans*, *Physcon* and *Cleopatra* had sent, a yeere since; but their Embassadors lay still in *Rome*. Of the *Acheans* they desired in particular, that *Lyortas* the braue warriour might bee sent to them, as Generall of all the *Auxiliaries*, and his sonne *Polybius*, Generall of the Horse. Heereunto the *Acheans* readily condescended: and would immediately 30 haue made performance; if *Callicrates* had not interposed his mischievous arte. Hee, whether seeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiousnesse to the *Romans*; or much rather enuying those Noble Captaines, whose seruice the Kings desired; withstood the common voyce, which was, That their Nation should, not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, be ayding vnto the *Ptolemies*. For it was not now (hee saide) convenient time to entangle themselves in any such buisnesse, as might make them the lesse able to yeeld vnto the *Romans*, whathelpe forer should bee required in the *Macedonian* warre. And in this sentence, hee with those of his faction, obitainely persisted; terrifying others with bigge wordes, as it were in behalfe of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that 40 *Martius* the late Consull had signified vnto him, that the *Romans* were past all neede of helpe: adding further, that a thousand foote, and two hundred horse, might well bee spared, to the ayde of their Benefactors, the *Egyptian* Kings, without disabling their Nation to performe any seruice to the *Romans*; for as much as the *Acheans* could without trouble, raise thirtie or fortie thousand Souldiours. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken, by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree should haue passed; hee brought into the Theater where the assembly was held, a Messenger with letters from *Martius*; whereby the *Acheans* were desired to conforme themselves to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour as the Senate had 50 done, by sending Embassadors to set *Egypt* in pence. This was an aduice against all reason. For the Senate had indeed sent Embassadors to make peace; but as in a time of greater buisnesse elsewhere, with such milde wordes, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely, that the *Acheans* should doe any good in the

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same kinde. Yet *Polibius* and his friends, durst not gaine-say the *Romane* Councell; which had force of an injunction. So the Kings were left in much distresse; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perseus* overcome: and then might the Embassador sent from the *Romane* Senate, performe as much as any *Arme* could haue done.

Audience had bene lately given by the Senate, vnto those Embassadors of *Physon* and *Cleopatra*; which hauing stayed more then a whole yeere in the City, brought nothing of their businesse to effect vntill now. The Embassadors deliuered their message in the name of those that had sent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometor*, no lesse than his Brother and Sister.

Polyb. Legat. 72.

In this Embassage of *Ptolemie*, now requesting helpe from *Rome*; appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had bene before three or foure yeeres last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which beganne with the *Macedonian* Warre; either he, or *Eulaeus*, or *Lenaxus* (vpon whom the blame was afterwards layd) which had the government of him, thought his affaires in such good estate, that not onely he determined to let vpon *Antiochus*, for *Calestria*; but would haue interposed himselfe betweene the *Romans* and *Perseus*, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his Embassage was by a friend perswaded to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts, hee fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his brother and subiects, to liue vnder protection of the same *Antiochus*. And now at such time as by atonement with his brother and subiects, hee might haue seemed to stand in no neede of such protection, hee hath remaining none other helpe whereby to saue both his Kingdome and life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and sister shewed it selfe, even in the habit of those Embassadors. They were poorly clad; the haire of their heades and bearded ouer-grownne, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their handes, branches of *Oliue*. Thus they entred into the Senate; and there fell, groueling and prostrate vpon the floor. Their garments were not so meane and mournfull, nor their looks and Countenances so sad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other farre more lamentable. For hauing told in what danger their King and Countrey stood; they made a pitifull and grievous complaint vnto the Senate, beseeching them to haue compassion of their estate, and of their Princes, who had alwayes remained friendly and faithfull to the *Romans*. They saide that the people of *Rome* had so much heretofore fauoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authority, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleased but to send their Embassadors, and let *Antiochus* know, that the Senate was offended with his vndertaking vpon the King their Confederate; then would he presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and with-draw his *Arme* out of *Egypt*, into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or vsed any delay; then should *Ptolemie* and *Cleopatra*, be shortly driuen out of their Realmes, and make repaite to *Rome*, with shamefull dishonour to the Senate, and people thereof, in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieue them.

The Lords of the Senate moued with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenus*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hostilius*, as Embassadors to determine and end the warre betweene those Kings. In commission they had first to find King *Ptolemie*, and then *Antiochus*, and to let them both vnderstand, that vnlesse they surceased, and gaue ouer *Armes*, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate, and people of *Rome*, whom they found obstinate, or vsing delay. So these *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrine* Embassadors, tooke their leaue, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whilest

Whilest *Popilius* and his fellows were on their way toward *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had transported his *Arme* ouer *Lusine*, some fortie myles from *Alexandria*. So neere was hee to the end of his journey, when the *Roman* Embassadors met him. After greeting and salutations at their first encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Rolle of paper; willing him to reade those Mandates of the Senate, before hee did anie thing else. *Antiochus* did so; and hauing a little while considered of the businesse, hee tolde *Popilius*, That hee would aduise with his friends, and then giue the Embassadors their answer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinarie blunt manner of speech, which hee had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as hee might report to the Senate, before hee moued out of that Circle. The King astonished at this so rude and violent a Commandement, after hee had stayed and pawled awhile, I will be content (quoth he) to doe whatsoever the Senate shall ordaine. Then *Popilius* gaue vnto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allice of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt*, without anie good issue of his costly Expedition; euen in such manner as *Daniel* had prophesied long before: yea, fulfilling euerie particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischief to *Ierusalem* after his returne; like as if these things had rather bene historified than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embassadors, they stayed awhile, and settled the Kingdome of *Egypt*, leaving it vnto the elder brother, and appointing the younger to raigne ouer *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they left, as it had bene, in the power of the *Egyptian*, hauing first sent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had alreadye giuen an ouerthrow to the *Egyptian* Ships.

Dan. cap. 11. ver. 43, 44, 45.

§. XII.

How the *Romans* were dreadfull to all Kings. Their demeanour towards *Eumenes*, *Prusias*, *Masanissa*, and *Cotys*. The end of *Perseus* and his children. The instabilitie of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of *Paulus*, *Anticus*, and *Octavius*. With the Conclusion of the Worke.

BY this peremptorie demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Message; and by the readie obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; wee may perceiue how terrible the *Romans* were growne, through their conquest of *Macedon*. The same *Popilius* had bene well contented, a yeare before this, to lay aside the roughnesse of his naturall condition, and to giue good language to the *Acheans* and *Etolians*, when hee went Embassage to those people of *Greece*, that were of farre lesse power than the King *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other Embassadors which came from *Rome*, in such sort, as they complained not, much lesse vsed anie menacing tearmes, though hee performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes sent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the victorie ouer *Perseus*, and to craue helpe or countenance of the Senate against the *Gallio*grees, which molested him. Verie welcome was *Attalus*, and louingly entertained by most of the Senators: who bade him be confident, and requested of the Senate

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* Liu. lib. 45.

* Polyb. Legat.
93.

polyb. lib. 4.

his brothers Kingdome for himselfe; for it should surely be giuen him. These hopefull promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that hee cyther approued, or seemed to approue the motion. But his honest nature was soone reclaýmed by the faithfull counsaile of *Stratius* a Physician; whome *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keepe his brother vpright. So, when hee came into the Senate, hee deliuered the crand about which hee had bene sent; recounted his owne seruices done to the *Romans* in the late Warre,* wherewithall hee forgot not to make of his brother as good mention as he could: and finally requested, That the Townes of *Aenus* and *Maronea* might be bellowed vpon himselfe. * By his omitting to sue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceiued opinion, 10 that he meant to craue another day of audience for that businesse alone. Wherefore, to make him vnderstand how gracious hee was, they not only graunted all his desire; but in the presents which they gaue to him (as was their custome to Embassadors that came with an acceptable message) they vsed singular magnificence. Neuertheless, *Attalus* tooke no notice of their meaning; but went his way, contented with what they had already graunted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilst hee was yet in *Italie*, they gaue order for the libertie of *Aenus* and *Maronea*: thereby making vneffectuall their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, reuoke. And as for the *Gallogrecques*, which were about to invade the Kingdome of *Pergamus*; they sent Embassa- 20 dours to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate beeing so manifest; *Eumenes* thought it worthe of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. Hee might well blame the follie of his second voyage thither, for this necessitie of the third: since, by his malice to *Perseus*, hee had layed open vnto these ambitious Potentates the way to his owne dores. No sooner was he come into *Italie*, than the Senate was readie to send him going. It was not thought expedient to vse him as an enemy, that came to visit them in loue: neyther could they, in so doing, haue auoided the note of singular inconstancie: and to entertaine him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would per- 30 mit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to *Rome*; and by vertue thereof sent him home, without expence of much further complement.

Prusias King of *Bithynia* had bene at *Rome* somewhat before; where he was welcommed after a better fashion. Hee had learned to behaue himselfe as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or desire. For entring into the Senate, hee lay downe, and kissed the threshold, calling the *Fathers* his gods and fauours: as also hee vsed to weare a Cap, after the manner of slaues newly manumitted, professing himselfe an enfranchised bondman of the People of *Rome*. Hee was indeede naturally a slaue, and one that by such abject flatterie kept himselfe 40 safe; though doing otherwise greater mischief than anie wherewith *Perseus* had bene charged. His errand was, besides matter of complement, to commend vnto the Senate the care of his sonne *Nicomedes*, whome he brought with him to *Rome*, there to receiue education. Further petition he made, to haue some Townes added to his Kingdome: whereto, because the graunt would haue bene vnjust, hee receiued a cold answer. But concerning the Wardship of his sonne, it was vnderaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to *Egypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to consider, what effectuall protection the *Romans* gaue vnto the children of Kings, that were to their patronage commended.

But aboue all other Kings, *Masaniissa* held his credit with the *Romans* good. 50 His quarrels were endlesse with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendship of the *Romans* to him the more assured. In all controuersies they gaue judgement on

on his side: and whereas hee had inuaded the Countrey of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but vnable to winne the Townes; the *Romans* (though at first they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let goe all their hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to the *Numidian*, for hauing hindered him of his due so long. Now indeede had *Rome* good leysure to deuise vpon the ruine of *Carthage*: after which, the race of *Masaniissa* himselfe was shortly by them rooted vp. But hereof the olde King neuer dreamed. Hee sent to *Rome* one of his sonnes, to congratulate the victorie ouer *Perseus*; and offered to come thither himselfe, there to sacrifice for joy vnto *Iupiter* in the Capitol. His good will was louingly accepted; his sonne rewarded; and hee entreated to stay at home.

Cotys the *Thracian* sent Embassadors, to excuse himselfe touching the aide by him giuen to *Perseus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hostages; and to entreat, That his sonne, which was taken with the children of *Perseus*, might be set at libertie for conuenient ranfome. His excuse was not taken; since hee had voluntarily obliged himselfe to *Perseus*, by giuing hostages, without necessitie: Yet was his sonne giuen backe to him ranfome-free; with admonition, to carrie himselfe better toward the *Romans* in time following. His Kingdome lay betwene *Macedon* and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in faire tearmes.

As for those vnhappy Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, they were ledde through *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of *Emilius* and *Anicius*. *Perseus* had often made suite to *Emilius*, that hee might not be put to such disgrace: but hee still receiued one skornefull answer, That it lay in his owne power to preuent it; whereby was meant, that hee might kill himselfe. And surely, had hee not hoped for greater mercie than hee found, hee would rather haue sought his death in *Macedon*, than haue bene beholding to the courtesie of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the *Roman* 30 clemencie, wherof *Emilius* had giuen him hope, was no better than this: After that hee, and his fellow King, had bene ledde in chaynes through the streetes, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remained without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot vp towards the Capitol, there to doe sacrifice, hee should command the captiues to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honour of the Vanquisher, and miserie of those that were ouercome, might be both together at the vtmost. This last sentence of death was remitted vnto *Perseus*: yet so, that hee had little joy of his life; but cyther famished himselfe, or (for it is diuersly reported) was 40 kept watching perforce by those that had him in custodie; and so died for want of sleepe. Of his sonnes, two died; it is vn certaine how. The youngest called *Alexander* (onely in name like vnto the Great, though defined sometimes perhaps by his father, vnto the fortunes of the Great) became a Ioyner, or Turner, or, at his best preferment, a Scribe vnder the *Roman* Officers. In such poeuerie ended the Royall House of *Macedon*: and it ended on the suddaine; though some eightscore yeares after the death of that Monarch, vnto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If *Perseus* had knowne it before, that his owne sonne should one day be compelled to earne his liuing by handie-woke, in a painefull Occupation; it is 50 like, that he would not, as in a wantonneffe of Soueraigneticke, haue commaunded those poore men to be slaue, which had recouered his treasures out of the sea, by their skill in the feat of diuing. He would rather haue bene verie gentle, and would haue considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most vnderodden wretches, are all subject vnto One high Power, governing all alike with absolute command.

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But such is our unhappinesse; in stead of that blessed counsaile, *Doe as yee would be done vnto*, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicitie; wee entertaine that arrogant thought, *I will be like to the Most High*: that is, I will doe what shall please my selfe. One hath said truly:

Journal Sat. 10.

— u — Et qui volunt occidere quenquam
Possunt volunt —

*Even they that haue no murtherous will,
Would haue it in their power to kill.*

10

All, or the most, haue a vaine desire of abilitie to doe euill without controule: which is a dangerous temptation vnto the performance. God, who best can judge what is expedient, hath graunted such power to verie few: among whom also, verie few there are, that vse it not to their owne hurt. For who sees not, that a Prince, by racking his Soueraigne authoritie to the vtmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his owne person) some one of his owne sonnes or nephewes to root vp all his progenie? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other nearnesse in blood, be driuen to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that gouernes one, the most vnworthie of his whole 20 house, yet raigning ouer all? The vtminely death of manie Princes, which could not humble themselves to such flatterie; and the common practice of the *Turkish* Emperours to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofes hercof. Hereto may be added, That the heire of the same *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered most traiterously and barbarously King *Edward* the second; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heire apparent to the Crowne of *England*: which had been obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortall enemy, to exercise the same vpon the Line of that unhappie King. Such examples of the instabilitie 30 the transitorie Gods of Kingdomes, not to authorize, by wicked precedents, the euill that may fall on their owne posteritie: so doe they necessarily make vs vnderstand, how happie that Countreie is, which hath obtained a King able to conceiue and teach, That "God is the freest and sharpest Schoolemaister, that can be devised, for such Kings, as thinke this world ordained for them, without controulment to turne it upside-downe at their pleasure.

*The true Law
of free Mon-
archies.

Chap. 3. §. 4.

Now, concerning the Triumph of *L. Aemilius Paulus*; it was in all points like vnto that of *T. Quintius Flaminius*: though farre more glorious, in regard of the Kings owne person, that was led along therein, as part of his owne spoyle; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest and of the Bootie. So great was the quantitie of Gold and Silver carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasure, that from thenceforth, vntill the ciuill Warres, which followed vpon the death of *Julius Caesar*, the Estate had no need to burthen it selfe with anie Tribute. Ycr was this noble Triumph likely to haue bene hindered by the souldiors; who grudget at their Generall, for not hauing dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate ouer-ruled the People and Souldiors herein, and brought them to reason by seuerer exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enjoyed as much honour of his victorie as men could giue. Neuerthelesse, it pleased God to take away from him his two remanyn sonnes, that were not giuen in adoption: of which, the one died fife dayes before the Triumph; the other, three dayes 50 after it. This losse hee bore wisely: and told the People, That hee hoped to see the Commonwealth flourish in a continuance of prosperitie; since the joy of his victorie was requited with his owne priuate calamitie, in stead of the publike.

About

About the same time, *Octavius* the Admirall, who had brought *Perseus* out of *Samothrace*; and *Anicius* the Pretor, who had conquered *Ilyria*, and taken King *Genetius* prisoner; made their severall triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles; together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts; and Kings, either visiting the Imperiall Citie, or offering to visit her, and doe their dutie in person; were enough to say vnto *Rome*, *Sonne super biam*, Take upon thee the *Maisie*, that thy deserts haue purchased.

BY this which we haue already set downe, is scene the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectours thought, that they could neuer haue ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We haue left it flourishing in the middle of the field; hauing rooted vp, or cut downe, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the stormes of ambition shall beat her great boughes and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off, her limbes wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her downe.

Now these great Kings, and conquering Nations, haue bin the subiect of those ancient Histories, which haue bene preserved, and yet remaine among vs; and 20 withall of so many tragical Poets, as in the persons of powerfull Princes, and other mightie men haue complained against Infidelitie, Time, Destinie, and most of all against the Variable successe of worldly things, and Instabilitie of Fortune. To these vndertakings, the greatest Lords of the world haue bene stirred vp, rather by the desire of *Fame*, which ploweth vp the Airc, and soweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation, and so many cares. And that this is true, the good aduice of *Cineas* to *Pyrrhus* proues. And certainly, as *Fame* hath often bene dangerous to the liuing, 30 so is it to the dead of no vse at all, because separate from knowledge. Which were it otherwise, and the extreme ill bargain of buying this lasting discounte, vnderstood by them which are dissolued; they themselves would then rather haue wished, to haue stolne out of the world without noyse; than to be put in minde, that they haue purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression, and crueltie, by giuing in spoile the innocent and labouring soule to the idle and insolent, and by hauing emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them againe with so many and so variable sorts of sorrowes.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germanes*, which had neither greatesse nor continuance) there hath bene no State fearefull in the East, but that of the *Turke*; nor in the West any Prince that hath sped his wings farre ouer his nest, but the *Spaniard*; who since the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the 40 *Moores* out of *Granado*, haue made many attempts to make themselves Masters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the treasures of both *Indies*, and by the many Kingdomes which they possesse in *Europe*, they are at this day the most powerfull. But as the *Turke* is now counterpoised by the *Persian*, so in stead of so many Millions as haue been spent by the *English*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a defenseless war, and in diuersions against them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but for two yeares or three at the most, they may not only be persuaded to liue in peace, but all their swelling and ouerflowing streames may be brought backe into their naturall channels and old banks. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be 50 regarded; the one seeking to roote out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the truth and sincere profession thereof, the one to joyne all *Europe* to *Asia*, the other the rest of all *Europe* to *Spain*.

For the rest, if we seeke a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundlesse ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which hath bin already said; That

That the Kings and Princes of the world haue alwayes laid before them, the actions, but not the ends of those great Ones which preceded them. They are alwayes transported with the glorie of the one, but they neuer minde the miserie of the other, till they find the experience in themselves. They neglect the aduice of GOD, while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsell of Death, vpon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdom of the world, without speaking a word; which GOD with all the words of his Law, promises, or threats, doth not infuse. *Death*, which hateth and destroyeth man, is beleeced; GOD, which hath made him and loues him, is alwayes deferred. *I haue considered* (saith SALOMON) *all the works that are vnder the Sunne, and behold, all is vanitie, to and vexation of spirit*: but who beleeceth it, till Death tells it vs? It was Death, which opening the conscience of Charles the first, made him enjoyne his sonne Philip to restore *Nauarre*; and King Francis the first of France, to command that justice should be done vpon the Murderers of the Protestants in *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himselfe. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but Abiects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them crie, complaine, and repent, yea, euen to hate their forepassed happinesse. He takes the account of the rich, and proues him a begger; a naked begger, which hath interest in nothing, but in the grauell that fills his mouth. He holds a Glasse before the eyes of the most beautifull, and makes them see therein, their deformitie and rotnenesse; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, iust and mightie Death! whom none could aduise, thou hast perswaded, what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawne together all the farre stretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and couered it all ouer with these two narrow words, *Hic iacet*.

Lastly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calles it selfe, The first part of the *Generall Historie of the World*, implying a *Second* and *Third* Volume; which I also intended, and haue hewne out; besides many other discouragements, ³⁰ perswading my silence, it hath pleased GOD to take that glorious Prince out of the world, to whom they were directed; whose vnspokeable and neuer enough lamented losse, hath taught me to say with Iob, *Versa est in Luctum*
Cithara mea, & Organum meum in
vocem flentium.

FINIS.

To the Reader.



The use of Chronologicall Tables is needfull to all Historiographers, that reach to any length of time; and most of all, to those that are most generall: since they cannot, like *Annales*, yearly set downe all Occurrences not coherent. This here following, may serue as an Index to the present Part of this Worke; pointing vnto the severall matters, that hauing fallen out at one time, are furre disioyned in the Relation. Certainly it is not perfect: neither doe I thinke, that anie can be. For howfewer the years of the first Patriarchs may seeme to haue bene well-neere complet, yet in the reignes of the Kings of Iuda and Israel, wee finde manie frictions, and the last yeare, or yeares, of one King reckoned also as the forme of another. The same is most likely to haue fallen out in manie other; though not so precisely recorded. Hereto may be added the diuerse and imperfect formes of the year, which were in use among sundrie Nations: causing the * Summer * Sec. Lib. 1. 12. Months, in proesse of some Ages, to fall into the Winter; and so breeding extreme confusion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, to chuse, out of so manie, and so utterly discrepant computations, as haue already gotten authority, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deal more, is to be alleged, in excuse of such error as a more intente and perfect Calculator shall happen to finde herein. It may serue to free the Booke, and likewise the Reader (if but of meane iudgement) from anie notorious Anachronicisme; which ought to suffice. The Booke indeed will need it, euen in that regard; not onely for some errors of the Presse, in the numbering of yeares, but for some battie mis-reckonings of mine owne; which I desire to haue hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this Table shall not want carefull diligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the rest, shall finde reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his owne ease.

The Titles ouer the Columns, haue reference to that which followes vnder them; ³⁰ as will readily be concerned. Where two Titles or more, are ouer the head, as ^{Rome} ^{Nation} ^{off} ^{for} there doe the numbers underneath answer proportionably, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example: The walls of Ierusalem were finished in the 319. yeare from the building of Rome, and in the 314. from NABONASSAR. In like manner it is to be understood, That IEHOSOPHAT began his reign in the 374. of the IULIAN Era, in the 3092. of the world, and in the 99. yeare of the Temple. This needs not more illustration; nor indeede so much, to those that are acquainted with workes of this kinde. To auoid prolixitie, I haue forborne to insert those yeares, which I finde not signed with some regardable accident: as with the birth or death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings Raigne; some change of Government; some

⁴⁰ Battail fought; or the like. So, of the 12. yeares wherein SYLVIVS CAPETVS reigned ouer the Latines, I note onely the first; that is, omitting all betweene the 4. of IEHOSOPHAT, wherein CAPETVS began, vnto the 17. wherein SYLVIVS AVENTINVS succeeded, and wherein IEHORAM first reigned with IEHOSOPHAT his father. For I thinke it vaine to haue filled up a Page with 12. lines of idle cyphers; numbring forth 2. 3. 4. 5. and so still onwards, till I had come to the first of AVENTINVS, and 17. of IEHOSOPHAT. In setting downe the Kings, there is noted ouer the head of euerie one, what place he held in order of Succession; as whether he were the first, second, fift, seventh, or so forth in ranke, of those that reigned in his Countrey, without notable interruption. Before the name is the first yeare of his raigne; at the end, or foot of the name, as the space giues leaue, is the whole number of yeares in which he reigned; in the spaces following underneath are those yeares of his, which were concurrant with the beginning of some other King, or with the yeare of anie remarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name, there is it to be understood, that the same yeare belonged, not onely to the King then beginning, but vnto some one, or more, of his

To the Reader.

his fore-gears: as the first year of JEROMAH King of Israel was the same with the second of his brother AHZIA, and the 22^d. of his father AHAB. So, where two or three names are found in one place; as in the 307th. year of the World, ZIMRI, TIBNI, and OMRI: it is meant, that *curie* one of them reigned in some part of the same year; which is reckoned the second of ELA, and the first of OMRI. Particularly, under the years of the Egyptian Kings are set downe the years of those DYNASTIES, which it was thought meet to infer; as likewise, otherwise, the day of the month upon which NABONASSARS year began: which, how it varied from other yeares, may be found in the place left above cited.

Concerning the *Ætior* account of yeres: from IPIITVS, who began the Olympiads, to from Rome built, from NABONASSAR, and the like; as much as was thought convenient hath bene said, where due place was, in the Booke itselfe: so as it remaineth onely to note, that vnder the title of Olympiads is set downe first the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the yeare of that Olympiad: as that CYRVS began his reigne in Persia, in the 55. Olympiad, and the first yeare thereof.

Now, for that the *Years of the World, of the Olympiads, of Rome, of NABONASSAR*, and other, had not beginning in one month, but some of them in March, some in April, some about Midwinter, and some at other times: the better to express their several beginnings; some painful Chronologers have divided them proportionally in their several Columns; opposing part of the one year to part of the other: not (as I have here done) cutting all overboard with one [straight line, as if] all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I shew'd, as more troublesome than useful; since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and since the learned might well be without it. It will only be needfull to observe, that howsoever the *Æra of the Olympiads* be 24. years older than that of *Rome*, and 29. than that of *NABONASSAR*, yet the *Æra of some King* may have begun at such a time of the year as did not juſt with this difference. But hereto I take little regard. The more curious will easily find my meaning: the vulgar will not finde the difficulty. One familiar example may plane all. *Queene ELIZABETH* began her reigne the 17. of November, in the year of our LORD 1558. Shee was crowned; held a Parliament; brake it up; threw downe Images; and reformed many things in Religion; all in her first year: yet not all in that year 1558, but the greater part in the year following; whether we begin with the first of Januare, or with the 25. of March. The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table; but so, as the difference is never of a whole year.

The IULIAN Period, which I have placed, as the greater number, over the years of the World, was devised by that honorable and excellently learned JOSEPH SCALIGER: being accommodated to the IULIAN years, now in use among us. Its consisteth of 7980 years; which result from the multiplication of 19.28. and 15; that is, of the Cycle of the Moon, the Cycle of the Sunne, and the years of an Indiction. Being divided by any of these, it leaves the number of the present year; or if no fraction remaine, it shewes the last year of that Cycle to be current. For example: in the 4498. of this Period, when was fought the great battaile of Cannæ, the Prime or Golden number was 14, the Cycle of the Sunne 18, and consequently the Dominical letter F. as may be found by dividing the same number of the IULIAN Period 4498, by 19 for the Prime, by 28, for the Cycle of the Sunne. This IULIAN Period, after the present account, alwayes exceeds the years of the World by 682. Besides the former uses, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a year, than any other Era (as From the beginning of the World, From the Flood, From Troy taken, or the like) which are of more uncertaine position.

More I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conversant in workes of this kinde: it sufficeth if hereby all be made plaine enough to the vulgar.

Indians

A
CHRONOLOGICALL TABLE.

YEERES OF THE JULIAN PERIOD,
WORLD, PATRIARCHS, &c.

[illegible]

	<i>Indian, The World</i>	<i>Enos.</i>	<i>Cainan.</i>	<i>Maha- laleel.</i>	<i>Iared.</i>	<i>Me- thusa- lah.</i>	<i>Lamech.</i>	<i>Noah.</i>	<i>Sem.</i>											
Enos dyed.	1822 1140	905	815	745	680	453	266	84												
Cainan dyed.	1917 1235		910	842	775	548	361	179												
Mahaleel dyed this year.	1972 1290			895	830	603	416	234												
Iared dyed.	2104 1422					735	584	366												
Flora threatened, GEN. 6. 3.	2219 1537					850	663	481												
	2241 1559					872	685	503	Sem. 600											
Lamech dyed.	2333 1651					964	777	595	93											
Methuselah dyed the year after the Flood. Noah came into the Ark. C. 7. 5. 8. & 9. The Flood.	2338 1656					969		600	98											
The Flood ceased. Noah issued out of the Ark.	2339 1657							601	99											
		<i>Indian, World, Flood.</i>	<i>Noah.</i>	<i>Sem.</i>	<i>1. Ar- phaxad</i> 438															
	2341 1659		603	101																
	2376 1694		638	136	36	1. Sa- lah.	1422													
	2406 1724		668	166	66	31	1. He- ber.	464												
	2440 1758		702	200	100	65	35	1. Pe- leg.		Kings of Af- ryia.										
	2470 1788		732	230	130	95	65	31	1. Reu. 239	1. Nim- rod.	114									
	2502 1820		764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33.	1. Sa- rah.	Kings of Af- ryia.								
Vide lib. 2. c. 2. §. 2.	2530 1848		792	290	190	155	125	91	61	61	29	1. Cham 161								
	2552 1850		824	322	222	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1. Na- hor.							
	2561 1859		823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30	1. Te- rah.						
	2584 1902		846	344	244	209	179	145	115	2 65	83	55	53	24						

	<i>Indian, World, Flood.</i>	<i>Noah.</i>	<i>Sem.</i>	<i>Arpha- xad.</i>	<i>Salah.</i>	<i>Heber.</i>	<i>Peleg.</i>	<i>Reu.</i>	<i>Affryia.</i>	<i>Saryn.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Nahor.</i>	<i>Terah.</i>	<i>Kings of Saryn.</i>
	2618 1936 279	880	378	278	243	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	1. Egi- ptian.
	2649 1967 210	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	1. N. J. 1916. 52	148	120	118	89	32
	2670 1988 221	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	141	139	110	2. E. 1. Egi- ptian.
The last year of Peleg his life.	2678 1996 229	940	438	338	303	275	239	209	30	177	149	147	118	9
The death of Nahor.	2679 1997 240	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10
Noah dyed this year.	2688 2006 249	950	449	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19
The 14. Dynasty in Egypt. 1. c. 1. §. 3. 4. 5. & 6.	2691 2009 252		451	351	316	286		222	43	190			131	22
	2701 2019 262		461	361	326	296		232	44	191			141	32
The last year of Reu.	2708 2026 269		468	368	333	303		239	8	207	18		148	39
	2715 2033 276		475	375	340	310			15	214	25		155	25
The last of Saryn.	2731 2049 292		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	41
		<i>Indian, World, Flood.</i>	<i>Sem.</i>	<i>Arphaxad.</i>	<i>Salah.</i>	<i>Heber.</i>	<i>Affryia.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Terah.</i>	<i>Saryn.</i>	<i>Abraham.</i>			
	2735 2053 296		495	395	360	330	33	45	175		4	1. Aps.	25	45
	2743 2061 404		503	403	368	338	5	53	183		9		53	
	2760 2078 421	520	420	385	355	318	18	70	200		1. Theleion or Thelion.		70	
Abram receives the Promise. Vide lib. 1. c. 1. §. 2. 3.	2765 2083 416	525	425	390	360	323	23	75	205		6		75	
Abram enters into Canaan and dwells there. The first of the years of Sem's life.	2766 2084 417	526	426	391	361	324	24	76	206		7			
Abram returns into Canaan.	2767 2085 418	527	427	392	362	325	25	77	207		8			
Abram in his old age. The last of his life. 1. c. 1. §. 3. 4. 5. & 6.	2775 2093 425	535	435	400	370	330	26	78	208		9			
Isaac born.	2777 2095 427	537	437	402	372	332	27	79	209		10			
Arphaxad dies.	2778 2096 428	538	438	403	373	333	28	80	210		11			

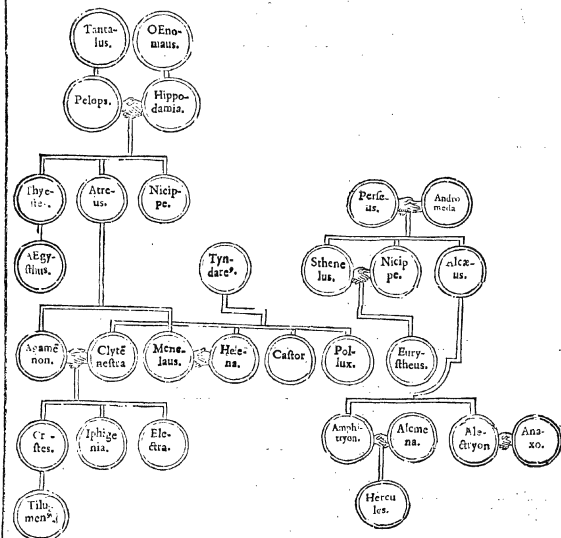
	<i>Julian, World, Promis.</i>	<i>Sem.</i>	<i>Salah.</i>	<i>Heber.</i>	<i>Abra- ham.</i>	<i>Affria</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Sicyon.</i>		
	1781 1099 16	541	406	376	91	6 1. Ari- us 20	91	22		
<i>Isaac borne when Abraham was 100 years old complete 101. current.</i>	2791 2109 26	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	1. Isaac 180	
<i>The last yeere of Salah.</i>	2808 2126 42	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18	
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121	7 1. Ara- him 40	121	52	21	
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 1. Aegy- ptus 34	22	
<i>Sarah the wife of Abraham dyed this yeere.</i>	2827 2145 62	587		422	137	17	137	16	37	
<i>Isaac took Rebecca to wife, when he was 40. yeeres old complete.</i>	2831 2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41	
<i>The last yeere of Sem.</i>	2840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50	
	<i>Julian, World, Promis.</i>	<i>Heber.</i>	<i>Abra- ham.</i>	<i>Isaac.</i>	<i>Iacob.</i>	<i>Affria</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Sicyon.</i>	<i>Ar- gines.</i>	
	2846 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	7 1. Tim- otheus 43		
	2857 2169 86	446	161	61	1. Iacob 147	8 1. Ba- leu 7	161	6 1. Ina- chus 50	1	
<i>Abraham dyed this yeere.</i>	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15	
<i>Heber dyed this yeere.</i>	2869 2187 104	464		77	19	19	179	24	19	
<i>The 17. Dynestie, called of the Shep- herds, beginning this yeere, lasted 103. yeeres.</i>	2881 2199 116			91	31	9 1. Ima- mides 18	191	36	31	
	2891 2209 126			101	41	11	201	8 1. Leup- tus 33	41	
	2901 2219 126			111	51	21	211	11 1. Ptero- nem 60	2	
<i>The flood of Ogyges, a thousand and twenty yeeres before the Olympiads. See L.1.c.7.§.2.</i>	2919 2237 154			129	69	10 1. Beluch Drifus 31	229	29	19	
	2943 2260 177			152	92	24	252	52	42	1. Ia- seph 110
	2944 2262 179			154	94	26	254	9 1. Iesla sim 47	44	3
<i>See L.2. c.2. §.6.</i>	2952 2270 187			162	102	34	262	3 & 4 1. Tiphis, and after him Herul. 75	9	51
	2954 2272 189			164	104	11 1. Ba- leu 52	264	3	11	54

	<i>Julian, World, Promis.</i>		<i>Isaac.</i>	<i>Iacob.</i>	<i>Affria</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Sicyon.</i>	<i>Argines.</i>		
<i>Joseph sold into Egypt.</i>	1959 2277 104		169	109	6	5 1. Ima- mides 11	16	52	18	
	2961 2279 196		171	111	8	3 1. Ima- mides 11	18	1. I. Ipsi- tis 24	20	
<i>The last yeere of Isaac.</i>	2970 2288 205		180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29	
<i>Israel into Egypt.</i>	2980 2298 215			130	27	22 100	37	20	30	
<i>The eighteenth Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 348. yeeres.</i>	2984 2102 219			144	31	26 1	41	24	43	
	2991 2309 226			141	38	33 10 1. Peta- rus 26	31	31	50	
	2996 2314 221			146	43	3 1. Ima- mides 4	6	1. I. Ipsi- tis 24	53	
<i>Iacob dyes in Egypt.</i>	2997 2315 222			147	44	39 1	7	3	56	
	<i>Julian, World, Promis.</i>	<i>Joseph.</i>	<i>Affria.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Sicyon.</i>	<i>Argines.</i>				
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. Alu- des 32	48 22	16	11				
	3037 2355 272	96	32	79 54	11 1. Ima- mides 4	42				
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1. Mam- us 30	80 55	2	43				
<i>The last yeere of Joseph.</i>	3051 2369 286	110	14	93 68	15	56				
	3066 2384 301		29	103 83	30	5 1. Peta- rus 26				
	3068 2386 303		14 1. Mam- us 30	110 85	32	3				
	3074 2392 309		7	6 1. Ipsi- tis 24	38	9				
	3085 2403 320		18	13 102	12 1. Orri- chus 6	20				
	3098 2416 323		15 1. Spher- us 20	25 110	14	33				
	3107 2425 242		10	1 1. Ipsi- tis 24	23	42				
	3116 2434 351	1. Ipsi- tis 24	19	10 133	32	51				

	Julian World, Promise.	Moses	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.	
	3118		16				
	2436	3	1. Mamilas, or Mamelus. 20	12	34	53	
	353			135			
	3120					6	
	2438	5	3	14	36	1. Phor bas. 35	
	355			137			
	3121			8			
	2439	6	4	1. Or ² , 2. or Bn firis. 38. 138	37	2	Aibe- vians.
	356						
	3148		17		13		
	2466	33	1. Sparatus. 40	28	1. Marathius. 20	29	
	383			165			
	3151					1	
	2460	36	4	31	4	2. Lurpi. 50	
	386			168			
Moses visits his brethren the Israelites; kills an Egyptian, and flies into Midian.	3155					7	
	2473	40	8	35	8	1. Tria- pat. 46	5
	390			172			
	3159		12	9	12	5	9
	2477	44		1. Tharmis, or A. tembris. 22. 13.			
	394			176			
	3171			10			
	2489	56	24	1. Ratbaris, or tebaris. 9. 186	24	17	21
	406						
	3178			14			
	2496	63	31	8	1. Marathus. 20.	24	28
	413			195			
	3180			11			
	2498	65	33	1. Cheres. 16	3	26	30
	415			197			
	3188		18				
	2506	73	1. Acatades. 40	9	11	34	38
	422			205			
Moses his wonders in Egypt.	3195	80	8	16	18	41	45
	2513			212			
	420						
	Julian, World, Exodus.	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens
The Passover. Israel delivered out of Egypt. Pha- raoh drowned. The Law given. The first of the 480 years from Exodus to building the Temple.	3196			12			
	2514	81	9	1. Achereis. 8.	19	42	46
	1			213			
The Flood of Deucalion, and Conflagra- tion of Phaeton about this time.	3198			15			
	2516	83	11	3	1. Echireus. 55.	44	48
	2			215			
	3201			8		2	
	2519	86	14	6	4	1. Cret- pus. 21	10
	6			218			
	3204		17	13			
	2522	89		1. Cherres. 15	7	4	4
	9			221			
	3211		24	8	14	11	
	2529			228			
	16						
	3219		32	14		19	9
	2537	104		1. Arneus, or Danaus. 5. 436.	22		
	24						
	3222					9	
	2540	107	35	4	25	1. Echene- mus. 11	12
	27			239			

	Julian, World, Exodus.	Moses	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens	
	3223							
	2541	108	36	5	26	2	4	1. Enlila- mus. 30
	28			240				
	3224			15				
	2542	109	37	1. Rameffes. 68	27	3	2	Troy.
	29			241				
	3228		19					
	2546	113	1. Amyntas. 45	5	31	7	6	
	33			245				
	3229							
	2547	114	2	6	32	8	7	1. Darda- nus. 64
	34			246				
	3233					10		
	2551	118	6	10	36	1. Da- nanus. 30	11	5
	38			240				
The last year of Moses.	3235							
	2553	120	8	12	38	3	13	7
	40			252				
	Julian, World, Exodus.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens	Troy.
The Israelites enter the Land of Promise.	3236	1						
	2554	1. Josua 18	9	13	39	4	14	8
	41			247				
	3253				16			
	2571	18	26	30	1. Corax. 30	21	31	25
	58			270				
	3254	2						
	2572	1. Orbo- mel. 40	27	31	2	22	32	26
	59			271				
	3273		20				5	
	2591	20	1. Belochus the second. 25.	50	21	41	1. Pan- dion. 46	45
	78			290				
	3283					17	11	
	2601	30	11	60	1. Epopeus. 35	1. Lyn- ceus. 41	11	55
	88			200				
	3292			16				
	2610	39	20	1. Menophis. 109 40.	10	10	20	64
	97			210				
	3293						2	
	2612	40	21	2	11	11	21	1. Enlila- mus. 64
	98			210				
	3294		3					
	2612	1. Ebnas 80	22	3	12	12	22	2
	99			311				
	3298		21					
	2616	5	1. Belopares. 30	7	16	16	26	6
	103			315				
	3317						6	
	2631	20	16	22	31	31	1. Enlila- mus. 30	21
	118			220				
	3318				18			
	2636	25	21	27	1. Lamedon. 40	36	6	26
	123			325				
	3324					12		
	2642	32	27	33	7	1. A- bas. 22	12	32
	129			241				
	3328		22					
	2646	35	1. Lamprides. 32.	37	11	5	16	36
	133			345				

<i>The 19. Dynastie : of the Lathes,</i> 194. years. See lib. 2. c. 26. §. 4.		3332 2650 127	39	5	17 1. Zethus, or Seraph, 33	15	9	20	40
		3339 2657 144	46	12	8	22	16	27	3 1. Troas, 60
<i>Tantalus in Phrygia.</i>		3347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1. Phrygia, 17	35	9
		3358 2676 161	65	31	27 27	19 1. Sicron, 45.	12	46	20
		3360 2678 165	67	23 1. Sofares, 20	29 29	3	14	48	22
		3363 2681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17 1. Lerus, the pearls, 35	25	
<i>Plopius in Pifia, who gave name to Pelpo-nusius.</i>		3364 2682 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 1. Ass. fairs, 31	2	26
<i>Ion and Xuthus the sons of Helios.</i> See lib. 2. c. 17. §. 6.		3374 2692 170	4 1. Delos 3. Da. 40	15	43 43	17	11	12	36
		3380 2698 185	7 24 1. Lampaces, 20	49 49	23	17	18	42	
		3387 2705 192	14	8	18 1. Ramfies, 66, 56	30	24	25	49
<i>After the death of Acrisius, the Kingdom of the Argives was divided into many small parts, and afterwards, in the reign of Menelaus, which lasted from 22 years, came from Peloponnesus, the Peloponnesus, a man of Peloponnesus, a man of Peloponnesus.</i>		3394 2712 199	21	15	8 8	37	31	32	56



	Julian, World, Exod.	Israel.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Sicion.	Myce-na.	Atheni.	Troy.
	3502 2820 207	9 1. Ieph ra, 6.	2	10 171	6	56	23	13
	3508 2826 212	10 1. Ith can, 7.	8	16 177	12	62	29	19
	3510 2828 215	3	10	18 179	14	64 1. Ane libe 24	11	21
	3512 2830 217	5	12	20 181	16	1. Ag- merion, 18	3	23
	3515 2833 220	11 1. Elon 10	15	23 184	19	4	6	26
The warre of Troy beganne this yeere.	3519 2837 224	5	19	21 1. Thoris, 7 188	23	8	10	30
	3525 2843 230	12 1. Ab- don, 8.	25	7 194	29	14	16	36
The 20. Dynastie, called Of the Diapoli- tani, beganne this yeere in Egypt, and lasted 178. yeeres, See lib. 2. c. 20. §. 4.	3526 2844 231	2	26	20 1. Dynastie, 178	30	15	17	37
	3528 2846 232	4	28	3	25 1. Polat- ous, 20.	17	19	39
Troy taken 408. yeeres, before the be- ginning of the Olympiads, See l. 2. c. 14. §. 1.	3529 2847 234	5	29	4	2	18	20	40. Troy ta- ken.
	3530 2848 235	1	6	30	5	3	1. Aeg- libus, 9.	21
	3533 2851 238	4	12 1. Samson, 20.	29 1. Tem, 40	8	6	4	24 1. Aeneas, 3.
	3534 2852 239	5	2	2	9	7	5	2 1. Deme- trius, 35
	3536 2854 241	7	4	4	11	9	1. Ore- ster, 70	3 1. Alcanius, 38
	3548 2866 252	19	16	16	23	26 1. Zau- phyus, 32	13	15 13
	3553 2871 258	2	14 1. Eli, 40.	21	28	6	18	20 18
	3567 2885 272	38	15	35	42	20	32	13 1. Oxy- mer, 12.
	3573 2891 278	44	21	30 1. Thy- mens, 20.	48	26	38	7 38
	3574 2892 279	45	22	2	49	27	39	8 1. Syl. Postu- mus, 29.

	Julian, From World, Exod. Troy taken.	Israel.	Affyria	Egypt.	Sicion.	Myce-na.	Atheni.	The King- dome of the Latines.
The Syeionian Kings ended in Zeufippus.	3579 2897 284	50	27	7	54	32	44	14 1. Aphi- dus, 1.
	3580 2898 385	51	28	8	55		45	15 1. Tima- res, 8.
	3588 2906 393	59	36	16	63		53	16 1. Mela- nus, 37.
	3591 2911 208	64	15 1. Samuel, and after him Saul, 40.	21	68		58	6 20
	3603 2921 408	74	11	31 1. David, 40.	78		68	16 1. Syllius & E- neas, 21.
	3606 2924 411	77	14	4	81		1. T. Jona- than, 2.	19 4
The decesses of the successive nine Peloponnesi, came end to the Kingdome of Mycenae, and beganne in the Kingdome of Sparta, Corinth, and M. Messia, the Kingdome of I. Iokare, and the rest of the Table.	3609 2927 414	80	17	7	84			22 7
	3625 2943 430	96	31	23	100			17 1. Co- drus, 21
	3632 2951 438	104	1. David, 40.	31	108	9	31	
	3634 2953 439	105	2	32	109	10	5 1. Syl. La- mus, 50	
	3643 2961 448	114	11	32 1. Eupa- tes, 38	118	19	10	
The Medontidze succedde onto the A- thenian King, after the death of Codrus. See L. 2. C. 17. §. 10.	3646 2964 451	117	14	4	121	1	1. Me- don, 30	13
	3666 2984 471	137	34	24	141	2 1. Ag- phus, 50.	33	
Vaphres reigneth in Egypt. See L. 2. C. 26. §. 5.	3673 2991 478	144	1. Salomon, 40	31	148	8	40	
Salomon beganne to build the Temple 480. yeeres compleat after the delivrance out of Egypt.	3676 2994 481	1	147	4	34	151	11	43
	3681 1000	6	152	9	33 1. L. J. J. J. 100, 45.	156	16	48
	3684 1002	9	155	12	4	159	19	6 1. Syl. Alba, 29.
	3692 1010	17	163	20	12	1. S. J. J. 26 167	27	9
	3702 1020	27	173	30	22	11	3 1. J. J. J. 100, 45.	19

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	Julian. World.	Tem- ple.	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Atheni.	Latini.	
The 21. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	3704								
	3032	29	175	32	24	13	3	21	
The Ionick migration after the taking of Troy 180. years. See L. 2. C. 17. §. 6.	3709								
	3027	34	180	37	29	18	8	26	
	Julian. World. Temple.	Troy.	Inda.	Israel.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Atheni.	Latini.	
	3713		1	1					
	3031	184	1. Rehobam.	1. Ieroboam.	33	22	12	30	
	38		17.	22.		10			
	3718								
	3036	189	6	6	58	1. Ieroboam, 50	17	35	
	43					15.			
	3721						4		
	3039	192	9		41	4	1. Ieroboam, 41.	38	
	46					18			
	3723								
	3041	194	11	11	43	6	3.	1. Syl. 2.	
	48					20			
	3726								
	3044	197	14	14	1. Pyriphides	9	6	4	
	51				20				
	3730								
	3048	201	2	18	5	13	10	8	
	55		1. Abiam, 2.			27			
	3733								
	3051	204	3	21	8	16	13	11	
	58		1. Alai, 41.			30			
	3734								
	3052	205	2	22	9	17	14	12	
	59			1. Nadab, 2.		21			
	3735								
	3053	206	3	23	10	18	15	13	
	60			1. Baas, 1. 24.		33			
	3749								
	3067	220	17	15	24	32	29	8	
	74					46	1. Syl. 2.		
	3750								
	3074	227	24	22	1. Ophratem,	39	36	8	
	81				20	53			
	3758								
	3076	229	26	24	3	41	38	10	
	83			1. Ela, 2.		55			
Of these Israelish Kings. See lib. 2. c. 19. §. 5.	3759								
	3077	230	27	25	4.	42	39	11	
	84			1. Syl. 2.		56			
	3762								
	3080	233	30	4	7	45	1. Syl. 2.	14	
	87					59			
	3768								
	3086	239	36	10	13	1. Che- psi, 56.	7	20	
	91					65.			
	3770								
	3088	241	38	12	15	3	9	22	
	95			1. Ahab, 22.		67			
	3774								
	3092	245	4	1. Iehosaphat,	5	7	13	26	
	99			20		71			

	Julian. World. Temple.	Troy.	Inda.	Israel.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Atheni.	Latini.	
	3776								
	3094	247	3	7	36	9	15	28	
	101				1. Ophra tany, 37.	73			
	3777								
	3095	248	4	8	2	10	16	9	
	102					74		1. Syl. 2.	
Of Ichoram his sundry beginnings to reign. See lib. 2. c. 20. §. 1. & 2.	3790		17	21				10	
	3108	261	5	9	15	23	29	1. Syl. 2.	
	115		1. Ichoram.	1. Ahasia, 2.	87			1. Syl. 2.	
	3791								
	3109	263	18	22	16	24	30	2	
	116		2	1. Ichoram, 22.	88				
	3793								
	3111	264	20	3	18	26	31	4	
	118		0		90	1. Syl. 2.			
	3795								
	3113	266	22	1. Ichoram	5	20	28	3	
	120		1. Ichoram	agains, 8.	92				
Iehosaphat dies, and Ichoram reigns alone.	3798								
	3116	269	25	8	23	31	6	11	
	123		4		95			1. Syl. 2.	
	3802								
	3120	273	8	12	27	35	10	5	
	127		1. Ahasia, 1.		99				
	3803								
	3121	274	7	11	28	36	11	6	
	128		1. Ahab, 7	1. Ichor, 28.	100				
	3809								
	3127	280	7	7	34	42	17	13	
	134		1. Ichor, 30.		106				
Carthage built. L. 2. c. 22. §. 6.	3819								
	3137	290	11	17	44	53	27	22	
	144					116			
	3825								
	3143	294	15	21	48	56	26	7	
	148					120		1. Syl. 2.	
	3824								
	3142	295	16	22	49	57	2	27	
	149					121			
	3826								
	3144	297	18	24	50	58	4	29	
	151					122			
	3831								
	3149	302	23	1. Ichor, 27.	6	5	9	34	
	156					128			
The end of the 21. Dynastie. The Dynasties following, I omit.	3833								
	3151	304	25	3	8	10	11	36	
	158					130			
	3839								
	3157	310	31	9	14	16	17	12	
	164							1. Syl. 2.	
Ios reigns with his Father. Lib. 2. c. 23. §. 7.	3845								
	3163	316	37	15	20	22	23	7	
	170			1. Ios.					
	3847								
	3165	318	39	1. Ios, 16.	22	24	25	9	
	172								
Ios reigns alone.	3848								
	3166	319	40	2	23	25	26	10	
	173			1. Ios, 40.					

	<i>Indian World. Temple.</i>	<i>Troy.</i>	<i>Inda.</i>	<i>Israel.</i>	<i>Affryia</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Aithens</i>	<i>Latinea.</i>
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	26	28	8 1. Ethe- dor, 19	13
	3858 3766 183	329	11	12	33	35	8 1. Syl-4- mianus, 37	13
	3862 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1. Ieroboa- m, 41.	37	39	12	5
	3868 3186 192	339	21	7 1. Sarda- nias, 20.	38	45	18	11
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47 9 1. Ari- stides, 20	12	12
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	1. Myc- enes, 6.	5	16
	<i>Indian World. Temple.</i>	<i>Troy.</i>	<i>Inda.</i>	<i>Israel.</i>	<i>Affryia</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Aithens</i>	<i>Latinea.</i>
L. 2. C. 22. §. 11.	3877 3195 203	348	1. Interreg- num eleu- yearer.	16	10	4	8	19
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	1. Bac- chorus, 44	11	22
L. 2. C. 22. §. 12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26	10 Sarda- nias, 20.	8	18	29
	3888 3206 213	359	10 1. Ptole- my, 20. Agar, 20.	27		9	19	30
L. 2. C. 23. §. 1. & 4.	3890 3208 215	361	3	29		11	10 1. The- ophrast, 27	32
	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	1	13	3	34
L. 2. C. 23. §. 4.	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	14 1. Sp. Pro- p, 21.
	3903 3221 228	374	16	1. Interreg- num, 23- yearer.	12	24	14	9
L. 2. C. 23. §. 1.	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22
	3917 3235 242	388	30	19	26	38	11 1. Gam- mali, 20	23
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	15 1. Syl-4- mianus, 37
	3924 3242 249	395	37	22	33		8	7
Zacharia began at the very end of the year. L. 2. C. 23. §. 1.	3925 3243 250	396	38	23 15 Zacharia five Manni.	34	2	9	8

	<i>Israh. World. Temple.</i>	<i>Troy.</i>			<i>Inda.</i>	<i>Israhel.</i>	<i>Affyria</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Athens</i>	<i>La- tines.</i>	<i>Media</i>
	3926 3244 251	397			39	¹⁶ Shalman azarassath 17 Mardoch 30	35	3	10	9	11
<i>This year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem.</i>	3927 3245 252	398			40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401			43	4	39	¹ Sakun- tia Elin, 17	14	13	15
	3937 3255 262	408	<i>Iphitis</i>	<i>Olympi- ads.</i>	50	¹⁸ 1. 24 Ep- hian, 2	46	8	¹² 1. Ely- luz, 23	20	22
<i>The beginning of the Olympiads.</i> L.2. c.23. §.5.	3938 3256 263	409	1	1	51	2	47	9	2	21	23
	3939 3257 264	410	2	1	52	¹⁹ 1. Pel- Romaniz. 2	48	10	3	22	24
<i>L.2.c.23. §.6.</i>	3940 3258 265	411	3	1	¹¹ 1. 10 1. 10	2	² 1. 24 Ep- Phal. 23	11	4	23	25
	<i>Israh. World. Temple.</i>	<i>Iphit :</i>	<i>Olympi- ads.</i>	<i>Inda.</i>	<i>Israhel.</i>	<i>Affyria</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Athens</i>	<i>La- tines.</i>	<i>Media.</i>	
	3946 3264 271	9	3	7	8	7	17	10	29	² 1. 24 Ep- Phal. 23	
	3955 3273 280	18	5	¹⁶ 1. 10 1. 10	17	16	26	19	38	10	
	3959 3277 284	22	6	5	¹ 1. 24 Ep- Phal. 23	20	30	23	42	14	
	3960 3278 285	23	6	6	2	21	31	¹³ 1. 24 Ep- Phal. 23	43	15	
	<i>Israh. World. Temple.</i>	<i>Rome. Nabon</i>	<i>Iphit.</i>	<i>Olymp.</i>	<i>Inda.</i>	<i>Israhel.</i>	<i>Affyria</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Athens</i>	<i>Romus.</i>	<i>Media</i>
<i>Rome built. Lib. 2. chap. 24. §. 5.</i> <i>Crops the First, governing 10 Actions, for ten years, after whom succeeded, for 10 years each after other for the like time; and thence the office became Annual.</i>	3962 3280 287	1	25	7	8	4	23	33	¹ 1. 24 Ep- Phal. 23	¹ 1. 24 Ep- Phal. 23	17
	3966 3284 291	5	29	8	¹² 1. 24 Ep- Phal. 23	27	57	5	5	21	
<i>The Era of Nabonassar.</i> L.2. c.25. §.1.	3967 3285 292	6	30	8	¹³ 1. 24 Ep- Phal. 23	28	58	6	6	22	
<i>Ezekia began in the very end of this year.</i> L.2. c.25. §.1.	3968 3286 293	7	31	8	¹⁴ 1. 24 Ep- Phal. 23	29	59	7	7	23	
<i>This year concurs with the first of Ezekia. Ibid.</i>	3969 3287 294	8	32	8	¹⁵ 1. 24 Ep- Phal. 23	30	60	8	8	24	
<i>The beginning of the first Messiahian Warre, Whereof see L.2. c.27. §.4. It lasted 20. years.</i>	3971 3289 296	10	34	9	3	6	5	42	10	26	
<i>Samaria besieged by Salmanassar.</i>	3972 3290 297	11	35	9	4	7	6	43	11	27	

<i>The captivity of the ten Tribes.</i>	3974 3299	13 8	37 10	10 1	6 8	9 9	8 45		13 29	
	3976 3294 301	15 39	10 3		8 10		47 1. Sema- cher, 7		15 31	
<i>L. 2. c. 26. §. 7.</i>	3980 3298 305	19 43	11 12		12 1. King of the Chel- dani, 2		5 1. De- thor, 23		19 35	
<i>Sennacherib's Army destroyed, and he slain.</i> <i>L. 2. c. 25. §. 2.</i>	3982 3300 307	21 45	12 1		14		7 3		21 37	
	3983 3301 308	22 46	13 2		15 1. Acha- dath or Mardochai galai, 1		5 1. Acha- dath, 1		22 38	
	3980 3304 311	25 49	13 1		18 4		4 7		25 4	1. Card- ney, 13
<i>Mercodach gets the whole Empire. This year or in the end of the year foregoing, an Eclipse of ☾</i>	3993 3311 318	32 56	14 4		25 1. Acha- dath, 40		11 14		32 8	
<i>Two Eclipses of the Moon, in the second year of Mardochampadus.</i>	3994 3312 319	33 57	15 1		26 2		15 33		9	
	3997 3319 322	36 60	15 4		29 5		18 36		12 1. Gy- ger, 18	
	3998 3316 323	37 61	16 1		30 1. Acha- dath, 55		19 37		13 2	
	3999 3317 324	38 62	16 2		31 2		20 38		14 3	
	4000 3318 325	39 63	16 3		32 3		21 39		15 4	
<i>L. 2. c. 27. §. 2.</i>	4013 3331 338	52 76	19 4		21 1. Inter- reg- num, 1		14 15		17	
	4015 3333 340	54 78	20 2		23 1. Prin- cer, 15		16 17		19	
<i>The beginning of the second Median War; which lasted about 18. years.</i> <i>L. 2. c. 27. §. 4.</i>	4029 3347 354	68 63	23 4		32 1. S. Sym- mich, 10		30 31		33	
<i>L. 2. c. 28. §. 3.</i>	4033 3351 358	72 67	24 4		36 2. B. Ma- dath, 1		34 35		37	
	4035 3353 360	74 69	25 2		38 3		36 37		1. Ar- ty, 49	
	4042 3361 368	82 77	27 2		46 11		15 45		9	
	4052 3370 377	91 86	29 1		55 20		24 10		18	
	4053 3371 378	92 87	29 4		56 1. A- mich, 2		25 21		2	19

	<i>Indian World, Temple</i>	<i>Rome, Nabon</i>	<i>Iphit</i>	<i>Olymp.</i>	<i>Inda.</i>	<i>Chal- dea.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Rome.</i>	<i>Media</i>	<i>Lydia.</i>
<i>The Expedition of the Scythians.</i> <i>L. 2. c. 28. §. 3. & 4.</i>	4054 3372 379	93 88	117	30	2	1. Nabu- dath, 3	26	12	3	20
	4055 3373 380	94 89	118	31	10	1. Ise- dath, 21	27	13	4	21
<i>L. 2. c. 28. §. 2.</i>	4072 3391 398	112 107	136	34	19	20	1. Ne- dath, 17	31	23	39
	4075 3393 400	114 109	138	35	21	22	3	4	24	41
	4076 3394 401	115 110	139	35	22	23	4	2	7	42
	4084 3403 409	123 118	147	37	30	31	15	10	9	1. Sary- met, 1
<i>L. 2. c. 28. §. 1. & 2.</i>	4085 3402 410	124 119	148	37	31	32	13	11	10	2
<i>Nabuchodonosor had reigned one year when he died, which is to be regarded as a confirmation of his time.</i> <i>L. 2. c. 28. §. 6. & 25. §. 1.</i>	4086 3404 411	125 120	149	38	18	33	14	12	11	3
	4089 3407 414	128 123	152	38	4	4	17	15	14	6
	4090 3408 415	129 124	153	39	5	2	1. P. Co- mich, 17	16	15	7
<i>Zedekia his journey to Babylon.</i> <i>L. 2. c. 28. §. 6.</i>	4096 3414 421	135 130	159	40	11	8	7	22	21	1. Acha- dath, 3
	4099 3417 424	138 133	162	41	12	9	10	24	22	4
	4102 3420 427	141 136	165	42	13	10	11	27	23	5
<i>Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor: with whose 18. for the more part, and partly with whose 19. this year commences.</i>	4100 3424 431	145 140	169	43	11	18	5	8	31	11
<i>Jerusalem destroyed.</i>	4107 3425 432	149 144	170	43	1	19	6	9	32	12
<i>Egypt conquered by Nabuchodonosor.</i> <i>L. 3. c. 1. §. 8. & 9.</i>	4111 3429 416	150 145	174	44	5	23	13	10	16	16
	4116 3434 421	155 150	179	45	10	28	18	11	17	21
<i>Nabuchodonosor loses his life; and his Kingdom is governed by others for him, during seven years. L. 3. c. 1. §. 13.</i>	4125 3443 412	164 159	188	47	19	27	15	27	10	30
	4127 3445	166 161	190	48	21	29	17	29	12	32

The Account from the solution of the Captivity, is the same with that from Cyrus.	Julian, Rome.	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Events from Cyrus, Daniel.
	4265 304	328	82	17				89
	4282 300		4					11
Nehemias comes to Jerusalem.	4268 307	331	83	20				92
	4286 302		2					14
	4272 311	335	84	24				96
	4350 306		3					18
	4273 312	336	84	25				97
	4351 307		4					19
	4278 317	341	86	30				102
	4356 312		1					24
The walls of Jerusalem finished, Nehemias returns to King Artaxerxes.	4280 319	343	86	32				104
	4358 314		3					26
L. 3. c. 8. p. 1.	4283 322	346	67	35				107
	4601 317		2					29
L. 3. c. 9. p. 1.	4289 328		88					113
L. 3. c. 8. p. 4.	4607 322	352	4					25
	4390 329	353	89	8				114
L. 3. c. 9. p. 1.	4608 324		1	1. Darius Nethur. 19.				36
	4294 331	355	89	3				116
L. 3. c. 8. p. 5. & 6.	4610 326		2					28
	4301 340	364	91					125
L. 3. c. 9. p. 1. & c. 8. p. 8.	4619 335		4					47
	4302 341	365	92					126
C. 8. p. 9.	4620 336		3					48
The Carthaginians invade Sicily with an Army of 300000. L. 5. c. 1. p. 4.	4304 343	367	92	15				50
	4622 338		3					130
L. 3. c. 8. p. 10.	4306 345	369	93	17				52
	4624 340		1					131
	4307 346	370	93	18				55
	4625 341		2					132
	4308 347	371	93	19				54
	4626 342		4					133
L. 3. c. 8. p. 12.	4309 348	372	93	9				55
	4627 343		4	1. Artaxerxes Memon 43				135
	4311 350	374	94	3				57
	4629 345		2					137
L. 3. c. 10. p. 1.	4313 352	376	94					59
	4631 347		4					

	Julian and World.	Rome and Nab.	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Events from Cyrus, Daniel.
L. 3. c. 11. p. 4.	4318 357	381	96	10					142
	4636 352		1						62
L. 3. c. 11. p. 7.	4320 359	383	96	12					144
	4638 354		2						66
	4321 360	384	96	13					145
	4639 355		4						67
	4325 364	388	97	17					149
	4643 359		4						71
L. 4. c. 7. p. 1.	4326 365	389	98	18					150
L. 3. c. 11. p. 9.	4644 360		1						72
	4327 370	390	98	19					151
	4645 361		2						73
	4332 371	395	99	24					156
	4650 366		3						78
L. 3. c. 11. p. 11.	4336 375	399	100	28					160
	4654 370		3						82
	4340 379	403	101	32					164
	4658 374		4						86
L. 3. c. 12. p. 1.	4343 382	406	102	35					167
	4661 377		1						80
L. 3. c. 12. p. 4.	4345 384	408	102	37					169
	4353 379	414	104	43					91
	4351 390		2						175
	4669 385		3						97
L. 3. c. 12. p. 8.	4352 391	415	104	10					176
	4670 386		3						98
	4354 393	417	105	3					178
	4672 388		1						100
L. 4. c. 1. p. 4.	4359 398	422	106	8					183
	4677 393		2						102
	4364 403	427	107	13					186
	4682 398		3						110
L. 4. c. 1. p. 6.	4368 407	431	108	17					193
	4686 402		2						114
L. 5. c. 1. p. 4. & 4.	4369 408	432	108	18					193
	4687 403		4						115
	4370 409	433	109	19					194
	4688 404		1						116
After this, the years from Cyr. & Daniel are too few, by One.	4375 414	438	110	11					199
	4693 409		2						121

	Julian and World.	Rome and Nab.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Lower From Cyru, Daniel.
	4376	415	439	110	2			23	2
	694	410	3					199	121
	4378	417	441	111	12			25	4
	2696	412	1		1. Darius 6. years & (somewhat more)	Nabon. Novemb. 15.		Philip slain by Tanjamas. Alexander the great ravish yours and his marriage.	201 123
	4379	418		111				2	5
	1697	413	442	2	2			Thebes razed by Alexander.	202 124
	4380	419		111				3	6
	2698	414	443	3	3			Alexander passeth into Asia.	203 125
L.4. c.2. p.4.	4381	420		111	4				7
	2699	415	444	4	The battaile of Issus.			4	204 126
L.4. c.2. p.5, 6 & 7. & 15. c.2. p.8.	4382	421		112			The Greeks enter into League with the Romans.	5	8
	2700	416	445	1	5			Alexander winnes Tyre and Egypt.	205 129
		Julian, World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.				
An Eclipse of ☾	4383	422		112	6				9
	2701	417	446	2	The battaile of Arbela.			6	206 128
L.4. c.2. p.13.	4384	423		112	7				10
	2702	418	447	3	Darius slain by Bessus.			7	207 129
					Macedon.	Egypt.		Greece.	Romans.
	4385	424		112	8				11
	2703	419	448	4	9				12
	4380	425		113	9				12
	2704	420	449	1	9				12
Alexander died 17. days before the Summer Solstice. From Nabonassar hitherto are collected 424. yeeres: and hence to the reign of Augustus, 254. The summe 9718. yeeres, which agrees with the account. Ptolemy. Almagest. l.3. c.8.	4390	429		114	13				16
	2708	424	453	1	13				135
	4391	430		114	1				1. Oni. di. 23.
	2709	425	454	2	1				136
	4394	433		115	4				4
	2712	428	457	1	4				139
	4395	434		115	5				5
	2712	429	458	3	5				140
Artaeus slain by Olympias. Antigonus beaten by Eumenes.	4397	436		115	7				7
	2715	431	460	4	7				142
Eumenes betrayed to Antigonus. Olympias slain by Cassander. Antigonus never desisted.	4398	437		116	1				8
	2716	422	461	1	1				143
Some place the beginning of Seleucus in this year from Alexander, 6. which ac- cords with the second 12. yeeres.	4402	441		117	5				12
	2720	426	465	1	5				147
Peace between Alex- ander's Captains, with division of Provinces.	4403	442		117	6				13
	2721	427	466	2	6				148

	Julian, World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphut.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdome of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Jews. Daniel.	
The Era of the Kingdome of the Greeks.	4404	443		117						14	
Alexanders Cap- tains assume the name of Kings.	3722	438	467	3	7	14	1. Seleus? 3 ^o	L.4. c.5. p.7.		149	
	4406	445		118						150	
	3724	440	469	4	9	16	Philomenus, comes by Demetrius at Tyria.	3	Athen (at free ly) Demetrius the sonne of cleo- pattus.	151	
L.4. c.6. p.4.	4413	452		119						25	
	3731	447	476	1	16	23	10. The battaile at Ipsus, wherein Antigonus was slain.	10		152	
	4414	453		120						153	
	3732	448	477	1	17	24	11 Seleucus makes alliance with De- metrius.	11		154	
	4417	456		120						7	
	3735	451	480	1	18	27	12. Antipater and Alexander the sonne of Cas- sander.	14		162	
L.4. c.6. p.7.	4421	460		121						8	
	3739	455	484	4	1. Demetrius? 6.	31	18	18		166	
		Julian, World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphut.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria.	Greece.	Rome.	Jews. Daniel.
	4427	460		123							9
	3745	461	490	2	1. Pyrrhus 7. Moneth.	37	24	24			206 128
	4428	467		123							10
	3746	462	491	3	1. Lysimachus.	38	25	25			207 129
	4429	468		123							11
	3747	463	492	4	2	39	26	26			208 130
The translation of the Bible by the Sep- tuagint.	4432	471		124							11
	3750	466	495	5	5	4	29	29			12
L.4. c.6. p.9. & Cap. 7. p.2.	4433	472		124							12
	3751	457	496	4	6	5	30	30			131
L.4. c.7. p.3. & 7.	4434	473		125							16
	3752	468	497	1	1	6	31	31			135
	4436	475		125							136
	3754	470	499	2	1. Antigonus Gonatas, 26.	8	32	32			139
L.5. c.2. p.6.	4438	477		126							4
	3756	472	501	1	3	10	33	33			139
	4439	478		126							5
	3757	473	502	2	4	11	34	34			140
L.4. c.7. p.5.	4441	480		126							7
	3759	475	504	4	6	13	35	35			142
The translation by the Septuagint finished, this 17. of Philadelphia.	4445	484		127							8
	3763	479	508	4	10	17	36	36			143
	4446	485		128							12
	3764	480	509	1	11	18	37	37			147
The more ancient Roman Consuls have been often fo- rgetten, that Little has been known to name.	4450	489		129							13
	3768	484	513	1	15	21	38	38			148

	Julian, and World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Mace. don.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdoms of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Iewes, Daniel.	Consuls.
	4453	493	516	129	18	25	3 1. Antiochus Theus.			8	L. Valerius.
	3771	487	516	4	18	25	10			198	T. Otacilius.
L. 5. c. 1. §. 6.	4454	493	517	130	19	26	2		Dutius his victorie at Sea.	9	C. Cornelius.
	3772	488	517	1	19	26	51			99	Gn. Cornelius.
	4457	496	520	130	22	29	5		Regulus pas- sed into A- fricke.	12	M. Atil. Reg.
	3775	491	520	4	22	29	54			203	Gn. Cornelius.
L. 5. c. 1. §. 8.	4458	497	521	131	23	30	6	Marcus Cury- nenſis Prator of the Achæans.	Regulus taken prisoner.	13	L. Manlius.
	3776	492	521	1	23	30	55			203	Q. Cædicius.
	4463	502	526	132	28	35	11	Aratus recovers Sydon and turns it to the Achæans.		18	L. Cædicius.
	3781	497	526	12	28	35	60			208	C. Furius.
	4464	503	527	132	29	36	12		Regulus his death.	19	C. Atilius.
The Roman Consul leaves at Lulium. The beginning of the Parthian Kingdom.	3782	498	527	3	29	36	61			209	L. Manlius.
	4465	504	528	133	30	37	13		Shipwreck, and un- happy fate of the Romans at sea.	20	P. Clandius, Pulcher, & L. Iunius.
	3783	499	528	4	30	37	62			210	L. Cædicius.
	4467	506	530	133	32	39	15			212	M. Fabius.
	3785	501	530	3	32	39	64			212	M. Fabius.
Amilcar the Carthagi- nian in Sicil. L. 5. c. 1. §. 11.	4469	508	532	133	34	41	4	1. Seleucus Callicitus.		24	M. Fabius.
	3787	502	532	4	34	41	66			214	C. Atilius.
	4472	511	535	134	35	42	4		Lutatus his great victorie at Egætes.	27	C. Luc. Cæli.
	3790	506	535	3	35	42	69			217	A. Posthumus.
The warre of the Mer- cinaries with the Car- thaginians. L. 5. c. 2.	4473	512	536	134	36	43	5		Aratus wins to Carthage.	218	A. Manlius.
	3791	507	536	4	36	43	70			218	A. Manlius.
	4474	513	537	135	37	44	6			219	C. Clandius.
	3793	508	537	1	37	44	71			219	M. Semprom.
The warre with the Mercinaries endd.	4476	515	539	135	38	45	8		The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians.	3	Gracchus.
	3794	510	539	2	38	45	72			221	Falco.
	4482	522	545	137	39	46	14			9	Lepidus.
	3800	516	545	1	39	46	79			227	M. Cædicius.
	4483	522	546	137	40	47	15			10	M. Aemilius.
	3801	517	546	2	40	47	80			228	M. Iunius.
L. 5. c. 2. §. 7.	4485	524	548	137	41	48	17		Antiochus Queen of Syria subdued by the Romans.	12	L. Posthumus.
	3803	510	548	4	41	48	82			230	C. Fulvius.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 1.	4489	528	552	138	42	49	18			10	L. Aemilius.
	3807	523	552	4	42	49	86			234	C. Atilius.
Flaminius was af- Confil this yeere. See L. 5. c. 2. §. 8.	4492	531	555	139	43	50	19		Marcus his vic- tory over the Gauls about Milan.	19	C. Cornelius.
	3810	526	555	2	43	50	90			237	M. Marcellus.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 2.	4493	532	556	139	44	51	2			237	P. Cornelius.
	3811	527	556	4	44	51	90			238	M. Minucius.
	4494	533	557	140	45	52	3			20	L. Veturius.
	3812	528	557	1	45	52	91			239	C. Lucatius.

	Julian, and World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria & King- doms of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome.	Iewes, and Daniel.	Consuls.
Hannibal takes Saguntum.	4495	534	558	140	2	3	4			22	L. Aemilius.
The beginning of the second Punic warre.	3813	529	558	140	3	4	5			230	M. Iunius.
The accuracies of this yeere are re- ferred by Polyb. to the 5. of the 14. Olymp. This bat- tle was fought in the Spring, the Olympi- ans were beaten at the Tunician Saline.	4496	535	559	140	3	4	5		The battel of Tunic and Trebia.	240	P. Cor. Scipio.
	3814	530	559	3	3	4	92			241	T. Sempromius.
	4497	536	560	140	4	5	6		The battel of the Thermopylae.	24	C. Flaminius.
	3815	531	560	4	4	5	94			242	Cn. Servilius.
	4498	537	561	141	5	6	7		The great bat- tle of Can- na.	25	C. Terent. Varro.
	3816	532	561	141	5	6	97			243	L. Aem. Paul.
	4499	538	562	141	6	7	8		Posthumus' the Roman Consul slain by the Gauls.	244	L. Posthumus T. Sempromius.
	3817	533	562	2	6	7	96			244	Q. Fabius.
	4502	541	565	142	9	10	11		Syracus won by Marcellus. Capua besieged.	247	Q. Fulvius.
	3820	536	565	142	10	11	99			248	Cn. Fulvius.
Hannibal at the mills of Rome.	4503	542	566	142	10	11	100		Scipio drives the Carthaginians quite out of Spain.	249	L. Veturius.
	3821	547	566	2	10	11	100			249	C. Cland. Nero.
	4507	547	570	143	14	15	104		The battel at Metaurus.	252	M. Iunius.
	3825	541	570	2	14	15	104			252	M. Iunius.
	4508	547	571	143	15	16	105			253	Q. Cædicius.
	3826	542	571	2	15	16	105			253	L. Veturius.
	4510	549	573	144	17	18	107		Scipio invades Africke.	255	P. Sempromius.
	3828	544	573	1	17	18	107			255	P. Sempromius.
	4511	550	574	144	18	19	108		King Syphax taken.	256	Servilius, and Servilius.
	3829	545	574	2	18	19	108			256	Servilius, and Servilius.
	4512	551	575	144	19	20	109		Hannibal vanquished by Scipio.	257	T. Clandius.
	3830	546	575	3	19	20	109			257	M. Servilius.
The end of the second Punic warre, and begin- ning of the Macedonian war with Philip. This yeere and the next were three Eclipses of the Moone.	4513	552	576	144	20	21	110		Scipio triumphs over Carthage.	258	Patrus.
	3831	547	576	4	20	21	110			258	Patrus.
	4510	555	579	145	21	22	111			259	T. V. Flaminius.
	3832	550	579	3	21	22	111			259	T. V. Flaminius.
	4517	556	580	145	22	23	112			260	Q. Minucius.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 14.	3835	551	580	4	22	23	112			260	Q. Minucius.
	4518	557	581	146	23	24	113			261	L. Furius.
	3836	552	581	1	23	24	113			261	Marcellus.
	4519	558	582	146	24	25	114			262	M. Cato.
C. 5. §. 5.	3837	553	582	2	24	25	114			264	L. Valerius.
	4522	561	585	147	25	26	115			265	L. Quinctius.
C. 5. §. 7.	3840	556	585	1	25	26	115			267	Cn. Domitius.
	4523	562	586	147	26	27	116			268	Acilius Glabrio.
	3841	557	586	2	26	27	116			268	Nasica.
	4524	563	587	147	27	28	117			269	L. Scipio.
	3842	558	587	3	27	28	117			269	C. Lælius.

	Indian, Rome, World, Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria & King- dome of the Greeks.	Greece	Rome.	Jewes and Daniel	Consuls.
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L. 5. c. 6. § 3.	4532 1850	571 566	149 2	³⁹ the tyrannus of Phi- lo- has for Demo- stratus 12 to 16, Co- lute the next year.	23	5 129		31		Paulus.
Chap. 6. § 4.	4533 1851	572 567	149 4	40	24	6 130	Calpurnius Piscator, and all the Greeks.	32 278		Cethegus. M. Babius.
	4534 1852	573 568	150 1	41		7 131	1. Plotius Philo- sophy, and his brother Dyfion, 35	33 279		A. Posthumus. Piso.
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An Echelle of the 7. of Philo- sophy, 173 yeeres and 206. days from the begin- ning of Nations which agrees with this account. It was (by Julian yeeres) the last of April, about one of the twelve in the mornings.	4540 1858 4541 1850 4543 1861 4545 1863	579 574 580 575 582 577 584 579	151 3 151 4 182 2 152 4	6 7 The giving of the Law of Perseus.	7	7 133 2	1. Aristides Epi- phorus, 12. 137	39 285		Sp. Posthumus. Scenola.
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AN ALPHABETICALL
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AND FIFT BOOKES OF THE FIRST
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